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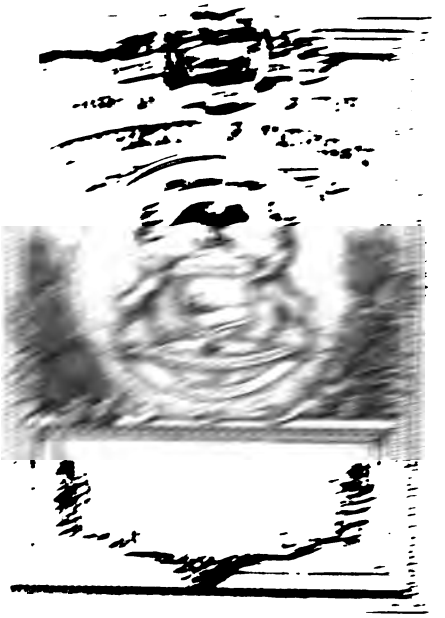

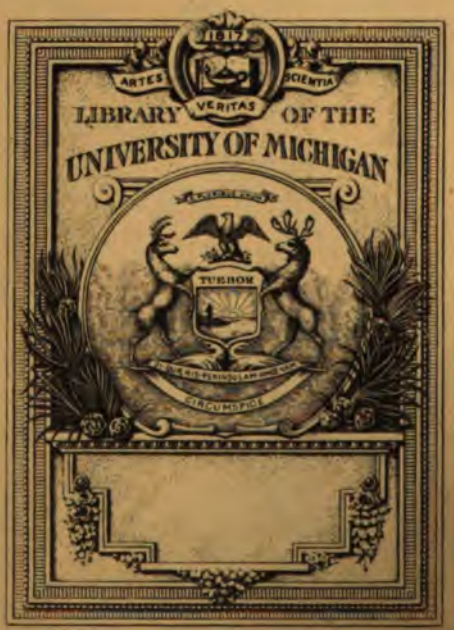
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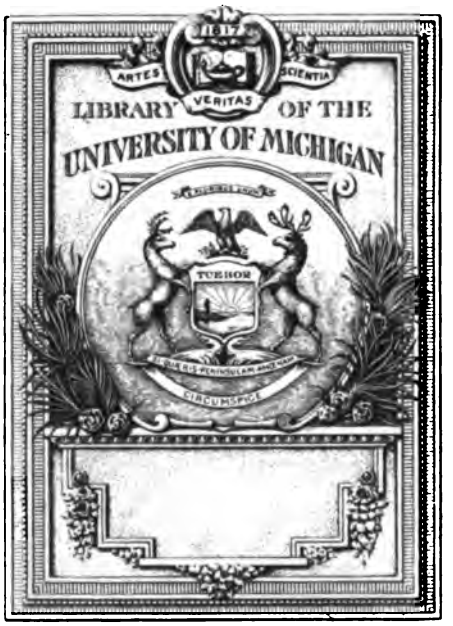
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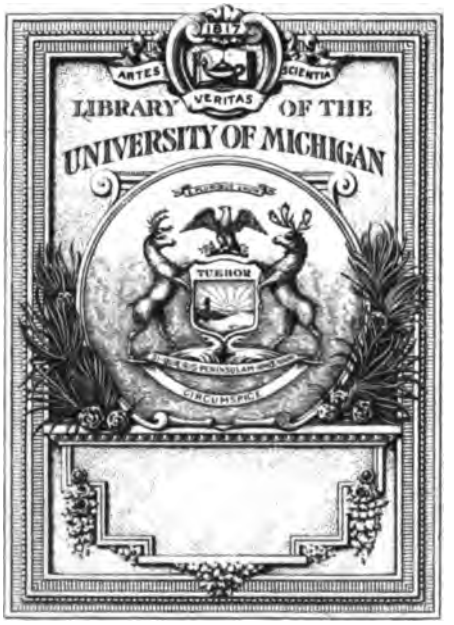
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THE

Eclectic Review,

MDCCCXXI.

JULY——DECEMBER.

NEW SERIES.

VOL. XVI.

Φιλοσοφιαν δε ου την Στωικην λεγω, ουδε την Πλατωνικην, η την Επικουρειον τε και Αριστοτελικην· αλλ' ὁσα ειρηται παρ' ἑκαστη των αἱρεσεων τουτων καλως, δικαιοσυνην μετα ευσεβους επιστημης επιδιδασκουσα, τουτο συμπαν το ΕΚΛΕΚΤΙΚΟΝ Φιλοσοφιαν φημι.

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THE

ECLECTIC REVIEW,

FOR JULY, 1821.

Art. I. *The History of England*, from the first Invasion by the Romans, to the Accession of Mary. By the Rev. John Lingard. 4to. Vols. I. to IV. pp. 2274. London. 1819—20.

THE *opus magnum* of an adequate history of England remains yet to be achieved. To the several attempts which have hitherto been made to accomplish this herculean labour, attach either literary imperfections or objections of a still more serious kind. Rapin, indeed, though a tedious, is a faithful chronicler, and in perusing his heavy narrative, we feel a confidence in the impartiality and general accuracy of the historian, which the lively pages of Hume fail to inspire. Of the two, the foreigner is the most of an Englishman in feeling: the servile principles and anti-Christian bigotry of the apologist for the Stuarts, disqualified him to do justice to the history of his country. The valuable work of Dr. Henry cannot be considered as supplying this *desideratum* in our literature, since it is an imperfect history. Of Mr. Sharon Turner's volumes, we shall have occasion hereafter to speak more fully: as far as they go, they claim to be regarded as highly valuable contributions to our historical library; but they do not affect the accuracy of the affirmation, that the writer who should combine all the requisites for success in the evolution of this 'great argument,' has not yet appeared. Among those requisites, antecedently to all the intellectual preparation which is necessary for the undertaking, a freedom from party prejudice would seem to be a primary qualification; and yet this is perhaps the least likely to be realized. The Protestant, it may be admitted, is liable to have his decisions on some points warped by his jealousy of ecclesiastical domination: he may not make due allowance for the errors of a darker age, or he may receive with too easy a credulity the injurious statements of party writers on the side of the Reformed faith. From a Romanist, however liberal, the text of history will be likely to receive a

gloss which shall be still more at variance with fairness and accuracy. Those great transactions from which the civil and religious institutions of our country have derived much of their present aspect and character, it would be scarcely possible for a zealous member of the Romish Church to exhibit in a just light, or in all their bearings. Without imputing to the Roman Catholics of this country in the present day a larger share of religious bigotry than to other denominations, we must be allowed to question whether they could furnish an historian perfectly competent and disposed to do justice to the authors or instruments of the English Reformation. We cannot concede to them as Roman Catholics an exemption from the partialities common to men; nor can we forget that there are certain prejudices immediately and inseparably connected with the narrow, exclusive, and intolerant spirit and dogmas of their ecclesiastical system.

Mr. Lingard is, we can have no doubt, a person of upright and honourable intentions. His knowledge and ability are signally evinced in his performance. But the influence of his professional prejudices as a Roman Catholic clergyman, is visible at every step. The history of England in his hands, assumes, in many parts, an aspect altogether novel. Instead of the encroachments of unprincipled ecclesiastics, we have presented to us the patient and unmerited sufferings of aggrieved and innocent men; and where we have been accustomed to track the footsteps of the persecutor and the oppressor, we are invited to witness the movements of the benignant instructors and benefactors of mankind. We will not impute artifice and disingenuousness of intention to the dexterity with which this colouring is given to the facts alluded to. But the good faith and veracity of the Historian cannot be conceded without implicating his competency to the task he has undertaken. Perversions of historic verity so palpable, not to be chargeable on design, must have originated in a most lamentable strength of prejudice. It would be an interminable task, to point out all the misrepresentations which we have found in those sections of the work which relate to ecclesiastical affairs; and we must, perforce, content ourselves with a few illustrations of this systematic sacrifice of candour to the spirit of party.

The disputes in which, towards the close of the seventh century, king Egfrid, archbishop Theodore, and bishop Wilfrid were the chief parties, form the centre of a mass of facts and inferences which claim peculiar notice as supplying important and emphatic evidence of a determined spirit of interference and encroachment on the part of Rome and her suffragans. Yet, we are pithily informed by the present Writer, that they occupy a 'disproportionate space in our modern

'histories.' It may well suit Mr. Lingard's purpose to despatch these matters lightly, and to speak of them as having derived 'an adventitious interest' from the influence of 'religious pre-'judice'; but he cannot be permitted thus to alter the character of substantial facts, nor to attest his own exemption from the bigotry which he imputes to others.

But that portion of Mr. Lingard's work which chronicles the rare deservings of the notorious and canonized Dunstan, affords a still more conspicuous instance of prejudice and perversion. That name has always been associated in our minds with other feelings than those of veneration. We have been accustomed, on the credit of current history, to consider its possessor as a fierce and ambitious man, employing, without scruple, artifice and violence to attain his ends, and recklessly treading down all that stood in his way to elevation and power. In the ingenious pages of Mr. Lingard, nothing of this appears: the saint assumes the character of an ardent and consistent reformer, regardless of his own interest, and zealous for the restoration of the pure discipline of the Church. In order to establish the accuracy of this singular representation, as well as to vindicate the reputation of that ferocious and heartless ruffian, Odo, archbishop of Canterbury, Mr. L. has recourse to a plan, of which the ingenuity is at least as conspicuous as the fairness. After a repetition of the convenient formula, that Dunstan 'occupies a disproportionate space in most of our modern his-'tories,' he goes on with what appears to us a complete system of *mystification*, mingling together facts and palpable calumnies, withholding important circumstances, and admitting or rejecting authorities just as they happen to assist or to counteract his views, until the whole reality of this portion of history is reversed. The unfortunate Edwy, a youth of sixteen or eighteen, whose only crime seems to have been his spirited resistance to the overbearing violence of the priests, is peremptorily affirmed to have 'rendered himself contemptible by the immorality 'of his private life.' Now, what are the authorities on which Mr. Lingard has ventured this charge? Precisely such as an historian free from undue bias, would have felt to be trustworthy only when supported by positive and undeniable facts. The whole of this statement rests upon the insinuations and assertions of monks; the rancorous enemies of Edwy, and the *ex officio* eulogists of Dunstan. The very language of their imputations against the moral character of the king, betrays not only malignant hostility, but an impurity of imagination that might fairly raise a question, to which party the accusation would most justly apply. It was unworthy of a writer of history to retail the miserable scandal which impeached the monarch of incest; a calumny instantly refuted by the evident

rancour of his assailants, by the obscurity which involves it, and by the other circumstances of the story. Nor are the attempts of Mr. Lingard to disprove the marriage of Edwy and Ethelgiva, more successful. The abuse quoted by him from the monkish annalists, amounts to nothing. The epithets *meretrix* and *mulier impudens*, on which he places so much reliance, are clearly no more than vituperative terms, of which the import is indisputably ascertained by the distinct acknowledgement that she was *queen*—'*regina*;' while the authorities of Malmesbury and Wallingford decisively establish their union. On the characteristic endeavour to fix another marriage on Edwy, we have not a word to waste. The brutal conduct of Dunstan in *forcing*, not '*conducting*' ('*vi raptum*,' '*violenter abstractum*,') Edwy from his bride, is veiled; the unmanly revenge of Odo in branding Ethelgiva on the cheek with a hot iron, is concealed; and his subsequent atrocities are ascribed on most slender grounds to the Mercian insurgents. The notices of Dunstan's life which are interspersed, are written in the same spirit of partiality: the claims to celestial communications which he is affirmed to have made for interested purposes, are lightly touched; and the heaviest imputation on his character is thus dismissed.

'During his reign' (that of Edward the Martyr) 'happened the tragic catastrophe at Colne, which has furnished modern writers with a pretext for accusing the primate of impiety and murder. If we may believe their narratives, Dunstan had the art to counterfeit a miracle in defence of the monks. By his orders, we are told, the floor of the room, destined to contain the members of the council, was loosened from the walls: during the deliberation the temporary supports were removed: and while the primate was secure in his seat above, the rest of the assembly were precipitated to the ground. Yet if we divest the real fact of its modern embellishments, it will be reduced to this; that the floor sank under the accumulated weight of the crowd: that the archbishop had the good fortune to support himself by a beam: and that of the others some were killed, and many were hurt in the fall. More than this was unknown to any ancient writer: the contrivance and object ascribed to Dunstan are the fictions of later writers.' Vol. I. p. 250.

By a similar mode of statement, we should find no difficulty in changing the whole aspect of history. We feel it quite unnecessary to enter further into the real circumstances of this atrocious transaction, but would only remind Mr Lingard, that he has omitted the important fact, that this 'tragic catastrophe' followed instantaneously on Dunstan's *direct and significant appeal to Heaven.*

The transactions between Henry II. and the turbulent Becket, are related in the same spirit. The king is treated with little

ceremony, and the sainted archbishop appears under a very different aspect from that which he has usually worn in history, and from that which a less partial survey and an ampler detail would have compelled Mr. Lingard to exhibit. It is scarcely credible, that, after so complete a specification, supported in all points by quotations and references, as that which occurs in Lord Lyttleton's life of the second Henry, a writer of the present day should venture on the very questionable experiment of varnishing the character of Becket. But the story is left half told, while the form and features of its hero are traced in lines shadowy and indistinct. By these means, the necessity of a more direct investigation is advantageously eluded. With shrewder judgement than his precursor, Mr. Berington, Mr. L. has avoided such a decided commitment of himself as that reverend gentleman hazarded when he exultingly exclaimed: 'Give me the greatest heroes, whom ancient times did deify, or 'such as a more temperate posterity has registered on the lists 'of fame, and I will say that Becket, when he closed his life, was 'full as great as they. All his native energy then collected at 'the heart; and seeing the heavens, as he thought, opened 'to him, he fell as blessed martyrs had done!' The present Historian has trusted to the less venturous expedient of imperfect narrative. We have no disposition to vindicate the violence and artifice which marked some parts of the conduct of Henry; yet, we have not the least hesitation in maintaining, that when he resisted the iniquitous claim set up by Becket, and opposed the scandalous abuses of ecclesiastical jurisdiction, he struggled not only for the honour of his crown, but for the well-being of his people. We cannot pass from this subject without referring to Mr. Turner's admirable narrative of the transactions of this important period. He has held the balance with the most scrupulous impartiality; and a recurrence to his statements would furnish the most impressive illustrations of the imperfection of Mr. Lingard's details. He is, indeed, accused, in common with Lord Lyttleton, by the present Writer, of having laid undue stress upon a letter written by Gilbert Foliott, bishop of London, severely reprehending the conduct of Becket; and we are referred to Mr. Berington's Appendix for the proof that the composition in question is a forgery. Mr. B.'s arguments may possibly be satisfactory to Mr. L.; but, notwithstanding the triumphant self-gratulations of their Author, they have by no means flashed conviction upon our minds. A copy of the letter exists among the Cotton MSS. in the British Museum; and its *title* is inserted in the index to a volume of MSS. in the Vatican library, though the epistle itself is wanting at the page referred to. Mr. Berington treats this circumstance as a very trivial matter; but it seems to us much easier to account for the

disappearance of the obnoxious document from the collection, than to invent a reason for the judicial reference. And after all, this is but a subordinate point: the main facts of Becket's career are on substantial record, and beyond the reach of perversion or misapprehension. His own language manifests, incontrovertibly, his violent and ambitious character; and his actions were in perfect harmony with his words.

Mr. Lingard does not, however, put himself forward as the defender of the Pope's temporal authority. Though, as we firmly believe, that claim is only in abeyance, it is not likely, under present circumstances, to find open advocates among the enlightened partisans of the Holy See; and Mr. L. is too skilful a writer to entangle himself in unprofitable controversies. His language on this head is distinct and sagacious, though qualified by the intimation, that the limits between the spiritual and the temporal power are 'questionable.' In the notorious case of the excommunication and deposition of King John, he remarks:

'The reader has seen that Innocent grounded his temporal pretensions on the right which he possessed of judging of sin, and of the obligations of oaths. This doctrine, hostile as it might be to the independence of sovereigns, was often supported by the sovereigns themselves. Thus, when Richard I. was held in captivity by the emperor, his mother Eleanor repeatedly solicited the pontiff to procure his liberation by the exercise of that authority which he possessed over all temporal princes. Rym. i. 72—78. Thus also John himself had, as we have seen, invoked the aid of the same authority to recover Normandy from the king of France. At first, indeed, the popes contented themselves with spiritual censures: but in an age, when all notions of justice were modelled after the feudal jurisprudence, it was soon admitted that princes by their disobedience became traitors to God; that as traitors they ought to forfeit their kingdoms, the fees which they held of God: and that to pronounce such sentence belonged to the pontiff, the vicegerent of Christ upon earth. By these means the servant of the servants of God became the sovereign of the sovereigns, and assumed the right of judging them in his court, and of transferring their crowns as he thought proper.' Vol. II. p. 291.

The reign of John is, like all the rest of the work, ably written, and, though we miss those minor details and comments which throw so much light on the spirit of the times, and demonstrate the injurious influence of sacerdotal ascendancy, we are, on the whole, satisfied with the narrative of the leading events of that remarkable period. On the memorable transaction which transferred the allegiance of the monarch, and the supreme lordship of his realm, to the Roman pontiff, Mr. Lingard's remarks are at once temperate and forcible.

'This transaction has heaped eternal infamy on the memory of John. Every epithet of reproach has been expended by writers and readers against the pusillanimity of a prince, who could lay the crown

of England at the foot of a foreign priest, and receive it from him again as his vassal and tributary. It was certainly a disgraceful act: but there are some considerations, which, if they do not remove, will at least extenuate his offence. Though the principles of morality are unchangeable, our ideas of honour and infamy perpetually vary with the ever-varying state of society. To judge impartially of our ancestors, we are not to measure their actions by the standard of our present manners and notions: we should transport ourselves back to the age in which they lived, and take into the account their political institutions, their principles of legislation and government. 1°. Now in the thirteenth century there was nothing so very degrading in the state of vassalage. It was the condition of most of the princes of christendom. Even the king of Scotland was the vassal of the king of England, and the king of England the vassal of the king of France; the one for the lands, whatever they were, which he held of the English crown, the other for his transmarine territories: and both were frequently seen in public on their knees, swearing fealty, and doing homage to their feudal superiors. John himself had been present when William the Lion subjected the Scottish crown to the English: and it was but nine years since Peter, the king of Arragon, had voluntarily become the vassal of Innocent, and bound himself and his successors to the yearly payment of two hundred and fifty ounces of gold to the holy see. Nor were similar precedents wanting in his own family. He knew that his father Henry, powerful as he was, had become the feudatory of pope Alexander III.: and that his brother, the lion-hearted Richard, had resigned his crown to the emperor of Germany, and consented to hold it of him by the payment of a yearly rent. John in his distress followed these examples: and the result seems to have recommended his conduct to the imitation of the Scottish patriots, who, to defeat the claim of his grandson Edward I., acknowledged the pope for their superior lord, and maintained that Scotland had been always a fief of the church of Rome. 2°. Neither is the blame of this transaction to be confined to the king. It must be shared with him by the great council of the barons, his constitutional advisers, the very men, who two years later extorted from him the grant of their liberties in the plain of Runnymead. The cession was made by their advice and with their consent: whence it may be fairly presumed that there was something in the existing circumstances, which would justify the king, as far as he was concerned. Some writers have imagined that their motive was the hope of averting the threatened invasion, or if it could not be averted, of at least preserving John on the throne, by the intervention of the same power, which had so nearly precipitated him from it. There is, however, some reason to believe that it originated with the barons themselves, who eagerly grasped at the opportunity of humbling the pride, and checking the violence, of the despot, whom they abhorred. From that moment they began to demand the grant of their liberties. On his refusal they appealed by their agents to the gratitude of the pope, now become his and their sovereign, reminding him that "it was not "to the good-will of the king, but to them, and the compulsion which "they had employed, that he was indebted for his superiority over

"the English crown." Innocent, however, supported the cause of his vassal: and the barons transferred their allegiance to Louis, the son of Philip. The men, who could thus place on the throne the heir of the French monarchy, were certainly capable of subjecting it to the feudal control of the head of their church.'

We have had occasion, in a former article, to advert to Mr. Lingard's contemptuous estimate of the labours and character of Wycliffe.* He has evidently found it difficult on this subject to preserve his usual moderation, and to keep his language from running into invective. In representing him as entering, in the year 1360, into a 'fierce but ridiculous controversy' with the mendicant friars, he studiously conceals the fact, that he was advocating the cause of the University against men who were constantly infringing on its statutes and privileges, and inveigling the younger students from the college to the convent. He omits also to state, that, as a reward for his zealous services, he was, in the following year, elevated to the dignity of master of Baliol college, and in 1372, to the divinity chair. 'In 1365,' says Mr. Lingard, '*by means with which we are not acquainted*, Wycliffe superseded Woodhall the warden (of Canterbury hall), and, *with the approbation of the Founder*, expelled both him and his monks.' How the expulsion of his predecessor could be the act of Wycliffe, Mr. L. does not explain; but he himself supplies the contradiction to his statement. Woodhall was ejected by Archbishop Islip, the founder of the college, and the monks were replaced by seculars, in consequence of the intrigues and broils by which they were defeating the design of the new foundation. After mentioning the preferment subsequently conferred on Wycliffe, Mr. Lingard adds:

'To accept of preferment was so contrary to the principles which he afterwards taught, that it is probable he had not yet determined to embrace *the profession of a reformer*. He continued however to lecture at Oxford, and imitated in his manner of life the austerity of the men whom he so warmly opposed. He always went barefoot, and was clad in a gown of the coarsest russet. By degrees he diverted his invectives from the friars to the whole body of the clergy. The pope, the bishops, the rectors and curates, smarted successively under the lash.....To disseminate his principles, *he collected a body of fanatics*, whom he distinguished by the name of "poor priests." They were clad like himself, professed their determination never to accept of any benefice, and undertook to exercise the calling of itinerant preachers without the license, and even in opposition to the authority of the bishops. The coarseness of Wycliffe's invectives, and the refractory conduct of his poor priests, soon became subjects of astonish-

* Eclectic Review for June, p. 515.

ment and complaint.....The insurrection of the commons had created a strong prejudice against the new doctrines of the Reformer. *It may be that the itinerant preachers* had improved on the lessons of their master: but, if we can believe the assertions of the contemporary writers, we must admit that their sermons were calculated to awaken in the people a spirit of discontent and insubordination, and to bring into contempt the established authorities, both in church and state.....Exemplary in his morals, he (Wycliffe) declaimed against vice with the freedom and severity of an apostle; but, *whether it were policy or prejudice*, he directed his bitterest invectives almost exclusively against the clergy. In proof of his doctrines he appealed to the scriptures, and thus made his disciples judges between him and the bishops. Several versions of the sacred writings were even then extant: but they were confined to libraries, or only in the hands of persons who aspired to superior sanctity. Wycliffe made a new translation, multiplied the copies with the aid of transcribers, and by his poor priests recommended it to the perusal of their hearers. In their hands it became an engine of wonderful power. *Men were flattered by the appeal to their private judgement*: the new doctrines insensibly acquired partisans and protectors in the higher classes, who alone were acquainted with the use of letters; a spirit of inquiry was generated; and the seeds were sown of that religious revolution which, in little more than a century, astonished and convulsed the nations of Europe.' Vol. III. pp. 160—198.

To unravel this adroitly woven tissue of truth and falsehood, it would be requisite to go more into detail than our limits will admit of. The insinuation that Wycliffe was instrumental in fomenting the rebellion under Wat Tyler, is worthy of the 'contemporary writers' to whom Mr. Lingard refers, that is to say, the monkish historians, the virulent enemies of the Reformer; but an enlightened and impartial writer would not have permitted himself to set down the calumny as an historical fact on so suspicious testimony. 'That this is an aspersion invented 'by the enemies of the Protestant cause to sully its doctrines,' remarks one of Wycliffe's biographers, 'is abundantly apparent 'from hence; that, had it been in the power of the persecutors 'of the Reformer, to have fastened upon him so foul an accusation, they most cheerfully would have availed themselves of 'this sure method of crushing the man whose ruin they were 'contriving by any and every means they could devise. Among 'those who most suffered either in their property or persons, 'were many who were notorious for their adherence to the 'cause of reformation; a circumstance which would not have 'happened, had the disciples of Wycliffe favoured these turbulent proceedings.'* Mr. Lingard's statement of Wycliffe's

* Life of Wicklif, by the Rev. H. H. Baber, prefixed to the edition of his New Testament. 4to. London. 1810. p. xxii. In this

doctrines is not less disingenuous; and his attempt to deprive him of the honour of having been the first to undertake a complete English version of the Old and New Testament, is contemptible. What does he mean by 'several versions of the 'sacred writings' previously extant? If he intends by this expression, parts of the Scriptures, his language is calculated to mislead. If he means to assert that there were extant several versions of the whole Bible in the vernacular tongue, it behoved him to adduce further evidence than the bare assertion contained in Sir Thomas More's Dialogues. How pitiable the prejudices which could lead a Christian clergyman in the nineteenth century, to employ the language of depreciation and displacency in reference to the vast and noble undertaking by which the Holy Scriptures were first rendered accessible to our countrymen in their own language! But, for Wycliffe's labours, Mr. Lingard has no gratitude, and for his genius and elevation of mind, no admiration.

We should launch at once on the stormy and havenless sea of controversy, were we to touch on all the points on which what we should term the increase of knowledge, but what Mr. Lingard would stigmatise as the factious spirit of innovation, would set us at variance. For this we have little leisure and less inclination. We shall, therefore, passing by the intervening periods, proceed to offer a few general remarks on that portion of his fourth volume which comprises the history of Henry the Eighth.

That eventful reign offers to the keen and skilful controvertist, an extensive range of debateable ground. There is scarcely a single position that may not be contested; and the peculiar circumstances connected with the various transactions, may easily be so managed as to give them the hue and aspect best suited to the views and feelings of the commentator. It comprehends that critical period when light and darkness were conflicting with each other; when the partisans of Romish domination, who had long acted on the principle that ignorance is weakness, were beginning to feel the pressure of the antagonist maxim

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volume will be found an ample summary of Wycliffe's opinions, which the reader of Mr. Lingard's work will do well to compare with that gentleman's account of them. See also Turner's History of England. Vol. II. pp. 421—426. Three years after Wycliffe's death, the Bishop of Worcester complained, that 'the eternally 'damned sons of Anti-Christ, *the disciples and followers of Mahomet*, 'conspiring with a diabolical instigation, confederating together 'under the name of Lollards, and actuated by insanity, were pouring 'out their poison from their honeyed mouth, under the veil of great 'sanctity.'

that 'knowledge is power.' But light and knowledge were as yet imperfect; and the defenders of the 'old learning' had this immense advantage over the free inquirer, that they were tenacious of their opinions, and expert in the defence of them, while the advocates of reformation were venturing on an old, indeed, and sure, but disused and half-obliterated path. Brightness was upon it, but broken and obscured by partial haze. Safety was within it; but menaces and penalties visited it with transient peril. Joy and triumph were in its horizon, but difficulty and suffering continually urged to deviation from the 'right onward' course. We ought not then to be surprised that some of the Reformers were feeble and hesitating in conduct, that they occasionally shewed symptoms of uncertainty in opinion, or that they degraded themselves, and betrayed their cause, by retaining a portion of that spirit of persecution which they had imbibed from their 'nursing mother,' the Church of Rome. It is not, however, from a Catholic historian, that we shall expect justice to their memory: their virtues are not inserted in his brief, and his antipathies will not dispose him to extenuate their faults. We will not accuse Mr. Lingard of 'setting down aught in 'malice.' Of Henry himself, he could not speak too harshly. Wolsey is somewhat spared. Gardiner is introduced in a manner which renders us curious to know the shape under which he will take his station in the reign of Mary. But Cranmer appears in a very unfavourable light. The weakness and vacillation of his mind offered 'verge enough' for the deterioration of his character; and the opportunity is not neglected. Nor has Mr. Lingard done justice to the character of Thomas Cromwell, from whom he endeavours, without any authority, to take away the merit of defending Wolsey in his disgrace. We have no interest whatever in vindicating these men. The cause of the Reformation cannot be identified with Henry, for, though he rejected the tyranny of Rome, he retained the absurdities of Popery; nor with Cranmer, for he was deficient in firmness and decision; nor with Cromwell, since, although he gave an enlightened protection to the professors of the new doctrines, it is yet doubtful how far he had himself embraced them. But Cranmer had many and conspicuous virtues; Cromwell was an eminent statesman; and while by no means anxious that their failures should be concealed, we cannot acquiesce in the suppression of their better qualities. The narrative of Edward's brief and agitated reign is closed with the following observations.

'Within the realm poverty and discontent generally prevailed. The extension of enclosures, and the new practice of letting lands at rack-rents, had driven from their homes numerous families, whose fathers had occupied the same farms for several generations: and the increasing multitudes of the poor began to resort to the more popu-

lous towns in search of that relief, which had been formerly distributed at the gates of the monasteries. Nor were the national morals improved, if we may judge from the portraits drawn by the most eminent of the reformed preachers. They assert that the sufferings of the indigent were viewed with indifference by the hard-heartedness of the rich; that in the pursuit of gain the most barefaced frauds were avowed and justified; that robbers and murderers escaped punishment by the partiality of juries, and the corruption of judges; that church-livings were given to laymen, or converted to the use of the patrons; that marriages were repeatedly dissolved by private authority; and that the haunts of prostitution were multiplied beyond measure. How far credit should be given to such representations, may, perhaps, be doubtful. Declamations from the pulpit are not the best historical evidence. Much in them must be attributed to the exaggeration of zeal: much to the affectation of eloquence. Still, when these deductions have been made, when the invectives of Knox and Lever, of Gilpin and Latimer, have been reduced by the standard of reason and experience, enough will remain to justify the conclusion, that the change of religious polity, by removing many of the former restraints upon vice, and enervating the authority of the spiritual courts, had given a bolder front to licentiousness, and opened a wider scope to the indulgence of criminal passion.' Vol. IV. pp. 476, 477.

There is consummate art in this passage. It is impossible not to admire the skilful selection of phrase in the words 'religious polity,' and the dexterous ascription of 'affectation' to the vehement and simple-minded men whose 'invectives' are made the basis of the annihilating 'conclusion.' The relaxation of morals consequent upon the dissentions and commotions of this, and of the preceding reign; the criminal excesses both of Catholics and Protestants; the dissolute principles and habits introduced and maintained by the licentiousness and depravity of Henry; all these are mingled in one portentous mass, and identified with the progress of the Reformation. To give a formal answer to insinuations like these, would be to rescue them from the effects of the only sensation they are ever likely to excite. It may not, however, be amiss to cite a counter statement, collected 'from the ecclesiastical historians of King 'Henry the Eighth.' 'The cathedral clergy,' say they, 'throughout the kingdom, gave themselves up wholly to idleness and pleasure. They decried and discouraged learning; 'affirming that learning would bring in heresy, and all manner 'of mischief. The rural and parochial clergy were universally 'ignorant, slothful, idle, superstitious, proud, and vicious; 'preaching most of them but once a quarter on a Sunday, and 'but few more than once a month, on the first Sunday thereof. 'In Lent, sermons were more frequent; but these usually turned 'on abstinence, confession, the necessity of corporal severities,

'pilgrimages, the enriching of the shrines, and the relics of the saints, and the great use of indulgences. . . . . No pains were taken to inform the people of the hatefulness of vice, and the excellency of holiness, or of the wonderful love of Christ, by which men might be engaged to acknowledge and obey him. It was far otherwise on the holy or saints' days, for on them the monks and the friars and others would ascend the pulpit, and, instead of sermons, harangue the people on the merits, supererogations, and miracles of the saints, to the memory of whom the day was dedicated; magnifying their relics, which they always took care to inform them, were laid up in such and such places.'* After this, we need only inquire in what 'the former restraints upon vice' consisted. Were they to be found in the sale of indulgences, and of masses for the dead?

It is with sincere regret that we have yielded to the necessity of making the preceding strictures; and we now feel ourselves at liberty to express our high admiration of Mr. Lingard's labours in all that regards the secular history of our country. He has invariably imposed upon himself the severe but indispensable exertion of investigating and comparing primary authorities; and this trying task he seems to have executed with peculiar facility, distinctness, and decision. He never conveys the idea of a writer sitting with his fingers between the leaves of an old folio, referring from one page to another, and entangled among the imperfectly combined fragments on which he is vainly striving to fix his bewildered attention: he wields, on the contrary, his clumsy and often discordant materials with admirable mastery; he discriminates with clearness and precision; and his summings-up are condensed and comprehensive. In this particular, we should be disposed to say that, with the exception of Mr. Sharon Turner, he excels all other modern writers of English history; since even Dr. Henry was too frequently satisfied with secondary information. The scattered and confused transactions of the Anglo-Saxon period, under the skilful management of Mr. Lingard, find an easy and interesting arrangement; and the administrations of the Bretwaldas, the vicissitudes of the different kingdoms, and the reigns of the West Saxon rulers, as well as of the monarchs of England, are vigorously sketched.

Notwithstanding the defects of the Saxon institutions, they contained the elements of freedom and impartial justice; and to their origination may be traced many of the most highly valued of our present privileges. In all the various departments of judicial administration, care was taken to introduce the most effective agents. The highest political tribunal of the realm is thus described by Mr. Lingard.

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* *Life of Latimer.*

'All the occasional courts, respectable as they might be, were eclipsed by the superior splendour and dignity of the "mickle synoths or witenagemots," the great meetings, or the assemblies of the counsellors, which were regularly convened at the festivals of Christmas, Easter, and Whitsuntide, and occasionally, at other times, as difficult circumstances or sudden exigencies might require. Who were the constituent members of this supreme tribunal, has long been a subject of debate: and the dissertations, to which it has given rise, have only contributed to involve it in greater obscurity. It has been pretended that not only the military tenants had a right to be present, but that the ceorls also attended by their representatives, the borsholders of the tythings. The latter part of the assertion has been made without a shadow of evidence, and the former is built on very fallacious grounds. It is indeed probable that in the infancy of the Anglo-Saxon states most of the military retainers may have attended the public councils: yet even the deliberations were confined to the chieftains; and nothing remained for the vassals but to applaud the determination of their lords. But in later times, when the several principalities were united into one monarchy, the recurrence of these assemblies, thrice in every year within the short space of six months, would have been an insupportable burthen to the lesser proprietors: and there is reason to suspect that the greater attended only when it was required by the importance of events, or by the vicinity of the court. The principal members seem to have been the spiritual and temporal thanes, who held immediately of the crown, and who could command the services of military vassals. It was necessary that the King should obtain the assent of these to all legislative enactments: because without their acquiescence and support it was impossible to carry them into execution. To many charters we have the signatures of the witan. They seldom exceed thirty in number; they never amount to sixty. They include the names of the king and his sons, of a few bishops and abbots, of nearly an equal number of ealdormen and thanes, and occasionally of the queen, and of one or two abbesses. Others, the fideles or vassals, who had accompanied their lords, are mentioned as looking on and applauding: but there exists no proof whatever, that they enjoyed any share in the deliberations.

'The legal powers of this assembly have never been accurately ascertained: probably they were never fully defined. To them, on the vacancy of the crown, belonged the choice of the next sovereign: and we find them exercising this claim not only at the decease of each king, but even during the absence of Ethelred in Normandy. They compelled him to enter into a solemn compact with the nation, before they would acknowledge him a second time for king of England. In ordinary cases their deliberations were held in the presence of the sovereign: and as individually they were his vassals, as they had sworn "to love what he loved, and shun what he shunned," there can be little doubt that they generally acquiesced in his wishes. In the preambles to the Saxon laws the king sometimes assumes a lofty strain. He decrees: the witan give their advice. He denominates himself the sovereign: they are *his* bishops, *his* ealdormen, *his* thanes. But on other occasions this style of royalty disappears, and the legis-

lative enactments are attributed to the witan in conjunction with the king. The same diversity appears in treaties concluded with foreign powers. Some bear only the name of the king: in others the witan are introduced as sanctioning the instrument by their concurrence. In their judicial capacity they compromised or decided civil controversies among themselves; summoned before them state criminals of great power and connexions; and usually pronounced the sentence of forfeiture and outlawry against those whom they found guilty. As legislators they undertook to provide for the defence of the realm, the prevention and punishment of crimes, and the due administration of justice.' Vol. I. pp. 359—361.

The continual agitations of the realm do not seem to have prevented the active prosecution of commerce, or the acquisition of wealth. When William the Norman revisited his continental dominions after the Conquest, the English whom he carried in his train, attracted much attention: the females were admired as models of beauty, and their attire excited astonishment by its magnificence. The Conqueror took with him such a profusion of wealth as to give a somewhat extravagant idea of the prosperity of his new possessions; and one of his historians tells his readers, that England 'far surpasses the Gauls in abundance of 'the precious metals. If in fertility it may be termed the 'granary of Ceres, in riches it should be called the treasury of 'Arabia. The English women excel in the use of the needle, 'and in the embroidery of gold; the men in every species of 'elegant workmanship. Moreover, the best artists of Ger-'many reside among them; and merchants import into the island 'the most valuable specimens of foreign manufacture.' On other authorities it is stated, that embroidery and goldsmiths' work of superior execution were known to the continental nations by the term '*opera Anglica.*'

The immediate effects of the Norman invasion were, no doubt, injurious, and the reigns of the first English monarchs of the race of Rollo were stern and oppressive. The military devastations of William, and the extreme fondness of the new line of sovereigns for the chase, transformed many valuable tracts of land into unprofitable wastes, and visited the natives with intolerable privations. It may, perhaps, be difficult to determine whether the country derived improvement, or not, from the intermixture of the invaders, or from the introduction of new customs, tenures, laws, and tribunals. We are reluctant to engage in a discussion at once so dubious and extensive; though Mr. Lingard has furnished a skilful selection of materials elucidatory of these topics. The first Henry conferred some benefits upon his subjects, and distinguished himself by providing for the due administration of justice; but his personal rapacity, the severity of his temper, and his destructive passion for the chase, inflicted

sufferings not to be compensated by the casual equity of his rule. Henry II. ascended the throne amid the calamities with which the fierce contests and baronial oppressions of the stormy reign of Stephen had visited England. He found that there were still in reserve for him additional perplexities in the encroachments of the clergy, and the turbulence of his sons. We have already adverted to the view taken by Mr. Lingard of the quarrel between Henry and Becket. For no other purpose conceivable by us, than that of prejudicing the reader's mind against the former, and thus preparing him to side with the latter as the victim of craft, violence, and oppression, an unfavourable character of the monarch is introduced, contrary to the usual practice, at the commencement of his reign. It is, however, powerfully, though, we think, not quite fairly drawn.

'Before I proceed with this narrative, I shall lay before the reader a sketch of the king's character, as it has been delineated by writers, who lived in his court, and observed his conduct under the vicissitudes of a long and eventful reign. Between the conqueror and all his male descendants there existed a marked resemblance. The stature of Henry was moderate, his countenance majestic, and his complexion florid: but his person was disfigured by an unseemly protuberance of the abdomen, which he sought to contract by the united aid of exercise and sobriety. Few persons have equalled him in abstemiousness, none perhaps in activity. He was perpetually in motion on foot or on horseback. Every moment, which could be spared from more important concerns, he devoted to hunting: but no fatigue could subdue his restlessness: after the chase he would snatch a hasty repast, and then rising from table, in spite of the murmurs of his attendants, keep them walking or standing till bed-time. During his education in the castle of Gloucester he had acquired a knowledge of letters: and after his accession delighted in the conversation of the learned. Such was the power of his memory, that he is said to have retained whatever he had heard or read, and to have recognised at the first glance every person whom he had previously seen. He was eloquent, affable, facetious; uniting with the dignity of the prince the manners of the gentleman: but under this fascinating outside was concealed a heart, that could descend to the basest artifices, and sport with its own honour and veracity. No one would believe his assertions or trust his promises: yet he justified this habit of duplicity by the maxim, that it is better to repent of words than of facts, to be guilty of falsehood than to fail in a favourite pursuit. Though possessed of ample dominions, and desirous of extending them, he never obtained the laurels of a conqueror. His ambition was checked by his caution. Even in the full tide of prosperity he would stop to calculate the chances against him, and frequently plunged himself into real, to avoid imaginary, evils. Hence the characteristic feature of his policy was delay: a hasty decision could not be recalled: but he persuaded himself that procrastination would allow him to improve every advantage which accident might offer. In his own dominions he wished,

says a contemporary, to concentrate all power within his own person. He was jealous of every species of authority which did not emanate from himself, and which was not subservient to his will. His pride delighted in confounding the most haughty of his nobles, and depressing the most powerful families. He abridged their rights, divided their possessions, and married their heiresses to men of inferior rank. He was careful that his favourites should owe every thing to himself, and gloried in the parade of their power and opulence, because they were of his own creation. But if he was a bountiful master, he was a most vindictive enemy. His temper could not brook contradiction. Whoever hesitated to obey his will, or presumed to thwart his desires, was marked out for his victim, and was pursued with the most unrelenting vengeance. His passion was the raving of a madman, the fury of a savage beast. In its paroxysms his eyes were spotted with blood, his countenance seemed of flame, his tongue poured a torrent of abuse and imprecation, and his hands were employed to inflict vengeance on whatever came within his reach. On one occasion Humet, a favourite minister, had ventured to offer a plea in justification of the king of Scots. Henry's anger was instantly kindled. He called Humet a traitor, threw down his cap, ungirt his sword, tore off his clothes, pulled the silk coverlet from his couch, and unable to do more mischief, sate down, and gnawed the straw on the floor. Hence the reader will perceive that pride and passion, caution and duplicity, formed the distinguishing traits in his character.' Vol. II. pp. 41, 2, 3.

A Catholic clergyman is not exactly the individual to whom we should look for a fair statement of all the transactions which distinguish the reign of John as one of the most remarkable in the English annals; but, making some necessary deductions on the score of professional partialities, Mr. Lingard has acquitted himself satisfactorily. The Great Charter is justly represented, not as a new code, nor as an assertion of the fundamental principles of legislation, but as a correction of palpable abuses in the old system, and as the assertion of certain rights and immunities in opposition to the encroachments of the crown. On the occasion of the celebrated parliament summoned by Simon de Montfort, earl of Leicester, in 1265, Mr. L. enters into the much agitated question respecting the composition, in prior times, of the great council of the realm. It is beyond controversy, that, in this instance, representatives were present from the counties, cities, and boroughs; but it has been contended, that it was a novel measure, adopted by Leicester for the furtherance of his own views. Mr. Lingard embraces this opinion. He holds that under the earlier Norman kings, the parliaments were constituted strictly on feudal principles, being, on ordinary occasions, 'composed of the bishops and abbots, the earls and 'barons, the ministers and judges, and the neighbouring knights, 'holding of the crown;' but, under more pressing circumstances, the monarch was accustomed to summon the whole body

of his tenants in chief. There are, however, instances from which it appears that knights of the shire, originally chosen for a subordinate purpose, had become a usual part of the great national council. The introduction of the representatives of cities and boroughs, seems to have been first adopted by Leicester. Mr. Lingard has searched in vain for evidence that the practice had obtained previously to the date of de Montfort's parliament.

On these points we have followed Mr. Lingard, if not always with entire conviction, yet, with much interest and gratification. But we no sooner encounter him on professional grounds than we find him at fault. The history of the illustrious Robert Grosseteste, bishop of Lincoln, is stated to have had 'considerable interest' attached to it 'by the *partiality* of modern 'writers.' Our readers will, by this time, have fully understood the meaning of this inuendo. It is, as usual, accompanied with a narrative in which all that is *piquant* is left out: the statements of Matthew Paris, who affirms that the bishop treated the Pope with very little ceremony, are dismissed as 'ridiculous tales;' and the accredited story, that 'he died under a sentence of sus-'pension or excommunication,' is rejected as derived from 'ques-'tionable authority.' Of all such glaring evasions we can only say, *valeant quantum.* It might, however, have been expedient to be less peremptory in accusations of 'partiality.'

The reign of Edward I. was distinguished by important concessions from the crown to the people. The improvements effected by that monarch in the administration of justice, have procured for him the title of the English Justinian. For these salutary reforms, however, it is well remarked by Mr. Lingard, that the nation was indebted not merely to his wisdom, but also to his necessities; 'since they were always granted at the re-'quest of his parliament, and purchased with the vote of a valu-'able aid.' But the firmness of the leading nobles, supported by the spirit of the people, wrested from the haughty and reluctant king, a still more valuable privilege, in 'the sole right of 'raising the supplies.' We have been especially gratified with the narrative of this period of history. That portion of it which relates to Edward's Scottish expedition, is written with much discrimination; and the following strictures, though they may wear the appearance of severity, yet, commend themselves to approbation by their acuteness and independence of popular opinion.

'It may perhaps offend the national partiality of some among my readers, but I greatly suspect that Wallace owes his celebrity as much to his execution as to his exploits. Of all the Scottish chieftains, who deserved and experienced the enmity of Edward, he alone perished on the gallows: and on this account his fate called forth and

monopolized the sympathy of his countrymen. They revered him as the martyr of their independence: his blood animated them to vengeance: the huts and glens, the forests and mountains, which he had frequented, became consecrated in their eyes: and as the remembrance of his real exploits gradually faded, the aid of fiction was employed to embellish and eternize the character of the hero. If we may believe the Scottish writers, who lived a century or two after his death, he was gigantic in stature, powerful of limb, and patient of fatigue beyond his contemporaries. He knew no passion but the love of his country. His soul was superior to bribery or insult: and at the call of liberty he was as ready to serve in the ranks as to assume the command of the army. His courage possessed a talismanic power, which led his followers to attempt and execute the most hazardous enterprises: and which on Stainmoor compelled the king and army of England to flee from his presence, even before they entered upon action. Under so brave and accomplished a leader Scotland might have been saved; she was lost through the jealousy of her nobles, who chose to crouch in chains to a foreign despot, rather than owe their deliverance to a man of inferior family. Of all this a part may perhaps be true; but it is derived from no credible authority: much must be false, because it is contradicted by real history. The only great battles in which Wallace is *known* to have fought, are those of Stirling and Falkirk. In the first he was victorious: but he must share the glory of the action with sir Andrew Moray, who was certainly his equal in command, perhaps his superior. In the second he was defeated: and the defeat was the most disastrous, that Scotland ever experienced. In the history of the next five years his name is scarcely mentioned: but when the rest of his countrymen made their peace with Edward, his interests were not forgotten. "It was agreed that he also might put "himself on the pleasure and grace of the king, if he thought pro-"per." He did not think proper: and to this, whether it were patriotism or obstinacy, we are to attribute his punishment. He had been summoned to a parliament of both nations held at St. Andrew's; and, as he neglected to appear, sentence of outlawry according to the Scottish law was pronounced against him, with Andrew Fraser, and the garrison of Stirling. Edward was not, however, as he has been represented, a blood-thirsty tyrant. He still accepted the submission of Fraser: and contented himself with the captivity of Oliphant and his companions, though they had uselessly involved him in so much danger, and entailed on him so much expense. If the fate of Wallace was different from that of all others, it proves that there was something peculiar in his case, which rendered him less deserving of mercy.' Vol. II. pp. 446—449.

The impolitic, but brilliant schemes and exertions for the attainment of continental dominion, which distinguished the reigns of our Edwards and our Henrys, find an adequate narrator in Mr. Lingard. His descriptions of battles are admirably written: they never trench on the marvellous; authorities are carefully examined; and the results are judiciously given in language at once simple and nervous. The romantic victories of Crecy,

Poitiers, and Azincourt were gained, as far as human means were concerned, by the ability of the commanders, the unrivalled skill of the English archers, and by that peculiar quality of British troops, unyielding firmness. The memory of the Edwards is clouded by instances of sternness and infliction of suffering, from which the name of Harry of Azincourt is happily free; but the victor of Crecy has been charged with actions or purposes, of which he seems to have been guiltless. It is clear from the explanations of the present Historian, that the severity of his menaces against the self-devoted citizens of Calais, was the effect of policy, and by no means that of ferocious intention.

The wars of the Roses, with all their dependent complications of political and military detail, are unravelled by Mr. Lingard with his accustomed skill. The common report of the sanguinary and hypocritical character of Richard III. is adopted on grounds which cannot easily be shaken. Attempts, in some degree plausible, have been made, to exonerate that monarch from the infamy entailed on his name by the various murders which he is affirmed to have perpetrated; and the statements and reasonings of his different defenders have been imbodied and enforced by Mr. Laing in an appendix to the last volume of Henry's History of England. His investigation is executed with considerable ability, though there is some little confusedness in the composition. But his statements and inferences are completely demolished by Mr. Lingard, who places the question on its original foundation, ascribes to Richard the atrocious misdeeds which gained him the throne, and, on a balance of evidence, decides that Perkin Warbeck was an impostor.

We do not think it necessary to enter on the examination of the reigns of Henry VIII. and his Son, which occupy the fourth volume, having already intimated our opinion, and not being aware that a fuller exposition of our sentiments would answer any important purpose. But, as we have been particularly interested by Mr. L.'s account of the battle of Flodden-field, we shall extract it as an illustration of his distinctness in descriptions of this kind. Hume's statements, we feel no disposition to discuss. He is at once so partial and so negligent an historian, that, whether we might deem him right or wrong, we should seldom think it expedient either to refer to him, or to vindicate our dissent from him, as an authority in questions of fact. But Dr. Henry, as both a diligent inquirer, and a man of pure intentions, deserves a more respectful treatment, and we have fixed on this passage of history as affording us an opportunity of remarking, that he appears to us sometimes to indulge an innocent and unconscious partiality towards his own countrymen. In the narrative of this fierce and well-contested engagement, for instance, he adopts all the romantic tales of the Scot-

tish historians, and introduces every possible circumstance that may seem to extenuate the decided superiority of the Scotch in numbers and position. His account of the manœuvres of that bloody day, is confused and spiritless, and a perfect contrast to the clear and animated sketch below. The Scotch fought with their characteristic courage; but they were completely outgeneralled. The admirable movement suggested by Lord Howard, had rendered utterly useless the strong position and defensive measures of James.

'Having demolished the castle of Ford, James led his army across the river, and encamped on the hill of Flodden, the last of the Cheviot mountains, which border on the vale of Tweed. The same day the earl mustered his forces at Bolton in Glendale. They amounted to twenty-six thousand men, chiefly the tenants of the gentlemen in the northern counties, and the men of the borders, accustomed to Scottish warfare. From Bolton he advanced to Wooler haugh, within five miles of the enemy; whence he viewed with surprise the strength of their position, accessible only in one quarter, and that fortified with batteries of cannon. Rouge Croix was again despatched to James, with a message, requiring him to descend into the large plain of Milfield between the two armies, and to engage his adversary on equal terms. The king laconically replied, that he should wait for the English according to their promise, till Friday at noon. Surrey was disconcerted by this answer. To decline the battle, was to break his word; to fight the Scots in their present position, was to invite defeat. He was rescued from the dilemma by the bold counsel of his son, who advised him to march towards Scotland, and then return and assail the enemy on the rear. The next morning the army formed in two grand divisions, each of which was subdivided into a battle and two wings. The first, distinguished by the name of the vanguard, obeyed the lord admiral: the second, called the rearguard, was led by the earl himself. In this manner the English crossed the Till, and keeping out of the reach of the cannon, advanced along the right bank till the evening. At sunrise the following day, they again crossed the river by the bridge of Twissel, and returning by the left bank approached the Scottish camp. James now discovered the object of this movement, which at first had appeared unaccountable. He ordered his men to set fire to their huts, and hastened to take possession of an eminence more to the north, called the hill of Brankston. The smoke which rose from the flames, was rolled by the wind into the valley; and entirely intercepted the view of the two armies, and their respective movements; so that when it cleared up, the admiral found himself at the foot of the hill, and beheld the enemy on its summit at the distance of a quarter of a mile, disposed in five large masses, some of which had taken the form of squares, and others that of wedges. Alarmed at their appearance and numbers, he halted his division; it was soon joined on its left by the rearguard under his father; and both advanced forward in one line. At the same time the Scots began to descend the hill, in perfect order and profound silence. As the battle, from the disposition of the Scottish forces, consisted of

several distinct actions, it will be most convenient for the reader, to travel along the English line, and notice the result of each conflict in succession. The right wing of the vanguard under sir Edmund Howard, could not support the overwhelming charge of a large body of spearmen, commanded by the lord Home. The English were broken; and their commander was unhorsed: but while he lay on the ground expecting to be taken or slain, the battle was unexpectedly restored by the timely arrival of the bastard Heron, with a numerous band of outlaws. The fugitives rallied at his call; and a doubtful contest was fiercely maintained, till the lord Dacre, with the reserve of fifteen hundred horse, charged the spearmen, and put them to a precipitate flight. The next was the lord admiral with the major part of the vanguard, opposed to the earls of Huntly, Errol, and Crawford, who commanded a dense mass of seven thousand Scots. In this part of the field the contest was obstinate and bloody. At length Errol and Crawford fell; and their followers, discouraged by the death of the leaders, began to waver, fell into confusion, and shortly afterwards fled in every direction. Surrey with the rearguard was attacked by the king himself. James fought on foot, surrounded by some thousands of chosen warriors, who were cased in armour, and on that account less exposed to the destructive aim of the English archers. Animated by the presence and the example of their monarch, they advanced steadily, and fought with a resolution, which, if it did not win, at least deserved, victory. Though Surrey made every effort, he could not arrest their progress: they had penetrated within a few yards of the royal standard: and James, ignorant of the event in other parts of the field, flattered himself with the prospect of victory. But in the mean while, sir Edward Stanley, who commanded the left wing, had defeated the earls of Argyle and Lennox. As they descended the hill, the Scottish ranks were disordered by the murderous discharges of the archers: the moment they came into close combat, the confusion was completed by a sudden charge in flank from three companies of men at arms. The Scots began to retreat: Stanley chased them over the summit of the hill, and, wheeling to the right, led his followers against the rear of the mass commanded by James in person. In a few minutes that gallant monarch was slain by an unknown hand, and fell about a spear's length from the feet of Surrey. The battle had begun between four and five in the afternoon, and was decided in something more than an hour. The pursuit continued about four miles; but the approach of night and the want of cavalry favoured the escape of the fugitives. In the official account published by the lord admiral, the Scots are said to have amounted to eighty thousand men; a multitude from which we may fairly deduct perhaps one half, as mere followers of the camp, collected more for the purpose of plunder than battle. Ten thousand were slain: among whom were the king of Scots, his illegitimate son, the archbishop of St. Andrews, two other bishops, two abbots, twelve earls, thirteen barons, five eldest sons of barons, and fifty gentlemen of distinction. Six thousand horses were taken, with the park of artillery, amounting to seventeen pieces.'

We have derived so much gratification and instruction from

these volumes, that we deeply regret our inability to give them unqualified praise; nor can we now dismiss them without pointing out, in brief, their distinguishing excellencies. Mr. Lingard has, as we have already intimated, been equally assiduous in recurring to original authorities, and skilful in the management and application of them. He has at all times displayed in his investigations and arguments, a vigorous and discriminating mind; his views are comprehensive; his style, though not highly finished, is at once firm and flowing: on the whole, we should be extremely sorry to have his work placed beyond the reach of our frequent reference.

Art. II. *A Narrative of Travels in Northern Africa, in the Years* 1818, 1819, *and* 20. Accompanied by Geographical Notices of Soudan, and of the Course of the Niger. With a Chart and Plates. By Captain G. F. Lyon, R.N. Companion of the late Mr. Ritchie. 4to. Price £3. 3s. London. 1821.

AS Captain Lyon begins the detail of his expedition without apprising his readers of the circumstances under which it was undertaken, we shall, from other sources of information, communicate one or two particulars, in order that the object of his mission may be better understood. Our readers are aware of the various attempts which have recently been made, all of them unsuccessfully,* to explore the river Niger, and to reach the celebrated city of Tombuctoo. To the melancholy results of Mungo Park's enterprise, and of Major Peddie's unfortunate journey, may be added the premature fate of Horneman, who was supposed to have died at Tombuctoo; but more recent accounts render it probable that he terminated his labours, after considerable sufferings, at Bakkanee, the chief town of Noofy on the banks of the Nil. Nothing, however, can be definitively pronounced as to the place of his decease; for his papers, having been forwarded to our Consul at Tripoli by the Bey of Fezzan, were unluckily lost on their road. These failures, it might have been imagined, were not likely to render succeeding travellers enamoured of an expedition which has hitherto been productive of little more than peril and privation. But it is not easy to check the ardent and inquisitive spirit of British research. Indeed, the enthusiasm to ascertain the situation of Tombuctoo, and to develop the sources of the Niger, which has so long prevailed, would seem to be wholly disproportionate to the object, and to resemble the zeal of the Portuguese in the fifteenth cen-

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* We refer more particularly to the persons employed by the African Association, to prosecute researches into the interior of Africa; Mr. Ledyard, Major Houghton, Mr. Nicholls, and Roentgen, a German.

tury, to discover the abode of the imaginary personage known by the uncouth appellation of Prester John. This enthusiasm is far from having as yet subsided. Neither difficulties nor dangers have deterred successive adventurers from pursuing an enterprise in which their predecessors have not merely failed, but perished.

Tripoli has been considered as the most eligible point from which to commence the prosecution of discoveries in the Northern interior of Africa. But it was only three or four years ago, that our relations with that state encouraged any hope of its aid or co-operation. In consequence of the amicable dispositions evinced by the present Pasha towards the British Government, it was resolved to appoint a person of enterprise and talent to the office of Vice-Consul at Mourzouk, the capital of Fezzan, which is a dependency of Tripoli. Between Fezzan and Tombuctoo, a constant intercourse was understood to exist. Under these circumstances, apparently so auspicious for the investigation of Africa, the late Mr. Ritchie, then private secretary to Sir Charles Stuart, our ambassador at Paris, a young man of scientific attainments and of great zeal for research, and who had been originally educated to medicine, was selected for the undertaking. Captain Marryat of the navy volunteered at the same time his services to accompany him; and under the authority of the British Government, they were to make every effort to embark on the Niger for the purpose of exploring that mysterious river. Circumstances having occurred to induce that officer to relinquish his intention of joining the mission, the Author of the present volume offered to supply Captain Marryat's place, which offer being accepted, the Lords of the Admiralty, to whom application for that purpose had been made, accorded him the necessary leave of absence. Captain Lyon joined Mr. Ritchie at Tripoli in November 1818, having already made some proficiency in the Arabic language, which was of course considerably increased during his sojourn in that city.

At this time, Mohammed el Mukni, the Sultan of Fezzan, the person whom Horneman had formerly accompanied to that kingdom, was at Tripoli, and high in favour with the Pasha. He had raised himself to his Sultanship by the murder of his predecessor and his two sons, and was perpetually occupied in warring upon his defenceless neighbours, from whom he annually carried off from four to five thousand slaves. From one of these slave-hunts, he had just returned to Tripoli with a numerous body of captives and of camels. With this potentate, Mr. Ritchie had agreed to proceed to Mourzouk, the capital of Fezzan, and with so powerful an alliance, our Travellers felt the most perfect confidence as to their safety; a confidence which was augmented by the flattering reception they met with

from the Pasha, who also promised Mr. Ritchie protection and assistance to the mission. By his advice, they equipped themselves in the Moorish costume, as worn by the better class of Tripolines; but, besides the dress of Moslems, it became necessary for them, as far as practicable, to adopt their manners. Mr. Ritchie assumed, therefore, the name of Yussuf el Ritchie; Belford, a shipwright who had entered into their service, that of Ali; and Captain Lyon called himself Said ben abd Allah. A fighi (clerk of the mosque) instructed them in reading and the ceremonies used in prayer. They received also minute cautions from an old minister of the Pasha, who had travelled in Europe, and was on that account competent to point out what was most likely to betray them.

Captain Lyon does not affect to give a description of Tripoli.* He was not, however, unobservant of many singular usages which prevail there. Of a curious class of devotees called Marāboots, he draws a disgusting picture.

'They are a set of people much spoken of in all Moslem countries; but it strikes me that the requisites necessary to constitute one of these saints, are not every where the same. The Marāboots of Tripoli are of two classes; idiots, who are allowed to say and do whatever they please; and men possessed of all their senses, who, by juggling and performing many bold and disgusting tricks, establish to themselves the exclusive right of being the greatest rogues and nuisances to be met with. They assemble every Friday afternoon in the mosques, where they eat snakes, scorpions, &c. affecting to be inspired, and committing the greatest extravagances. On, or rather before the beginning of their annual festival, which lasts three days, the great Marāboot is supposed to inspire those who are to appear in the processions, and who, according to their abilities, are more or less mad and furious. The natural fools are always ready for the exhibition; and it is amusing to observe their looks of astonishment, at being on that day, more than any other, brought into notice. During the time the Marāboots are allowed to parade the streets, no Christians or Jews can with any safety make their appearance, as they would instantly be torn to pieces.

'As I was in the dress of the country, and very anxious to witness the whole of the ceremonies, I ventured to go out with our Dragoman, and to make my way to the mosque from which the procession was to set out. I felt that my situation was a very dangerous one; but being resolved on the attempt, I dashed in with the crowd, and succeeded in getting near the Saints, who, with dis-

* The best delineation of that city, will be found in the very lively and interesting "Narrative of a Ten Years' Residence at Tripoli," written by the sister-in-law of Mr. Tully, the British Consul. See Eclectic Review. N.S. Vol. viii. p. 430. A description will be found also in the Travels of Ali Bey, published in 1816.

shevelled hair, were rapidly turning round, and working themselves into a most alarming state of phrenzy. Had I been discovered, my life would have been in jeopardy. But I was able to keep my countenance, and to pass unnoticed; and when the performers were sufficiently inspired, I sallied out with them, and followed them through the streets. One had a large nail run through his face from one cheek to the other; and all had bitten their tongues in so violent a manner as to cause blood and saliva to flow copiously. They were half naked, at intervals uttering short groans and howls; and, as they they proceeded, threw their heads backwards and forwards with a quick motion which caused the blood to rise in their faces, and their eyes to project frightfully from their sockets. One or two, who were the most furious, and who continually attempted to run at the crowd, were held by a man on each side, by means of a rope or handkerchief tied round the middle. I observed that whenever the Marāboots passed the house of a Christian, they affected to be ungovernable, and endeavoured to get near it, pretending they made the discoveries by smelling out Unbelievers. * * * *

'As the power of taking up serpents and scorpions is supposed to contitute a Marāboot, I determined to acquire that honourable title. Mr. Ritchie bought some snakes, which we all learnt to handle, and I soon found out a way of taking up the largest scorpions without any danger of being stung. However, in order to observe the ceremonies practised by these pretended saints, I sent for one of the most celebrated, under the pretence of wishing myself to become a Marāboot. This fellow went through numberless prayers and forms, spitting in my hands, taking rose-water in his mouth, reciting occasional prayers, and then washing his own mouth and hands in rose-water. After bottling up the rose-water, he told me to drink it on a day specified, and that then I should be as highly gifted as himself.'

pp. 9—12.

The bazaars are open every day. Slaves and goods are carried about by auctioneers, who keep up a continual din, each calling the price last bidden. The Jews are shut up every evening at sun-set in a quarter of the town which they exclusively inhabit; and they are not allowed to wear turbans of any other colour than blue. But, though much persecuted, they engross all the trade and places of profit. There are a few schools, where reading and writing are taught: a knowledge of letters is, however, by no means a necessary passport to places of trust or emolument. Sidi Hamet, the present Minister, can neither read nor write. Our Travellers one day put the Koran into his hands the wrong side uppermost, begging him to repeat a few lines of it. He evaded the request by pretending for some minutes to read to himself; then, assuming a sagacious look, he returned it with the observation that it was very well written. The women stain their eyelids with antimony, which gives an enlarged appearance to the eye. They use also rouge in great quantities. Mamlukes (gene-

rally renegades, or purchased slaves from Georgia or Circassia,) enjoy the highest offices: the Pasha's daughters are not permitted to marry any others. Some crimes are considered as capital by law; but many are rendered capital at the whim of the Pasha. The first Jew who happens to be at hand, has the honour of hangman thrust upon him, and he is obliged to go through with the duty. Theft is punished by amputation of the foot and the hand: the operation is performed with a razor. The bastonado is the general punishment for minor offences. Some culprits, who are able to bribe or influence the persons employed to see the sentence executed, contrive to stuff their trowsers so as to escape without much suffering. This punishment is inflicted on all ranks at the discretion of the Pasha; and should his own sons or his minister displease him, they would become liable to it, nor would they consider themselves at all degraded by it.

A considerable time elapsed before Mukni was ready for his departure. In the mean while, Mr. Ritchie made every requisite preparation for the journey on the Desert; but the allowance made by Goverment, had been already expended in merchandize, instruments, &c.; which merchandize, having been selected in England, was, unfortunately, totally unfit for the interior. Their funds were still further reduced by Mr. Ritchie's having advanced three hundred dollars for some articles he had procured for Mukni, which were to be repaid him on his arrival in Fezzan. Such was the inauspicious commencement of the mission! At last, on the 22d of March, 1819, the kafflé (caravan) proceeded on their march. Captain Lyon divides his tour into two parts; the first comprising the expedition from Tripoli to Mourzouk, where Mr. Ritchie died; the second, the Author's researches in the kingdom of Fezzan, previous to his final return to Tripoli;—a measure which was forced upon him by the danger of proceeding without pecuniary supplies. And thus ended the last attempt that has yet been communicated to us, to penetrate into the interior of Africa.

Mr. Ritchie's debilitating illness has deprived us of that portion of information which, had longer life been permitted to him, he would probably have imbodied in his journal. Relying on a retentive memory, he unfortunately delayed it till it was too late. Captain Lyon is no clerk, and he aspires to nothing more than a simple and unvarnished statement of his adventures. His tour exhibits, however, a picture of the Desert, which is new and interesting; and the narrative claims to be exempted from too fastidious a criticism.

In the kafflé, which consisted of about two hundred men, and an equal number of camels, were several parties of liberated blacks, all joyful, Captain Lyon says, at the idea of returning to their

native land, though many had to walk, together with their young children, a distance of two thousand miles. The following extract from our Author's journal, will convey some idea of the delights of travelling in the Desert.

'April 10. At 7 A. M. cleared the pass, and proceeded to a small wadey,* where, in spite of a strong Siroc, we succeeded in pitching our tents. The sand, however, flew about in such quantities, that we were unable to prepare any food, and we could not even see thirty yards from us. Mukni took shelter with us, and advised us to strip to our shirts as the best way of withstanding the sand-showers. In the afternoon, the wind having a little subsided, we cleared away the heaps of sand, which had collected round our goods. We found on examining some of our stores, that a large organ had been burst by the heat and excessive dryness of the wind.' p. 70.

Sockna stands on an immense plain of gravel. It is a walled town, containing about two thousand inhabitants. In its vicinity there grow, in a belt of sand, two hundred thousand date trees, which pay a duty, and, owing to their excellence, fetch a high price at Tripoli. All animals in the town are fed on them. The water here is brackish or bitter. The quantity of flies is so immense, that flappers of wild bulls' hair, tied to a short stick, are an indispensable appendage. The people of Sockna speak a language called Estaña, which our Author conjectures to be the original Breber tongue. Here Mukni was employed from day-light till dark in receiving tribute.

'As soon as the business of one party is settled, a prayer is recited, and room is left for another set, who, though they dispute about paying, are never suffered by Mukni to carry their point; for, just as they appear most confident of having their complaints attended to, some one of Mukni's men cries out "The Fattha!" (or first chapter of the Koran,) every one joining in that prayer. This is the signal for the poor creatures to retire, and they are then obliged to consider their claims as settled.' p. 74.

A journey across the Desert, it may be easily imagined, is not very fertile in incident beyond the ordinary difficulties and privations of want of water and provisions. These our Travellers experienced in every shape. At length they entered the palm-groves and gardens of Mourzouk, in the suit of Mukni, who was anxious that his new Mamlukes should be 'as fine as 'his own people' on entering the capital of his dominions.

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* Wadey is a valley through which the rains form a temporary stream. But in Fezzan, where rain is almost unknown, they are merely smooth dells, not producing a single plant.

They had been thirty-nine days from Tripoli, and the road, with the exception of Sockna and its vicinity, had been a dreary desert, having but few wells, and those of salt water. Nothing could have been more fortunate, than their travelling with the Sultan; for, otherwise, their difficulties must, the Author says, have been insuperable.

'At noon, if we could find a tree, we stopped under it; if not, we sat under the shadow of our horses. The Sultan was grand victualler, and generally produced a bag of bread or dates. Each one then had a portion enough only to break his fast; and after eating and drinking a few mouthfuls of water, stretched himself out, and slept until the camels came up. These rests were very refreshing to the men and the horses: but the loaded camels never made any stop; neither did the poor Negroes, who, with their wives and their little children, plodded on the whole day over a burning soil, often for sixteen hours, and sometimes for twenty, whenever want of water made a forced march necessary. One of our party, a poor old man totally blind, arrived safe at Mourzouk from Tripoli. He had walked all the way, led by his wife, and was kept alive by the hope of once more hearing the voices of his countrymen. Our tents were pitched, when the ground was sufficiently soft to admit the pegs, and our bales and chests were so placed as to form a shelter for those who had no tents. The little resistance afforded by intervening objects to the winds of the desert, renders them very powerful. The camels are turned out to feed in the thin and scattered bushes; the horses are hobbled, watered from the skins, and then fed. Camels' dung is a substitute for wood, as it burns like peat, and forms a glowing fire. Cussecussou or Bazeen, is then prepared. The Sultanesses are no contemptible cooks, and they made excellent suppers for their master. In an evening we managed to make a little coffee, of which Mukni partook; and as soon as he went, his people generally succeeded him, wishing to taste some. A cup of it in the morning taken fasting, we found prevented thirst. If we abstained from eating in the early part of the day, we never required water; on the contrary, if any quantity of water is taken on an empty stomach, the person who takes it, suffers great thirst the rest of the day. A wet cloth applied to the back of the neck, relieves the fulness of the head, after being for many hours exposed to the sun.—Horses should not be brought near the wells till it is their turn to drink; if they are kept in sight of the water without being able to reach it, they become furious, and greedily devour the mud. Water is carried on camels, usually in about six gerbas or water skins, three on each side, one slung above the other. Horses occasion much trouble in a caravan. The quantity of water necessary to be taken for them, is averaged at one camel load for every horse.' pp. 91—3.

Being now settled at Mourzouk, Mukni behaved at first with apparent kindness to his guests. He repaid Mr. Ritchie the three hundred dollars, and having received from that gentleman several costly presents, made him many flattering promises of

future aid. Mourzouk is a walled town, containing about tw thousand, five hundred inhabitants, who are blacks. The wal and houses are built of clay, formed into balls dried in the su and cemented with mud; for, in those parts of the desert, ther are no stones. The streets are narrow; the houses mean an of only one story. The castle where the Sultan resides, is a immense irregular mud building, eighty feet high. The rooms occupied by the Sultan, are the best, the walls being smooth and white-washed. His couch is spread on the ground, and his visiters squat down at a respectful distance. The most an part of the castle is occupied by the women, who are called *Kibere*, or great ladies; the title given to the mothers of the Sultan's children. There are about fifty young women, all black and comely, guarded by five eunuchs, who keep up their authority by beating them.

Our Travellers were now miserably poor, and were compelled to practise the most rigid economy, living entirely on corn, and never tasting meat, unless fortunate enough to kill a pigeon. A severe dysentery confined Captain Lyon to his bed for twenty-two days; and when he became convalescent, Mr. Ritchie fell sick, and was seized with delirium. Their money was by this time exhausted; and the Sultan's treacherous plans to distress them, were so well arranged, that no one would buy their goods.

'For six weeks,' says Captain Lyon, 'we were without animal food, subsisting on a scanty portion of corn and dates. Our horses were mere skeletons, added to which, Belford became totally deaf, and so emaciated as to be unable to walk. My situation now created the most gloomy apprehensions. If my two companions died, I had no money to bury them, or to support myself. My naturally sanguine mind, however, and above all, my firm reliance on that Power which had so mercifully protected me hitherto, prevented me from from desponding. On Belford's beginning a little to rally, we took turns in nursing our poor companion; and having no servant, we performed for Mr. Ritchie the most menial offices. Rhamadan was announced on the 23rd of June. The strictest fast was immediately commenced before day about 3 o'clock, till sun-set at 7 P.M. During this time, no one eats or drinks, smokes or chews tobacco; and even smelling perfumes is considered as wicked, as is swallowing the saliva. The heat was excessive. (128 Farenheit.)' p. 102.

At this time they were obliged to eat by stealth; for their friend Mukni had surrounded them with spies. In this wretched state of destitution, they met with a remarkable instance of disinterested friendship, in the conduct of Mohammed el Lizari and his brother Yussuf, who shewed them the greatest kindness. It is most cheering to find among mankind in their most degraded and abject condition, virtuous exceptions, which, like the oases of the deserts, refresh and gladden the mind, wearied with the monotonous and sombre picture of the baseness and

malignity exhibited among tribes so ferocious as those of this wretched country.

Captain Lyon describes a singular tribe of Arabs, of whom he frequently saw detached parties at Mourzouk. They are a fine race, comparatively white. They cover the face half way up the bridge of the nose; the covering, which extends below the chin to the breast, is of glazed cotton, of different colours: the beard is kept close clipped so as not to interfere with it. They wear turbans of different colours, and their common dress is a large loose shirt (the sleeves of the same size as the body) of blue cotton. From the left wrist hangs a dagger, the hilt towards the hand. No Tuarick (this is the name of the tribe) is ever seen without this appendage, together with a light spear of iron inlaid with brass, about six feet in length, which is thrown to a great distance. They are extremely superstitious, and are for the most part covered with charms against disorders and accidents. Their language is the Breber tongue, which is spoken in the mountains behind Tunis, and in some parts of Morocco. They have a strong aversion to washing their clothes, and indeed to ablutions in general. Our Travellers made many attempts to discover the reason of this singular hydrophobia; but to all their inquiries, this was the answer: 'God never intended that man should 'injure his health: water having been given to man to drink, it 'does not agree with the skin of a Tuarick, who always falls 'sick after much washing.' They inhabit the immense track of country called in maps Sahara or the Great Desert, wandering like other Arab tribes, and subsisting by plunder. They have a singular manner of riding on swift, tall dromedaries, called Maberry, (the Heire of travellers,) with which they perform extraordinary journeys. The saddle, which is very small, is placed on the withers, and confined by a band under the belly; and the seat is maintained by balancing the body against the neck of the animal. They manage them with great dexterity. The full speed of the Maherry is a long trot at about nine miles an hour.

During our Author's residence at Mourzouk, there arrived a large *kaffle* of Arabs, Tripolines, and Tibboo, (a tribe inhabiting the country on the road to Bornou,) bringing about fourteen hundred slaves of both sexes, and of all ages. We have been accustomed to the most horrible recitals in connexion with the Slave Trade; but the following passage can scarcely be read without shuddering.

'We rode out to meet the great kaffle, and it was indeed a piteous spectacle! These poor oppressed beings were, many of them, so exhausted as scarcely to be able to walk; their legs and feet were swelled, forming a contrast with their emaciated bodies. They were all borne down with loads of fire-wood; and even poor little children,

worn to skeletons by fatigue and hardships, were obliged to bear their burdens, while their inhuman masters rode on camels enforcing from time to time obedience with the whip. Care was taken, however, that the hair of the females should be nicely arranged, and their bodies well oiled, whilst the males were closely shaven, to give them a good appearance on entering the town. Their dresses were simply cotton wrappers, sometimes so torn as scarcely to cover them. We observed one girl whose back and shoulders were burned in little sprigs, so as to resemble figured silk, which had a very pretty appearance. All the traders speak of slaves as farmers do of cattle. Those recently bought from the interior were fattening, that they might be able to go on to Tripoli, or Egypt. Thus a distance of sixteen or eighteen hundred miles is to be traversed, from the time these poor creatures are taken from their homes; whilst, in the Interior, they may probably pass through the hands of eight or ten masters. These devoted victims, fondly hoping that each new purchaser may be the last, find perhaps that they have again to commence a journey equally long and dreary with the one they have just finished, under a burning sun, with new companions, but with the same miseries.'

pp. 120—122.

Although Captain Lyon had no opportunity of following the course of the Niger, he was indefatigable in collecting notices of the interior from the Bornou traders. Bornou is a large tract, seven hundred miles south of Fezzan. The river Tsad, called also Nil, runs through it. Its course is from S. W. to N. E.; it is of great breadth, and is crossed by heavy goods carried on rafts, floated on large gourds, which are impelled forward by swimmers. It is a curious circumstance, that this river is said by the natives to run into Egypt. Tombuctoo is about ninety days journey from Mourzouk. Adams's artless narrative had already dissipated the delusion which so long prevailed respecting the supposed magnificence of this negro capital. Our Author, who was diligent in his inquiries on the subject, thinks that the exaggerated accounts of its extent, may be thus accounted for. Many of the kafflés from Morocco, Tripoli, and the Negro states along the banks of the Nil, remain there during the rainy season, or until their goods are sold. During their stay, they build huts or houses to shelter themselves and their merchandise; and thus ten or fifteen thousand inhabitants may, in the course of a month, be added to the population. From this circumstance, strangers who happen to be there at the time, are impressed with an exaggerated notion of the extent and importance of the place. Captain Lyon adds nothing to the information supplied by Adams relative to this far famed city.

Our Author could obtain no information respecting Park; but all the persons of whom he made inquiry, agreed that it was quite impossible that he should have been confined in the town

without its being known to the merchants, who are in the habits of entering every house, not excepting that of the Sultan himself; a complete refutation of the notion so currently entertained, that he was, or is still confined in Tombuctoo by the Sultan, on account of his medical skill.

The Nil, Goulbi, Joliba, or Kattagum, runs from Tombuctoo through Melli in the Fellata; thence to Fendah S.W. of Kashna; it again makes its appearance at Kattagum, four days W.S.W. of Bornou, where it runs into a lake called the Tsaad. Thus far the Nil may be traced; the accounts of its further course are merely conjectural; yet, it is universally agreed, that by one of these routes, it joins the great Nile of Egypt to the southward of Dongola.

Although our Travellers did not find themselves quite at ease within the power of Mukni, whose treachery they had repeatedly occasion to suspect, yet, they had ample opportunities of observing and studying the inhabitants. Their visits to the date-groves for the purpose of shooting pigeons, gave them an insight into their modes of cultivating grain and other esculent products. Their wells are like large ponds, twenty or thirty feet deep; the bottom is a stratum of clay; the water salt, and offensive. They raise it by means of sheers, made of date-trees lashed together, and placed slopingly over the centre of the pit. To this, one or two asses are attached by a light harness, and run down a steep bank; while the men employed assist them in drawing, quickening their pace by pricking their flanks with their small reaping hooks. The water runs into small channels round the garden, while the women and children distribute it with scoops. The dates, when quite dry, are buried in square holes, and then covered with sand.

The condition of the party became every day more destitute. They hired a woman to cook for them, but she was required to come only once a day to bake their bread, or to make their cuss-cussou, for they were obliged to observe a spare diet; and it often happened that when she had stolen half their allowance, they were obliged to fast till the morrow. Belford having constructed a kind of rude carriage for Mukni, which gave him great satisfaction, was rewarded by this munificent potentate with seven dollars, which he brought home in triumph; and these 'really saved us,' says our Author, 'when on the very brink of 'starvation.'

'We economized our small allowance of money,' (they had sold a horse for seventy dollars) 'which, however, soon became much reduced. Belford and I fell ill about this time. I remained a week in bed, and rose from it a skeleton. One night, as we were all sitting pensively on our mat, our friend Yusuf came in, and, addressing Mr. Ritchie, said, "Yusuf, you and Said are my friends. Mukni has

hopes you may die, that he may secure to himself all your goods. You seem very melancholy; do you want money?" Mr. Ritchie having acknowledged that he did, Yusuf rejoined, "I have none myself, but I will borrow some for you." Twenty dollars being the sum named, our kind friend went out, and soon returned with thirty! an act of generosity so unlooked for, that we were incapable of thanking him as he deserved. This seasonable supply enabled us to buy good food, and to make some amends for our late privations. Our health soon improved, and Mr. Ritchie's spirits began to brighten.'

pp. 187—188.

But this interval of hope was soon darkened. On the 8th of November, poor Ritchie was again attacked by illness, and on the 20th, expired. During this time, he was for the most part delirious, but when he had in some degree recovered his intellect, he expressed an anxiety to know whether letters had arrived announcing a further allowance of money from Government. When Captain Lyon replied in the negative, he made no comment. The two survivors of this ill-fated party were themselves reduced to the lowest state of debility.

'We looked at each other,' says our Author, 'expecting that in a few days it might be our own lot to follow our lamented companion. And now, for the first time, my hopes did indeed fail me. Belford formed a rough coffin out of our chests. The washers of the dead came to perform their melancholy office, and the body was washed, perfumed, and rubbed with camphor. During our preparations for the burial, the women, who are always hired to cry at the death of persons whose friends can pay them, proposed to perform that disgusting office, but I shut the door unceremoniously against them. When I was out of sight, some persons stole several of our effects, and I now clearly saw that we were considered as lawful plunder. We hired men to carry the coffin, but one of them left us, and poor Belford was obliged to supply his place. The clay below the sand was white, which was considered as a good omen. We had, during the night, unknown to the people, read our Protestant burial service over the body. At the grave, we recited the first chapter of the Koran, which the most serious Christian would consider as a beautiful and applicable prayer on such an occasion. We returned home to pass a day of misery. It was necessary to distribute food to the poor, who surrounded our door in great numbers, and we had no money to purchase a morsel for ourselves. Yusuf's kindness having again supplied our wants, I succeeded in getting the house a little more quiet. Within an hour after the funeral, a courier arrived from Tripoli, announcing that a further allowance of £1000 had been made by our Government for the expenses of the mission. Had this letter reached us a little sooner, many of our distresses would have been prevented.'

pp. 191—193.

Various reasons induced Captain Lyon to return to England. The sum of £1000 was by no means adequate to carry him through Africa; as it would have been requisite to purchase

goods wholly different from those provided for the mission. As a precaution to future travellers, he states, that their adoption of the Moorish costume, was by no means a sufficient security in traversing the Interior. Whenever they had occasion to remain at any station, it was requisite to conform also to the duties of the Mohammedan religion, without which precaution, their lives would have been in perpetual jeopardy. But, by attending the established prayers, and repeating, 'There is no god but God, 'Mohammed is his prophet,' they obviated all suspicions. Into the morality of this compliance, it is not our present business to institute an inquiry.

Previously to his return to Tripoli, Captain Lyon determined to ascertain the situation of other parts of Fezzan South and East of Mourzouk. We cannot follow him through these researches, but must content ourselves with saying that he has, at great personal risk and with untried perseverance, succeeded in making a more accurate survey of this part of the Desert, than our most sanguine expectations had led us to anticipate. His notices of the rude tribes that inhabit those regions, and of the animal and vegetable products of the country, have been collected with the most indefatigable industry. Upon the whole, we have read the volume with considerable interest, an interest tinged with melancholy. Captain Lyon has given a plain, unadorned narrative, which, in our opinion, owes no inconsiderable portion of its charm to the absence of all rhetorical affectation.

Art. III. *Narrative of the Chinese Embassy to the Khan of the Tourgouth Tartars in the Years* 1712, 13, 14, *and* 15. By the Chinese Ambassador, and published by the Emperor's authority at Pekin. Translated from the Chinese, and accompanied by an Appendix of Miscellanous Translations. By Sir George Thomas Staunton, Bart. LL.D. and F.R.S. 8vo. pp. 330. Price 18s. London. 1821.

TO Sir George Staunton belongs the praise of having been the first translator of a Chinese book into the English language. The Ta Tsing Leu Lee, or the penal code of China, which he translated in 1810, is a monument of the astonishing proficiency which unwearied diligence enabled him to make in that mysterious and difficult tongue. It cannot, however, be denied, that he had peculiar and exclusive advantages for its attainment. He was scarcely eleven years of age, when he accompanied Lord Macartney's embassy to Pekin. During his residence in China, he received regular instructions in the language, and, on his return to England, brought with him one or two natives. With this elementary knowledge, he went out again to China as a supercargo, where he resided several years; during which time, he assiduously kept alive and augmented his acquaintance with the written character.

Our readers may not probably have formed a due estimate of the difficulties of such an acquisition. Reasoning from ordinary analogies, they may be disposed to consider it merely as a triumph over the common perplexities of a foreign tongue, which a certain degree of attention and familiarity with those by whom it is spoken, will gradually achieve. But it is impossible to entertain any accurate notions upon the subject, without adverting to the written language of China as a distinct and anomalous contrivance for the communication of ideas. Rules and systems of construction constituting what, in speaking of languages in general, is called Grammar, have nothing to do with Chinese writings. The elementary characters are representations of sensible objects, and signs or symbols of abstract ideas. Their number is two hundred and fourteen; and the combinations of which these marks are rendered susceptible, constitute the whole of a written language which paints discourse, and speaks to the eyes. In all other languages, from the Sanskrit to the Celtic, from East to West, however diversified, this feature uniformly prevails,—that ideas are expressed by a combination of letters, representing, not the ideas themselves, but certain particular sounds, which signify conventionally those ideas. But the Chinese language almost realizes the visionary scheme of Bishop Wilkins, and is in the strictest sense, a philosophical language. It immediately conveys, according to an established classification, the ideas as they present themselves to the understanding, and is wholly independent of the sounds employed to give them utterance.

Enough has probably been said to prove, that, beautiful and ingenious as the theory of this singular language may be,—the practice of it must be highly inconvenient and perplexing. A more familiar idea may perhaps be conveyed of the extent to which the combination of two hundred and fourteen characters may be carried, by simply remarking, that the dictionary of China, so called κατ' ἐξοχην, consists of more than two hundred volumes, and contains, it is said, sixty thousand characters. Add to this, that these characters, besides being pictures and representations of perceptible, or arbitrary symbols of intellectual objects, are perpetually used in a sense which has no immediate relation to the pictures or signs which they represent separately, but, by inference or analogy, convey in their combination a totally distinct image. Thus, the compound of primitive characters representing *mouth* and *maternal bosom*, implies *affectionate admonition*. A *man*, in combination with a *field*, signifies a village. It is the frequent use of this allegorical or metaphorical figure, that, while it constitutes the wealth and copiousness of the language, renders it so inaccessible and difficult. Nor are the significations of the character to be at-

tained by mere reading, however systematic or laborious. A competent knowledge of Chinese history, customs, and modes of thinking, is absolutely necessary to their development. A single instance will elucidate our meaning. The character signifying *marriage*, is a combination of the signs representing *wine* and *seal*; because the wine presented in that solemnity by the bridegroom to the bride, is the *seal* of the union. Here, then, lies the principal impediment to the attainment of this singular dialect. The Jesuits were generally unsuccessful in their attempts to decypher the metaphorical parts of it; and although the zeal and industry of later students have achieved miracles in the cultivation of Chinese literature, a diction guarded as it were by so impenetrable a frontier, will, we apprehend, long continue to be among the rarest accomplishments of human diligence. Let us not, however, despair. Much* has already been effected towards this important object, by those who are engaged in the pious labours of converting the heathen from his idolatry; before the victorious progress of whose benevolence, every difficulty seems successively to disappear, that has heretofore retarded the comprehension of the divided families of the earth in the golden bonds of Christian union.

Having said so much of the language, we have but little space to speak of the literature of this extraordinary people. It may be sufficient to convey some notion of its extent and variety, to remark, that the Chinese press is nearly as prolific as our own. The Chinese are a nation of readers; and their books are inconceivably cheap. Novels, apologues, jest-books, *imperial exhortations*, songs, romances, dramas, books of cookery, almanacks, and court-calendars, are in constant circulation from the capital to the provinces. To those who cherish a liberal curiosity concerning that remote nation, their literature, in which they draw their own portrait, and sketch their own habits and institutions, is an invaluable source of information. For we are completely shut out from personal communication with them, being merely permitted to peep at them from Canton or Macao, as through a grate, where our factory converse with them through the medium of a mercantile jargon, intelligible only to themselves and the individuals with whom they traffic. It is obvious, therefore, that we are under no trifling obligations to those who, having mastered their language, bring us into a literary and intellectual contact with a country almost hermetically sealed to all external intercourse.

The work translated by Sir George Staunton, to which we have already referred, presented us with a view of the *internal* policy of that vast empire. The volume now before us, to

* Particularly by Dr. Morrison, and Dr. Milne.

which it is time to advert, illustrates their *foréign* relations. But, from the peculiar genius of their policy towards other countries, it may be readily conceived that these are topics which cannot occupy a very conspicuous portion of their literature. It is indeed, as Sir George Staunton in his well-written preface remarks,

'but rarely, and with apparent reluctance, that the Chinese writers notice foreign nations at all. Thus, relations of voyages and travels, and narratives of foreign negotiations and expeditions, which are so numerous, and read with so much avidity amongst us in Europe, are of very rare occurrence among the productions of the Chinese press; even of those limited communications and transactions with the neighbouring powers, which of necessity occasionally take place, but few traces appear in their published writings; and the following work is, in fact, the only one which the Translator has met with of any authority, which strictly belongs to this class, and at the same time enters at some length into the detail of the principles of their external policy.' Preface, p. 9.

The Chinese title of the book is Yee-yeu-loo, "A description "of foreign countries." The notices, however, of the countries travelled through, are short and incidental. The more immediate object of the work is, the proceedings of the embassy upon which the Author was sent by the Emperor of China, in 1712, to the Khan of the Tourgouths; a tribe of Calmuc Tartars, who then inhabited the banks of the Volga. The ambassador details, in the form of a journal, the incidents that occurred on his journey, and his intercourse with the Russians and Tourgooths; and then concludes with a recapitulation of the whole, in the form of an official report of the Embassy. The mission was a remarkable event in Chinese history. It was a laborious and hazardous expedition to the distance of several thousand miles, through the territories of powerful and often hostile states. The descriptions of the scenery, inhabitants, and remarkable objects which were seen on the route, are, it is true, meagre and unsatisfactory; but the form of narration assumed by the Writer, has led him to describe the manners and notions of his own countrymen, as frequently as those of the people whom he visits; a peculiarity which, to an English reader, gives it considerable value, as China is naturally an object of greater curiosity than Tartary or Siberia. It derives a further interest from its supplying a link in the chain of history, in respect to those pastoral nations of Asia, which was previously wanting; since it is only from this Narrative, that the connexion between China and the Tourgouth tribes of Tartars, receives the slightest degree of elucidation.

It also throws some light on the Russian intercourse with China. In 1719, it is well known, that some untoward circum-

stances having interrupted the trade of Russia with the Chinese, an embassy was sent from Moscow, of which the public have long been in possession of a curious and interesting account by Mr. Bell, an English gentleman who was attached to it. It is a satisfactory proof of the authenticity of the Chinese work, that there is a general coincidence in the narratives of these nearly contemporary expeditions.

The result of Lord Amherst's mission is well known. But it seems from the uniform language of the Chinese Author, that the extravagant pretensions and haughty demands of the imperial court, which had in 1806 defeated the embassy from Russia, and afterwards frustrated that of the British government, were by no means the fruit of a modern policy, but of ancient and established precedent, and acted upon by the most enlightened princes of the Tartar dynasty.

We could not suppress a smile, when Tu-li-shin, the Ambassador and Author of the narrative, after enumerating the official situations which he held previous to his envoyship, proceeds to state with the utmost simplicity, the fact of his having been dismissed from a former employment for want of capacity; an acknowledgement of rare occurence in the official departments of other countries.

'It happened that on the day when I was first presented at court, one of the assistant secretaryships to the council of state became vacant; and the counsellors having been pleased to recommend me as worthy of some mark of royal favour, the emperor was graciously moved to promote me in consequence to that superior office. I was, about the same time, appointed to inquire into certain deficient branches of revenue, and after accomplishing that service, but previous to my return to the capital, I was nominated to the superintendance and custody of the sacred animals belonging to the department of the Supreme Court of Rites and Ceremonies. *Unfortunately, my talents and capacity proved inadequate to the proper discharge of my several duties,* and I failed to answer the expectations which the emperor in his gracious goodness had formed, when he thus selected and employed me. Having been in consequence censured and dismissed altogether from the public service, I retired to Lin-loo, where I remained seven years and upwards, devoting my time to the cultivation of my farm and to the service of my parents. At length, when it was determined to send a special mission to the kingdom of the Tourgouths, I humbly addressed a petition to his majesty to be employed on the occasion, that I might thus have an opportunity of evincing the grateful sense I entertained of the many favours I had at former times enjoyed under the imperial government. Being admitted in consequence to the imperial presence, I had again the happiness of witnessing the benign influence and excellent effects of the sacred virtues of his majesty, by whom I was restored to my former

rank and offices, and further honoured with his majesty's special commands to proceed on the service I had solicited.' pp. 6—9.

The instructions (in the form of an imperial edict) given by the Chinese monarch to his Ambassador, are very remarkable. We select the following passage.

'On the occasion of your interview with Cha-han-khan,' (Peter I., Czar of Russia,) 'if you are asked what we principally esteem and reverence in China, you may thus reply. In our empire fidelity, filial piety, charity, justice, and sincerity are esteemed above all things. We revere and abide by them. They are the principles upon which we administer the empire as well as govern ourselves. In the face of danger we firmly adhere to them. There have been many who have even fearlessly encountered death rather than abandon them. We likewise make many sacrifices and oblations; we pray for good things, and we deprecate evil things; but if we did not act honestly, if we were not faithful, pious, charitable, just, and sincere, of what avail would be our prayers and our sacrifices! In our empire, therefore, there is no hostile array of shields and spears, no severe punishments.'

pp. 13—14.

The above piece of imperial morality may be considered as a species of summary of the Confucian system of faith. But, whatever might have been the purity of Chinese polity in the reigns of the earlier monarchs of the Tartar family, we fear that the government of that immense empire has gradually descended from this moral elevation. The provinces are far from being exempt from intestine war; and the disclaimer of severe inflictions upon offenders, we conceive to be entirely without foundation in the whole annals of China. In no country have the frequency and brutality of corporal punishment more hardened the heart, and diffused a more general indifference to human suffering, than in China. To say nothing of the bamboo, which is perpetually at work, the *kang*, or wooden collar, is a daily punishment; and Mr. Ellis, the secretary to Lord Amherst's mission, describes the punishment of *face-slapping* as peculiarly harsh and degrading. It was inflicted, he tells us, with a short piece of hide; the hair of the culprit was twisted till his eyes almost started from their sockets, and on his cheeks, which were much distended, blows were repeatedly struck: the executioners, he adds, seemed to delight in his sufferings.

But the Embassy yields considerably, in point of interest, to the other contents of the volume, which Sir George Staunton has subjoined in the form of an appendix. It consists of an abstract of part of a Chinese novel, some notices of Chinese plays, an extract from a Chinese herbal, and a collection of documents from the Pekin Gazette. It is worthy of remark, that the Gazette is a most important state-engine in China, and exhibits a restless anxiety to conciliate public opinion upon all questions of

policy; and it is pleasing to observe how much a government, which, in theory, is a pure despotism, is practically mitigated by the influence of that public feeling which controls by a silent but visible operation, the exercise of supreme power even in its sternest and most odious forms. This solicitude to secure the public approbation, is strikingly manifested in an edict relative to the punishment of a disobedient general.

'24th and 25th of the 6th moon of the 5th year of Kia King.' 'August 15th and 16th, 1800.

'IMPERIAL EDICT.

'The power residing with the sovereign is chiefly displayed in the distribution of rewards and punishments. The exercise of this power ought to be guided by exact impartiality and a scrupulous attention to the public good, to the exclusion of private interests. Excessive liberality in rewards, is often productive of ingratitude from those on whom it is conferred. Extreme severity of punishment, is disheartening and oppressive. On the other hand, if merit fails to meet with its reward, a due encouragement to others is withheld. If a guilty action is unpunished, the principles of correction and amendment are abandoned.

'These maxims are ever to be kept in view, but more especially in military matters. For, if a superior officer who violates the laws is suffered to escape, what motive is held out to excite the courage of others? But above all, when we see myriads of our subjects, our children, perishing in consequence, their unburied remains arresting our attention, must not this touch and rend the heart of their father and sovereign? Shall we then protect and skreen an unworthy officer, the author of such great calamities? The imperial line of Ta-taing has not given to the empire a master so incapable. In order to the expiation, therefore, of the crimes whereof the late vice-roy Quay-lung stands convicted, an extraordinary edict, declaratory of our pleasure thereon, shall shortly be made public.'

It seems that this edict was shortly after issued; and it directed that Quay-lung should be permitted to be his own executioner, that is, should be privately strangled in prison.

Another edict extracted from the Pekin Gazette nearly of the same date, elucidates one of the usages of this remarkable people.

'IMPERIAL EDICT.

The marriage of the third Imperial Princess Ho-je, being appointed to take place in the ensuing Spring, the Tribunal of Mathematics is ordered to select a fortunate day for its celebration.'

We lament that our space is too circumscribed to permit us to make an extract from the abstract of the novel. Our readers will probably recollect the little Chinese Romance published by Dr. Percy, which, though appearing under the disadvantage of

a double translation, conveys a juster and more lively picture of the actual state of manners and society in China, than any other work in our language. We could have wished on this account, that Sir George Staunton had not given us reason to believe that he had wholly abandoned his Chinese pursuits; an intimation we receive with great sorrow, because the novels and romances of that country must necessarily lay open views of the national habits and character which, in our present imperfect intercourse with it, must be wholly out of our reach. For, with all the massive tomes which have been written upon China, we are lamentably ignorant of its domestic society: a feature which the catholic missionaries, who had exclusively the means of observing it, have altogether overlooked. It was with the hope of obtaining this interesting species of information, that Mr. Manning passed ten years on the skirts of the empire—with fruitless perseverance, since he was never permitted to advance a mile into the interior.

The dramatic works of the Chinese are less adapted to reward the labour of the translator. They are too local and national to impart pleasure as mere compositions; and if minute beauties of style and diction are lost in the translation, what sources of interest will remain? The dramatic dialogue, drily rendered, and unaided by the action, can present only an imperfect outline of that interesting picture of life and manners, which in their novels and romances is filled up in its minutest details. We could have wished, however, that our Author had conferred upon us a few remarks relative to the present state of their drama, in addition to the slight sketch drawn by Mr. Davis, a young, but distinguished Chinese scholar, published in his introduction to the "Heir in his Old Age," translated by that gentleman *

All travellers, however, seem to agree with regard to the grossness and puerility of their dramatic representations. Mr. Ellis represents them as mere pantomimes, and observes of one of them, that the *part of a stag was the best performed.* But it has never been satisfactorily explained why they should exhibit these miserable puppet-shews before foreign ambassadors, while they have regular comedies and tragedies which are constantly represented at their own entertainments. Mr. Davis conjectures, that their characteristic contempt for foreigners has persuaded them to think that noise and dumb-shew are more suited to the capacities of their visiters, and that more intellectual exhibitions would be thrown away upon them.

It would be affectation, were we not to waive all observations on the critical merits of these translations, or not to acknowledge

* V. Eclectic Review, N.S. Vol. XII. p. 167. *et seq.*

our incompetency to give any opinion at all as to their execution. We have consulted, however, an authority which is decisive with us on all subjects of this nature, and we learn from that source, that the versions are close and accurate, and faithful transcripts of the sense and diction of the original.

Art. IV. *Poems*. By Chauncey Hare Townsend. foolscap 8vo. pp. 360. Price 10*s*. 6*d*. London. 1821.

ON taking up the thin volumes which comprise the whole poetical works of Thomas Gray, and William Collins, and Oliver Goldsmith, it has occurred to us as a curious query, what proportion these extant works of theirs bear to the mass of composition which, at some period or other of their lives, they must have thrown off, and afterwards destroyed. It is incredible, that, in those works, we possess their first, and last, and total efforts: there is no fruit which is not preceded by a prodigality of blossom. What did they do then with all their bad poetry? Did it never see the light? Or was it all written, and forgotten amid the mass of anonymous things, before the name of the poet had been learned by the public? Did they write less, or only print less, than the present generation of poets? Were they less fertile, or only more discreet? Were they less vain, or more ambitious?

To what cause or motive soever it may be referred, it is a fortunate circumstance, as regards the permanence of their fame, that the sterling product of their genius has come down to us so pure from alloy; that its bulk is so small in proportion to its value. Let the long line of British Poets extend and multiply as it may, let Scott and Southey each pour forth his dozen volumes, and Byron, emulous of their voluminousness, follow *passibus equis*, still, there will always be found room, in the most select library, for the works of those humble minor writers of elder date, whose whole pretensions to fame rest on the contents of a mere pamphlet.

As a matter of policy, it might be worth while for some of our rising poets just to ask themselves, what room they can hope permanently to occupy in the library; that is to say, if they are looking any further than to the approbation of some polite circle, or the profits of an edition as their reward. Otherwise, it matters not: they have only to make a handsome volume, and their good poetry will make their name a passport for their bad. And certes, it is far better to be purchased by the rich, and praised by the fair, during the heyday of life, than to be read and remembered when we can be none the better for it. But, upon the supposition of a young poet's being seized with the passion for posthumous honours,—

'To conquer with persuasive arts,
When soldier, all thy laurels wither,
To build an empire over hearts,
When king and empire sink together,—

the best advice we could offer him, would be, that he should write as much as he pleases—*nulla dies sine linea*; but let him take especial care what he prints.

There are some very beautiful things in this volume. Take, for instance, the following exquisitely elegant song.

'Amid the west, the light decaying,
Like joy, looks loveliest ere it dies;
On Ocean's breast the small waves playing,
Catch the last lustre as they rise.

'Scarce the blue curling tide displaces
One pebble, in it's gentle ebb;
Scarce on the smooth sand leaves its traces,
In meshes, fine as fairy's web.

'From many a stone the sea-weed streaming,
Now floats—now falls—the waves between,
It's yellow berries brighter seeming
Amid the wreaths of dusky green.

'This is the hour the lov'd are dearest;
This is the hour the sever'd meet;
The dead—the distant now are nearest,
And joy is soft, and sorrow sweet.'

The 'Song of the Sea-nymphs' is scarcely, if at all, inferior in beauty to the above.

'Far from the realms of air,
In the coral groves we dwell.
And our gardens are deck'd with the sea-weed rare,
And our home is the pearly shell.

'When the moon is softly bright,
The rippling tide we stem,
And 'tis we who draw the line of light
Round the horizon's hem.

'In the wake of the glancing boat,
We sport where the wave is riven,
Round the foam of the oar in brightness float,
Like stars o'er the ocean's heaven.

'When the storm is raging loud,
And down sinks the bark in the wave,
Of sea-weed we weave the sailor's shroud,
And dig deep his sandy grave:

'Or to warn him, ere the shock
Stifle his dying groan,
We kindle a flame on the cold barren rock,
Where earthly flame ne'er shone.

'When bright is the western blaze,
Where Phœbus his goal has won,
We wed the waves to his golden rays,
The bridal of sea and sun.

'Mortal, our life is sweet,
Would'st thou be blest as we,
From the turmoil and stir of the world retreat,
And dwell by the lonely sea!'

The Lines entitled 'Separation' may be given as a specimen of a different kind: they express with the simplicity of genuine feeling, a universal sentiment. To express such sentiments, is the prime purpose of poetry.

'Oh, 'tis one scene of parting here!
Love's watch-word is "Farewell,"
And almost starts the following tear,
Ere dried the last that fell:
'Tis but to feel that one most dear
Grows needful to the heart,
And straight a voice is muttering near,
Imperious, "Ye must part!"

'Oft too we doom ourselves to grieve,—
For wealth or glory rove;
But say, can wealth or glory give
Aught that can equal love?
Life is too short thus to bereave
Existence of its spring,
Or ev'n for one short hour to leave
Those, to whose hearts we cling.

'Count o'er the hours whose happy flight
Is shared with those we love:
Like stars amid a stormy night,
Alas! how few they prove!
Yet they concentrate all the light
That cheers our lot below;
And thither turns the weary sight
From this dark world of woe.

'And could we live, if we believed
The future like the past?
Still hope we on, though still deceived,
The hour shall come at last,
When all the visions Fancy weaved,
Shall be by Truth impreat,
And they who still in absence grieved
Shall be together blest.

'But happiest they whose gifted eye
Above this world can see,
And those diviner realms descry,
Where partings cannot be:

Who, with ONE changeless Friend on high,
Life's varied path have trod,
And soar to meet, beyond the sky,
The ransomed and their God.'

'The Bliss of Sleep' is a very pleasing poem in the same key, though composed with scarcely equal vigour. The lines 'on a 'lock of hair,' contain so much beauty of sentiment, that we regret they should appear in the slovenly form of lyrical blank verse, which gives them somewhat of the effect of a translation from a foreign language. The verses 'to the setting sun' are, as the Author intimates he is conscious, much too expanded, and very unequal. We shall do him the favour of abridging the poem, and recommend him to adopt our reading in the event of reprinting it. He has not yet learned the art to blot.

'Farewell, farewell! to others give
The light thou tak'st from me.
Farewell, farewell! bid others live
To joy or misery.

'To distant climes my fancy flies,
Where now thy kindling beams
On other woods and wilds arise,
And shine on other streams.

'The Indian leaves his hut of reeds,
And bounds along the dew;
Or down the rapid river speeds,
Poised in his light canoe.

'Perchance, some exile on the strand
Awaits thy coming ray.
As thou from his dear native land
Some tidings couldst convey.

'Or, as on ocean's furthest rim
Thy wish'd for dawn appears,
Still, as it grows less faintly dim,
The wave-tossed bark it cheers.

'More welcome still thy blessed light
Gleams on the stranded wreck,
Where mariners, the livelong night,
Cling to the shattered deck.

'Now mayst thou bid fond lovers part,
Or shine upon their bliss;
Behold a blithe or breaking heart,
The first or latest kiss.

'Haply, thy hated beams renew
The tear that sleep had dried;
And mourners, sickening at their view,
Remember who has died.

'Thou witness of my lonely dreams,
Inspirer of my shell,
Like Memnon's, answering to thy beams,
Not yet—not yet farewell!

'How soft, how tender a repose
O'er nature sheds its balm;
Like sorrow mellowing at the close
To Resignation's calm.

'Now does thy car descend beneath
The boundary of our skies,
And sheds upon the purpled heath
Its last and deepest dyes.

'Behind the tall fir's sable trunk
The half-orb lingers still:—
But now the latest curve is sunk
Below the dark blue hill.

'I gaze, as if thou wert not gone;
Or as my gifted eye
Could follow too where thou art flown,
And still thy path descry.

'To calmer realms thou seem'st to go,—
I would pursue thy flight,
As if no pain, nor care, nor woe,
Could track thy steps of light;

'Far from the cold, whose looks repel,
The warm whose words deceive;
The cruel, who can wound too well
Hearts that too much believe.

'Once more farewell! Another day,
To all, or dark or glad,
Fleets with thy vanished orb away:—
And am I pleased or sad?

'I know not. All my soul to speak,
Vain words their aid deny;
But oh, the smile is on my cheek,
The tear is in my eye.'

Of the intermediate verses, the first three are somewhat mawkish; the others are, with the exception of some obscurity in one of the stanzas, chargeable only with being a little commonplace. The sentiment borrowed from Ossian's Hymn to the Sun, stale as it is, may still be used *on a pinch*; but the poem really does not stand in need of any such cut and dried reflections, which, in fact, break in upon the *unity* of the train of ideas which form its primary subject. Completeness, as a quality of a poem, depends on the perfect development of some one or two simple ideas, rather than on the range that is taken, or the number of distinct thoughts: selection is far more essential to it than com-

prehensiveness. True taste is shewn in nothing more than in the rejection of what is good in kind, but superfluous. That Mr. Townsend possesses the fertility of genius and all the elements of taste, is sufficiently evinced by the extracts we have already given from his productions; and we doubt not that, as his faculties mature, he will acquire the severity of judgement, the self-denial, and the steadiness of hand which shall enable him to prune the exuberance of his thoughts, and to attain a more uniform vigour of expression. What he chiefly requires, is, to be less easily satisfied.

Among the miscellaneous poems, there are two or three more which deserve to be particularized, as of a very pleasing character; for instance, To Music (p. 211); On revisiting a favorite scene (p. 184); 'It is not here' (p. 188); and 'Hyslop Hill.' The dullest things in the volume are, as might be expected, two prize poems—'Jerusalem,' and 'Waterloo,' and the poems about his late Majesty and the Princess Charlotte. The 'early poems' just serve to shew that the Author writes better as he grows older; a fact which it was not worth while to expend so much letter-press in illustrating. There are some 'devotional pieces,' which will, no doubt, be pleasing indications to Mr. Townsend's friends, of his religious principles, and, as they occupy but very few pages, we shall say nothing more about them. But then come forty-one sonnets! Some of these are tolerably successful, but they are for the most part too wordy to impress the mind, and too sentimental to interest the feelings. The last, 'To Ro-'mance', seems meant as an apology for the 'weak fantastic whine' about unutterable woe, hapless love, singularity of fate or feeling, in which, in common with all young poets, our Author occasionally indulges. When he is once happily married, (perhaps he is by this time,) he will wonder, not how he could feel thus, or how he could write to express his feelings, but how he could print all that he had written. But, in disclaiming Romance so indignantly, he errs: it is a more than a poetical, it is almost a moral heresy. What is a character without some portion of romance? For what is romance, but an intellectual enthusiasm, which becomes dangerous only when the affections mistake their proper object?—a species of *idealism* which keeps the mind from sinking down to the low level of common-place things, by investing real objects with the power of exciting indefinite feelings. Now we feel quite persuaded that, *maugre* the hatred which he breathes against Romance, Mr. Townsend will never sober down into a dry, matter of fact, common-sense personage. His principles, at the same time, will guard him against the opposite evil,—the antinomianism of sentiment; and his feelings will not fail, under their guidance, to find their level and their right channel.

The best things in the Volume are the songs and lyrical pieces;

and the inequality that prevails among them, is the more excusable, as they appear to have been chiefly written for music. It is no small praise, therefore, to say, that the feeblest rise above the elegant nonsense which great poets sometimes condescend to write for music, and that beauty of expression is never employed as a veil for voluptuousness. We have already given two specimens of the songs. The following has an epigrammatic point, as well as a moral beauty, which reminds us of two similar productions of Goldsmith.

'I know thee now, yet cannot tear
Thine image from my breast:
In virtue's spite it lingers there,
A feared, yet cherished guest.

'So the poor moth can ne'er retire,
Which once the taper burns:
He thought it light, and found it fire,
Yet, ev'n in death returns.'

We make room for one more.

'CONSTANCY.

'Let love burn with fiercest flame,
If to more than one it fly,
'Tis not worthy of the name:
The crown of love is constancy!

'Let love still adore the same,
If it fade with cheek or eye,
'Tis not worthy of the name:
The crown of love is constancy!

'Let it be love no force can tame,
If, absent, it burn less than nigh,
'Tis not worthy of the name:
The crown of love is constancy!

'Give me the love whose faithful aim
Can absence, change, and time defy;
This is worthy of the name;
This is crowned with constancy!'

It is, we admit, a strong temptation to a young poet, especially if he has a large circle of friends among whom his MSS. may have been scattered, to collect into a printed volume the whole of his *works*. But he must not expect that volume to live. The poems, however, which we have extracted from the present work, together with a few more of almost equal merit, deserve to survive the fate which awaits the collection. Had Mr. Townsend so pleased, he might have put forth a volume one sixth of the present size, which should have done him great honour, and would not soon have been forgotten. He has this still within his

power. Of the luxuriant accumulation of poetry to which the present age has given birth, it is but a small proportion that can have room made for it. The volumes which comprise the collected works of all the British Poets of former ages, are more than outnumbered by those of the rival candidates for immortality who have sprung up in the last few years. The majority of these will deserve to be swept away either for their inanity or their licentiousness; others, which, we fear, will not long survive them, deserve a better fate; but, in the discarded volumes, there will remain the materials of a most elegant anthology. The works of Anacreon Moore, R. W. Spenser, Smyth, Leigh Hunt, Lloyd, Neale, Jane Taylor, Barton Keats, Barry Cornwall, Wilson, Clare, and some other minor writers, whose entire works have no claim to preservation, would furnish a selection equal to almost any thing in the language.

Art. V. 1. *A Chronological History of Voyages into the Arctic Regions;* undertaken chiefly for the Purpose of discovering a North-East, North-West, or Polar Passage between the Atlantic and Pacific: from the earliest Periods of Scandinavian Navigation, to the Departure of the recent Expeditions, under the orders of Captains Ross and Buchan. By John Barrow, F.R.S. 8vo. pp. 448. London. 1818.

2. *A Voyage of Discovery*, made under the Orders of the Admiralty, in his Majesty's ships Isabella and Alexander, for the Purpose of exploring Baffin's Bay, and inquiring into the Probability of a North-West Passage. By John Ross, R.N. Captain of the Royal Navy. 4to. pp. 428. London. 1819.

3. *A Journal of a Voyage of Discovery to the Arctic Regions*, in his Majesty's ships Hecla and Griper, in the years 1819 and 1820. By Alexander Fisher, Surgeon, R. N. Second Edition. 8vo. pp. 331. Price 12s. London. 1821.

4. *Journal of a Voyage for the Discovery of a North-West Passage from the Atlantic to the Pacific;* performed in the years 1819-20, in his Majesty's Ships Hecla and Griper, under the Orders of William Edward Parry, R.N. F.R.S. and Commander of the Expedition. With an Appendix, containing the scientific and other Observations. Published by Authority of the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty. 4to. pp. 518. Price 3l. 13s. 6d. London. 1821.

5. *The North Georgia Gazette and Winter Chronicle.* 4to. pp. 132. Price 10s. 6d. London. 1821.

IN our review of Mr. Scoresby's valuable publication, we gave a compressed but comprehensive view of the existing state of knowledge respecting the general phenomena of the Polar regions: in the present article, we shall endeavour to complete our outline by adding a summary of the leading facts connected with the progress of discovery in that quarter. The detailed narrative of the efforts made to extend the course of navi-

gation in this direction, forms one of the most interesting sections in the annals of human enterprise, furnishing a series of the finest examples of skill, fortitude, and perseverance. The works whose titles we have just transcribed, abound with illustrations of that absorbing and intense enthusiasm which courts the extremest hazards as steps to the attainment of its object; and of that steady and intrepid self possession which, in the midst of terrors that would have overwhelmed spirits of inferior mould, turns even perils to account, either as the means of extrication, or as instruments in furtherance of its object.

'How shall I admire,' exclaims Purchas, as quoted by Mr. Barrow, 'your heroicke courage, ye marine worthies, beyond all names of worthiness! that neyther dread so long eyther presence or absence of the sunne; nor those foggy mysts, tempestuous winds, cold blasts, snowes and hayle in the ayre; nor the unequall seas, which might amaze the hearer, and amate the beholder, where the *Tritons* and *Neptune's* selfe would quake with chilling feare, to behold such monstrous icie ilands, renting themselves with terrour of their own massines, and disdayning otherwise both the sea's sovereigntie, and the sunne's hottest violence; mustering themselves in those watery plaines where they hold a continual civill warre, and rushing one upon another, make windes and waves give backe; seeming to rent the eares of others, while they rent themselves with crashing and splitting their congealed armours.'

The first Arctic discoveries were unquestionably made by the Scandinavians, whose roving expeditions made them acquainted with the coasts of Greenland and of the main North-American continent. On the former of these regions, permanent settlements were made; but their lot was ultimately disastrous. Some of these perished in wars with the natives; and the deplorable visitation which interposed an impenetrable mass of ice between the colonies of East Greenland and the open ocean, has thrown a dark veil over the history of their fate. The earliest voyage in this direction from more Southerly ports, seems to have been the romantic expedition of the brothers Nicolo and Antonio Zeno in 1380. They were Venetians of noble race. The mutilated papers from which the narrative of their adventures was compiled, had been in the possession of the family during a century and a half before they were published. It is stated, that Nicolo, actuated by a restless wish to visit distant lands, equipped a vessel at his own cost, for the purpose of visiting England and Holland, but that having been driven far out of his course by a tremendous storm, he was wrecked on a large island, of which the name was Frisland. He was fiercely assailed by the natives, but saved by the interference of a chieftain, whom he calls, probably by one of those misnomers common to the Southern nations of the Continent, Zichmni, who gave a hospitable re-

ception to Zeno and his crew. Nicolo having rendered essential service to this Northern chief, who was much addicted to marauding voyages, was made by him captain of his fleet, and contrived to convey to his brother Antonio an invitation to join him.

In consequence, the latter fitted out a ship, and sailed for Frisland where he remained fourteen years in active service, plundering and making settlements, discovering new lands, whose strange names have given much annoyance to geographers, and aiding Zichmni in his ambitious design of making himself 'lord of the sea.' Nicolo died four years after the arrival of his brother. We have not space to enter on the difficult investigations suggested by the imperfect details of the voyages of the Zenos: they contain some statements which would incline us to question their authenticity; but, on the whole, the balance of probability appears to be in favour of their general correctness. The names assigned to the different regions, can be traced to known positions only by comparison and hypothesis, and, of course, geographers differ in their application. One ingenious gentleman thinks that Zichmni is an Italian corruption of Sinclair, who was earl of Orkney in the beginning of the fifteenth century, and stations him in the Shetland Isles; while M. Buache prefers fixing his head quarters in the islands of Feroe; and it is inferred, from a collation of terms and circumstances, that Newfoundland came within the range of Zeno's excursions. In aid of this supposition, certain ruins discovered in the latter island are brought forward; but it yet remains to be decided, whether these 'stone walls, oak beams, and mill-stones sunk in oaken beds,' are the remains of Zichmni's fort, of an Icelandish colony, or of *Lord Baltimore's saw-mills.*

The German forgeries which claim the discovery of America in behalf of Martin Behaim, are gross and palpable; but there is reason to believe that, in the fifteenth century, previously to his grand expedition, Columbus had visited Iceland, and sailed to some distance within the Polar circle. The discovery of Newfoundland is, however, conventionally ascribed to Sebastian Cabot, a native of Venice, whose exertions were ultimately rewarded with a post of high consideration and a valuable pension, in England. The history of the Cortereals is deeply interesting. John Vaz Costa Cortereal, a noble Portuguese, first of this family explored the Northern Ocean in 1463 or 1464, and appears to have anticipated Cabot in the discovery of Newfoundland. His son Gaspar Cortereal, in 1500, discovered Labrador. A second voyage in the following year was his last. After reaching Greenland, he was separated by stress of weather from another vessel which accompanied his own, and which, after long and vain search, returned to Lisbon; but the fate of Gaspar was never ascertained. In 1502, Miguel Cortereal, with three ships,

sailed in quest of his brother. On reaching the coast, they entered different openings for the purpose of making a more extended search. At the subsequent rendezvous, two vessels only met, and Miguel never returned. Vasco, a third brother, deeply affected by the loss of his relatives, immediately made preparations for a voyage on the same track, in hope of rescuing them if yet living, or, at least, of relieving himself from the agitations of suspense. But Don Manuel, then king of Portugal, steadily refused his consent; to all intreaties replying, 'that in 'this undertaking he had already lost two of his most faithful 'servants and valuable friends, and was resolved at least to 'preserve the third.' Vessels were, however, despatched in the same direction, but returned without any intelligence either of Gaspar or Miguel.

'The family of Cortereal has long been extinct, but it was for many years one of the most distinguished in Portugal. The family name was originally Costa or Coste, and of French extraction, having come to Portugal along with the Count Alfonso Henriquez, under whom one of the Costas served in the taking of Lisbon and conquering of Portugal from the Moors. The family settled in Algarve; and when John Vaz da Costa (some say his father) came to the Portuguese court, he used to live in such a style of splendour and hospitality, that the king observed to him, "Your presence, Costa, in my "court, makes it a *real court*." Others say, it was not on account of his magnificent style of living, but of his personal prowess on a particular occasion. Two strangers having appeared at court, and, according to the manners of the times, challenged any of the courtiers to wrestle or combat, Cortereal immediately accepted the challenge, and civilly shook hands with his antagonist before the contest; but so prodigious was the strength of Cortereal (until then called Costa), that he squeezed the stranger's hand until he cried out, in the greatest pain, that he could not attempt to contend with a man possessed of such extraordinary strength; on which occasion the king is represented as being so delighted, that he exclaimed, "Truly, Costa, your pre-"sence makes my court a *real court*."' *Barrow.*

Not being acquainted with the original source from which these anecdotes are derived, we can only intimate our suspicion, that the word here rendered *real*, means, not real, but *royal*. The correction, if just, would rather improve than injure the point of the anecdote.—The enterprises of the English under Cabot, of the Portuguese under the Cortereals, and of the French under the command of Aubert, stimulated the Spaniards to exertion. A brief and barren memorandum is the only record of the voyage of Estevan Gomez: he reached some portion of the northern extremity of America, and brought off some of the natives.

'It is said, that one of his friends, accosting him on his return, inquired with eagerness what success he had met with, and what he

had brought back; to which Gomez replying shortly, *Esclavos* (slaves), the friend concluded he had accomplished his purpose, and brought back a cargo of cloves (clavos). 'On this,' says Purchas, 'he 'posted to the court to carry the first news of this spicy discovery, 'looking for a great reward; but the truth being known, caused here-'at great laughter.'

In the early part of the sixteenth century, various attempts in the same course of navigation were made by English seamen. Among them occurred the celebrated and disastrous expedition of Sir Hugh Willoughby. His object was, to try the North-eastern route to 'Cathaia;' and his instructions were most excellently drawn up by Sebastian Cabot. The most sanguine expectations of success were excited. In addition to the common preparation of the vessels, they were sheathed with lead, being 'probably the first ships that in England were coated with a 'metallic substance.'

'Sheathing with lead was in use till the reign of Charles II., but was discontinued on account of its wearing away irregularly, and so soon washing bare in places, as to let in the worms; and sheathing with wood was adopted in its place. In 1708, a proposal was made to the Navy Board to sheath ships with copper, which was rejected without a trial. About sixty years after, it obtained a trial, and was favorably reported on; yet, so very difficult is the introduction of any thing new, that, ten years after this experiment, in Admiral Keppel's fleet, there was but one line of battle ship that was coppered.' *Barrow.*

Two of the ships were frozen up on the coast of Lapland, and Sir Hugh Willoughby with the crews, amounting to seventy persons, perished either from privation or from the rigour of the climate. A third vessel, commanded by Richard Chancelor, succeeded in reaching Archangel, whence the captain undertook a journey to Moscow, a distance of nearly fifteen hundred miles. Here he met with a gracious reception from the Tsar Ivan, and, by his able management, laid the foundation of a lucrative and long continued commerce with Russia.

The voyages of Martin Frobisher, primarily in quest of the North-west passage, but subsequently in search of a certain 'black ore,' which was supposed to be a 'marquesset of gold,' terminated in disappointment. The expedition of Sir Humphrey Gilbert took place in 1583, a few years after the attempts of Frobisher. This new adventurer was a man of rank and talent. His intrepidity is attested by the fact of his refusing to quit his crew in the hour of extreme peril, and by his exclamation to his men, not long before his little bark was swallowed up, 'Courage, my lads! we are as near to heaven by sea as by land.' The voyages of Davis, one of the ablest and most fearless seamen that ever trod a deck, added much to hydrographic knowledge, though they were not productive of advantage to his em-

ployers. In 1588, shortly after the enterprises of this great navigator, the voyage of Maldonado, and the discovery of the strait of Anian leading from the coast of Labrador, to the Great Ocean, are stated to have taken place. Mr. Barrow has inserted in his Appendix, a curious document containing both minute description and graphic illustrations of this pretended communication. The forgery, however, is palpable: its weakness has been repeatedly exposed, and it is finally dismissed by Mr. B. in the present volume. A confused, but interesting and well authenticated narrative ascribes the re-discovery and passage of this fabulous strait to Juan de Fuca in 1592. This old pilot was met with at Venice by an Englishman named Michael Lok, to whom he related his adventures; stating that he was a Greek by birth, and had navigated 'the West Indies of Spain 'forty years;' that when the English captain Cavendish took a rich Philippine merchant vessel, he 'lost 60,000 ducats of 'his own goods;' that having been despatched by the viceroy of Mexico on a voyage of discovery, he entered 'a broad inlet of 'the sea between 47 and 48 degrees of latitude,' through which he sailed into 'the North sea.' All knowledge of this voyage has been disclaimed by the Spaniards. The best proof of its authenticity is supplied by the fact, that a strait has been ascertained to exist precisely where the old Greek described it as opening. Unfortunately, however, it merely separates a large portion from the continent, and passes on into the Pacific.

The voyages of Barentz are distinguished by the discovery of Spitzbergen, and by the disasters which compelled the crew to winter on the coast of Nova Zembla, and to navigate in open boats the Frozen Ocean through a space of eleven hundred miles 'in the ice, over the ice, and through the sea.' The enterprises of the skilful and adventurous Henry Hudson, added to the mass of scientific acquisition without ascertaining the object for which they were undertaken. The first, 1607, was entered on with the view of attempting the direct course towards the Pole; the second was in quest of the North-eastern passage; in the third, he discovered the river which is known by his name; and in the fourth, 1610, he entered Hudson's Strait and Bay. This was his last navigation. He had unwisely taken on board a profligate youth named Greene, who became the instigator and leader of a gang of mutineers, by whom the unfortunate Hudson, his son, and seven others, were turned adrift in an open boat among the ice.

Among the different expeditions of discovery which distinguish the early part of the seventeenth century, those of Baffin hold a high rank; but, in the most important of his voyages, his memoranda afford so little satisfactory information, that the

precise limits and character of Baffin's Bay were never clearly defined until the recent surveys of Ross and Parry.

The discoveries which were made during the eighteenth century, have been too frequently the subjects of reference, to require minute specification here. Moor, Smith, Phipps, Cook, Kotzebue, and others, distinguished themselves by their ability and zeal, yet without making any decided approximation to the solution of the grand problem. The land journeys of Hearne and Mackenzie to the northern extremity of America, though far from affording the amount of information which the Travellers had the easy means of obtaining, gave a new impulse to the general curiosity. On different parallels, they had succeeded in reaching what appeared to be the sea, and thus added an important link to the series of deductions which had led to the hypothesis of a North-western passage.

Such was the general state of things with respect to the grand object of Polar navigation, when, in 1818, two expeditions were fitted out by the English Government; one for the purpose of proceeding directly North between Greenland and Spitzbergen, the other destined to explore the passage up Davis's Strait and the trending of the American coast. The latter was under the immediate direction of Captain Ross. From this equipment, which had excited to a very high degree the public expectation, no satisfactory result was obtained; and it was soon understood, that persons possessing the best means of investigation, were by no means convinced that the exertions made were answerable to the importance of the enterprise. Nor were they disposed to rest on Captain Ross's assertion, that he had 'proved the existence of a bay from Disco to Cumberland Strait, and set at rest for ever the question of a North-west passage in this direction.' Subsequent events have proved the entire justice of this dissatisfaction; and have so much diminished the value, never very high, of Captain R.'s quarto, as to render it quite unnecessary for us to detain our readers by anything more than a brief reference to its contents. The Isabella and Alexander sailed from the Shetland Islands, May 3rd, 1818; they met with the usual obstructions, and encountered the common hazards of the Northern seas, until the 6th of August, when the ships were beset, and nearly wrecked by the pressure of the ice.

'It became a trial of strength between the ship and the ice; every support threatened to give way; the beams in the hold began to bend: and the iron tanks settled together. At this critical moment, when it seemed impossible for the ship to sustain the accumulating pressure much longer, she rose several feet; while the ice, which was more than six feet thick, broke against her sides, curling back on itself. The great stress now fell upon her bow, and after being again lifted up, she was carried with great violence towards the Alexander, which

ship had hitherto been in a great measure defended by the Isabella. Every effort to avoid their getting foul of each other failed; the ice-anchors and cables broke one after another, and the sterns of the two ships came so violently into contact, as to crush to pieces a boat that could not be removed in time. The collision was tremendous, the anchors and chain-plates being broken, and nothing less expected than the loss of the masts: but at this eventful instant, by the interposition of Providence, the force of the ice seemed exhausted; the two fields suddenly receded, and we passed the Alexander with comparatively little damage. The last things that hooked each other were the two bower anchors, which being torn from the bows, remained suspended in a line between the two ships, until that of the Alexander gave way.' *Ross.*

This escape from a stress which must have crushed a common whaler, proved the efficacy of the precautions which had been taken to strengthen the ships by transverse beams and additional planking. Shortly after this, the crews of the vessels communicated with some of the natives, to whom the sight of Europeans and ships was altogether new, and who exhibited the usual signs of apprehension, wonder, and gratification. Among their various expressions of pleasure, pulling their own noses is enumerated by Captain Ross; but Mr. Fisher, in his published journal, does not appear to have observed this singular gesture. In the different interviews, the services of Sacheuse, an Esquimaux who had been brought to England by a Greenland ship, and who now acted as interpreter, were found extremely useful. He recognised the natives of Prince Regent's Bay as the Aborigines of his country. 'These,' he exclaimed, 'are right Eskimaux; 'these are *our* fathers.' At the suggestion of Captain Ross, he endeavoured, in various ways, to ascertain whether the visitants had any knowledge of the Supreme Being. We apprehend that the negative was too hastily inferred, since their dialect was somewhat different from his own, and inasmuch as the existence of Angekoks or sorcerers among them, implies at least, the apprehension of a mysterious and superhuman agency. The examination of the Northernmost part of Baffin's Bay is represented by Captain R., as having been sufficiently close and accurate to warrant the assumption of the perfect certainty of its continuity; such too is affirmed to have been the opinion of the officers of both ships. Mr. Fisher evidently seems to think that the point was extremely doubtful, and the following cautious but very significant observations, are a sufficient justification of his scepticism.

'We made sail to the southward, and abandoned the search for a passage in this quarter, from a thorough conviction, *I should hope*, that not any such passage exists here. I am perfectly satisfied myself that this is not the place to look for it, although I must confess that I did not see the continuity of land all around the top of this bay, if it

may be so termed; and, in order to shew that I am not the only person who has been unfortunate in this respect, I have inserted, in the Appendix, No. 6, an exact copy of the ship's log for this day, by which it does not appear that the land was seen all around at one time; neither by a comparison of the bearings of the east land, and of the west, taken at different times, do they appear to meet.'

"*Journal, &c. by an Officer of the Alexander.*"

Having had occasion to refer to this Journal, which is commonly ascribed to Mr. Fisher, the author of the volume which we shall shortly notice, it would be unfair not to remark, that it contains, in a very cheap form, a sensible and sufficient detail of the various circumstances connected with the expedition of 1818.

The only remaining event of any importance in Captain Ross's book, is the unfortunate failure at Lancaster's sound. That so important a point as the continuity of the land at the bottom of this inlet, should be affirmed with so little hesitation, and laid down in the chart with so much precision, is not more unaccountable than the negligence which, instead of calling up every officer in the ship to bear testimony to the fact, could satisfy itself with the evidence of three individuals only. We have no wish, however, to dwell on these circumstances, and shall now proceed to the subsequent expedition, which, under more favourable auspices, and more skilful guidance, proved the inaccuracy of previous inferences, and ascertained that Lancaster's sound is in all human probability a branch of the mighty ocean, severing North America from the Polar regions. It is hardly necessary to advert to the getting up of a defunct volume, but we cannot dismiss Captain Ross's work without noticing the tawdry style in which the graphic illustrations are produced, and the bad taste displayed in their selection. The insipid view of Mr. Mouatt's house, has no conceivable relation to the subject of the book; the leaping bear is perfectly childish; the singularly formed bergs would have sufficed in simple outline; and the 'crimson cliffs' might have been represented without a fierceness of tint which emulates the Red Lion over an ale-house door. Captain Ross's sketches seem to have been put into the hands of some artist whose principal merit consisted in his mechanical facility, and who has dashed out, without feeling or discrimination, a series of drawings very little expressive, as we suspect, of the real character of Arctic scenery.

The failure of the expedition of 1818 being clearly attributable either to defective observation, or to some less creditable cause, another was fitted out in the following year under the orders of Lieutenant Parry, who had, in the former instance, commanded the Alexander. The Hecla (bomb) of 400 tons, and the Griper (gun brig) of much smaller dimensions, were

prepared, in the usual way, for this service, and sailed from the Nore, May 11, 1819. Every precaution was taken for the health and comfort of the crews; double pay was assigned them; and, in addition to the common antiscorbutics, a large quantity of Donkin and Hall's preserved meats and soups, was provided. The Hecla was a large and commodious vessel, and in all respects answered the views of those who selected her; but the 'miserable little Griper' was quite unfit for the service. At the outset of the voyage, it was found necessary for the Hecla to take her in tow, and though she went 'remarkably well upon a wind,' yet, in subsequent periods; her bad sailing was found extremely embarrassing. Nothing remarkable occurred until the ships reached the ice, which, in the narrow part of Davis's Strait, they found peculiarly annoying. In one instance, they were five hours crossing a stream of ice not more than three hundred yards wide. The following extract may afford some idea of the teazing and harassing nature of Arctic navigation.

'About three A. M., by a sudden motion of the ice, we succeeded in getting the Hecla out of her confined situation, and ran her up astern of the Griper. The clear water had made so much to the westward, that a narrow neck of ice was all that was now interposed between the ships and a large open space in that quarter. Both ships' companies were, therefore, ordered upon the ice to saw off the neck, when the floes suddenly opened sufficiently to allow the Griper to push through under all sail. No time was lost in the attempt to get the Hecla through after her, but, by one of those accidents to which this navigation is liable, and which renders it so precarious and uncertain, a piece of loose ice which lay between the two ships, was drawn after the Griper by the eddy produced by her motion, and completely blocked the narrow passage through which we were about to follow. Before we could remove this obstruction by hauling it back out of the channel, the floes were again pressed together, wedging it firmly and immoveably betwixt them: the saws were immediately set to work, and used with great effect, but it was not till eleven o'clock that we succeeded, after seven hours labour, in getting the Hecla into the lanes of clear water which opened more and more to the westward.'

Parry.

The advantages of local knowledge, added to accurate calculations and skilful manœuvres, were never more strongly exemplified than they were in the comparative earliness of the season at which the Hecla and Griper made Lancaster's Sound. By the close of July, after a difficult navigation through an immense body of ice, without the slightest indication of a clear sea beyond it, Captain Parry, to whose forecast and decision the highest credit is due, had brought the vessels under his command to the entrance of that inlet, one month earlier than the period at which it had been reached in the former year, though he had started a fortnight later. When the Hecla obtained the first

sight of the southern point, she telegraphed the Griper, and both ships entered the opening under crowded canvas. As they approached the critical line that was to confirm their hopes or their apprehensions, the crews were restless and on the look-out in all directions.

'Being favoured at length by the easterly breeze which was bringing up the Griper, and for which we had long been looking with much impatience, a crowd of sail was set to carry us with all rapidity to the westward. It is more easy to imagine than to describe the almost breathless anxiety which was now visible in every countenance, while as the breeze increased to a fresh gale, we ran quickly up the Sound. The mast-heads were crowded by the officers and men during the whole afternoon: and an unconcerned observer, if any could have been unconcerned on such an occasion, would have been amused by the eagerness with which the various reports from the crow's nest were received, all, however, hitherto favourable to our most sanguine hopes.' *Parry.*

'At length, they reached the affirmed closure of the gulf; Croker's Mountains disappeared, and the ships sailing over the visionary barrier, justified the scepticism which had been cherished by the most intelligent sharers in the former enterprise. On the 5th of August, their progress was impeded by ice, and Captain Parry was induced to shape his course southerly. This soon brought him within the capes of a large inlet, down which he sailed until the 8th, when he was again arrested by a compact line of ice stretching from shore to shore. This capacious strait branching off from the main channel, probably communicates with some of the deep and unexplored indentations of Hudson's Bay, and has been named Prince Regent's Inlet. Having been thus intercepted a second time, the ships again sailed to the northward, and on the 20th, in a higher latitude than that in which their previous attempts had been made, obtained a passage to the westward. It being so far ascertained that the opening distinguished hitherto as Lancaster's Sound, is a large and open channel, the name of Barrow's Straits was given to it. The success which had attended the navigation, seems to have elevated the spirits and the hopes of all engaged in it; and the following extract will illustrate the fine enthusiasm by which Capt. Parry and his associates were animated.

'Though two-thirds of the month of August had now elapsed, I had every reason to be satisfied with the progress which we had hitherto made. I calculated upon the sea being still navigable for six weeks to come, and probably more if the state of the ice would permit us to edge away to the southward in our progress westerly: our prospects indeed, were truly exhilarating; the ships had suffered no injury; we had plenty of provisions; crews in high health and spirits: a sea, if not open, at least navigable; and a zealous and unanimous determi-

nation in both officers and men to accomplish, by all possible means, the grand object on which we had the happiness to be employed.'

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From the period of entering Barrow's Straits, the movements of the compasses had become languid and irregular; but, in Regent's Inlet, every remainder of magnetic energy ceased, the directive power of the needle becoming completely subservient to the attraction of the vessel, and the binnacles were actually removed as 'useless lumber.' In the course of their navigation, the ships crossed to the northward of the magnetic pole, and passed over one of those spots on the globe where the north pole of the needle would have pointed due south. 'This spot would, 'in all probability, at this time,' remarks Captain Parry, 'be 'somewhere not far from the meridian of 100° west of Green-'wich.' In the evening of the 4th of September, the vessels passed the meridian of 110°, for the attainment of which the crews became entitled to 5000*l.*, the first bounty 'in the scale of 'rewards' proposed by the Order in Council to adventurers in this quarter. Their course was now beset with increasing obstacles: the season was advancing, and dangers seemed accumulating at every movement; yet still, these gallant men pressed on till forward movements became impracticable, and it was necessary to recede for the purpose of finding safe shelter for the winter. On the 20th of September, after an appalling series of difficulties and hazards, the Griper was forced on shore by the ice. Her commander, Lieutenant Liddon, had been for some time past, reduced to a state of extreme debility by rheumatism, and Captain Parry considerately

'proposed to him to allow himself to be removed on board the Hecla, until the Griper should be got afloat again. To this proposal, however, he would by no means listen, assuring me that he should be the last man, instead of the first, to leave the Griper; and he remained seated against the lee side of the deck, during the greater part of the day, giving the necessary orders.'

Some idea of the dangers previously encountered, may be formed from the following description of the situation of the ships two days before.

'From noon until six o'clock in the evening, we were favoured with a fine breeze from the southward and westward, so that we got back a considerable distance; but no sooner had the wind become light than our progress was stopped by the bay-ice, notwithstanding every effort was made to force through by breaking it up with capstan bars, blocks of wood, and by rolling a boat amongst it under the ship's bows. At the very time that our progress was thus arrested, the necessity of getting on became more evident than ever, for a large floe was observed to be moving to the westward with considerable velocity, and at the same time closing in with the land, from which we were

not distant above a quarter of a mile. Our situation was therefore a very precarious one indeed, but as it was impossible to avoid the danger that threatened us, we let go an anchor in ten fathoms of water, after being driven within less than a cable's length of the shore. Here we awaited with great anxiety the approach of the floe, for although we were driven towards the shore by it, we were not actually in contact with the floe itself, but were carried along with the bay-ice that it impelled towards the land. Close to where we anchored, there happened, very fortunately for us, to be a large hummock, or rather a pile of heavy pieces of ice aground, so that when the floe arrived, this pile received the shock of it, and the collision was certainly tremendous; for immense masses of the floe were broken off, and piled up on the top of what was already aground, from which most of them fell, or slided back again on the floe, and this operation continued for some time, until at length the force of the floe, which was at first going at the rate of two miles per hour, was almost entirely spent. It is unnecessary to observe, that, had the ships been caught between the floe and the hummock just mentioned, their destruction would have been inevitable.' *Fisher.*

Under circumstances such as these, perseverance was no longer practicable, and it became highly expedient to lose no time in returning to a secure harbour, which was at length found in lat. 74°. 47′. 15″. long. 110°. 48′. 30″. W. The ships were roofed over; and in Captain Parry's plate, they have a most snug and comfortable appearance in the midst of darkness and desolation. An interesting detail is given of the various measures adopted for the preservation of health, and the promotion of useful occupations. Among the amusements which were adopted, the most singular and successful suggestion was that of stage performances, which was carried into execution to the infinite gratification of the crew, who expressed a more than ordinary delight at a new piece, composed by Captain Parry, and entitled 'The North-West Passage.'

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Another source of amusement, much more questionable in point of expediency than the former, was proposed in the establishment of a newspaper, called the North Georgia Gazette.

Mr. Fisher, in his private journal, expresses his apprehension that it might lead to personalities and consequent ill-humour; but Captain Parry consented to the measure from full confidence in the discretion of his officers, and, in his published journal, records his satisfaction with the result. As the work itself is before the world, we shall defer any remarks on its literary character until the close of this article; but we take this occasion to observe that, in one part especially, it betrays strong symptoms of the spirit which Mr. Fisher anticipated. On the whole, the long detention in Winter Harbour, seems to have passed away in tolerable comfort, and with as little *ennui* as the local circumstances of the crew would allow. The wolves and foxes at times afforded them some small amusement; the novel phenomena connected with the revolutions of the sun, and with the brilliant auroras, parhelia, and lunar halos, gratified both the vulgar and scientific eye; and the different operations connected with the domestic arrangements, provided regular and salutary employment. Of the meteoric appearances, several diagrams are inserted in Captain Parry's volume; and we shall cite from Mr. Fisher the description of a beautiful lunar halo which was observed January 1, 1820.

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precise limits and character of Baffin's Bay were never clearly defined until the recent surveys of Ross and Parry.

The discoveries which were made during the eighteenth century, have been too frequently the subjects of reference, to require minute specification here. Moor, Smith, Phipps, Cook, Kotzebue, and others, distinguished themselves by their ability and zeal, yet without making any decided approximation to the solution of the grand problem. The land journeys of Hearne and Mackenzie to the northern extremity of America, though far from affording the amount of information which the Travellers had the easy means of obtaining, gave a new impulse to the general curiosity. On different parallels, they had succeeded in reaching what appeared to be the sea, and thus added an important link to the series of deductions which had led to the hypothesis of a North-western passage.

Such was the general state of things with respect to the grand object of Polar navigation, when, in 1818, two expeditions were fitted out by the English Government; one for the purpose of proceeding directly North between Greenland and Spitzbergen, the other destined to explore the passage up Davis's Strait and the trending of the American coast. The latter was under the immediate direction of Captain Ross. From this equipment, which had excited to a very high degree the public expectation, no satisfactory result was obtained; and it was soon understood, that persons possessing the best means of investigation, were by no means convinced that the exertions made were answerable to the importance of the enterprise. Nor were they disposed to rest on Captain Ross's assertion, that he had 'proved the existence of a bay from Disco to Cumberland Strait, and set at rest for ever the question of a North-west passage in this direction.' Subsequent events have proved the entire justice of this dissatisfaction; and have so much diminished the value, never very high, of Captain R.'s quarto, as to render it quite unnecessary for us to detain our readers by anything more than a brief reference to its contents. The Isabella and Alexander sailed from the Shetland Islands, May 3rd, 1818; they met with the usual obstructions, and encountered the common hazards of the Northern seas, until the 6th of August, when the ships were beset, and nearly wrecked by the pressure of the ice.

'It became a trial of strength between the ship and the ice; every support threatened to give way; the beams in the hold began to bend; and the iron tanks settled together. At this critical moment, when it seemed impossible for the ship to sustain the accumulating pressure much longer, she rose several feet; while the ice, which was more than six feet thick, broke against her sides, curling back on itself. The great stress now fell upon her bow, and after being again lifted up, she was carried with great violence towards the Alexander, which

ship had hitherto been in a great measure defended by the Isabella. Every effort to avoid their getting foul of each other failed; the ice-anchors and cables broke one after another, and the sterns of the two ships came so violently into contact, as to crush to pieces a boat that could not be removed in time. The collision was tremendous, the anchors and chain-plates being broken, and nothing less expected than the loss of the masts: but at this eventful instant, by the interposition of Providence, the force of the ice seemed exhausted; the two fields suddenly receded, and we passed the Alexander with comparatively little damage. The last things that hooked each other were the two bower anchors, which being torn from the bows, remained suspended in a line between the two ships, until that of the Alexander gave way.' *Ross.*

This escape from a stress which must have crushed a common whaler, proved the efficacy of the precautions which had been taken to strengthen the ships by transverse beams and additional planking. Shortly after this, the crews of the vessels communicated with some of the natives, to whom the sight of Europeans and ships was altogether new, and who exhibited the usual signs of apprehension, wonder, and gratification. Among their various expressions of pleasure, pulling their own noses is enumerated by Captain Ross; but Mr. Fisher, in his published journal, does not appear to have observed this singular gesture. In the different interviews, the services of Sacheuse, an Esquimaux who had been brought to England by a Greenland ship, and who now acted as interpreter, were found extremely useful. He recognised the natives of Prince Regent's Bay as the Aborigines of his country. 'These,' he exclaimed, 'are right Eskimaux; 'these are *our* fathers.' At the suggestion of Captain Ross, he endeavoured, in various ways, to ascertain whether the visitants had any knowledge of the Supreme Being. We apprehend that the negative was too hastily inferred, since their dialect was somewhat different from his own, and inasmuch as the existence of Angekoks or sorcerers among them, implies at least, the apprehension of a mysterious and superhuman agency. The examination of the Northernmost part of Baffin's Bay is represented by Captain R., as having been sufficiently close and accurate to warrant the assumption of the perfect certainty of its continuity; such too is affirmed to have been the opinion of the officers of both ships. Mr. Fisher evidently seems to think that the point was extremely doubtful, and the following cautious but very significant observations, are a sufficient justification of his scepticism.

'We made sail to the southward, and abandoned the search for a passage in this quarter, from a thorough conviction, *I should hope*, that not any such passage exists here. I am perfectly satisfied myself that this is not the place to look for it, although I must confess that I did not see the continuity of land all around the top of this bay, if it

sight of the southern point, she telegraphed the Griper, and both ships entered the opening under crowded canvas. As they approached the critical line that was to confirm their hopes or their apprehensions, the crews were restless and on the look-out in all directions.

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Captain Parry, however, distinctly affirms that, ' contrary ' to former experience,' the stars shone more faintly through the more brilliant parts of the aurora; and in February, 1820. one was seen, of which he expresses his ' confidence,' that it ' sensibly dimmed' Aldebaran and the Pleiades. Ample opportunity was, of course, afforded to the whole party, both to observe and to experience the various effects of cold. On one occasion when several individuals had lost their track in chase of a wounded deer, and were thus exposed to the inclemencies of the atmosphere during a long period, and under the pressure of exhaustion and apprehension, they exhibited on their return the exact symptoms of intoxication; and Captain Parry has recorded his suspicion, that many individuals similarly affected may have received unmerited punishment on this imputation. At another time, the observatory having taken fire, and the extremities of some of those who were engaged in extinguishing it, being frost-bitten, when the parts injured were immersed in cold water for the purpose of thawing them, a ' film of ice was immediately ' formed on its surface.' Nor were the crew free from annoyance within the vessels, for, notwithstanding the care taken to remove all appearances of damp or formation of ice, when the weather began to relax, they scraped from the sides of the lower deck, a coating of ice, that filled above a hundred buckets,

' each containing from five to six gallons, being the accumulation which had taken place in an interval of less than four weeks. It may be observed that this vapour must principally have been produced from the men's breath, and from the steam of their victuals during meals; that from the coppers being effectually carried on deck.'

Captain Parry took advantage of the return of a somewhat less rigorous season, to determine, as far as might be practicable within the limits of a short journey, the nature of the land which had afforded them so long a shelter. The party of officers and men, under his own direction, took a northward track, and in lat. 75°. 34′. 47″. N. and long: 12′. 18″. East of Winter harbour, again stood on the sea-shore, thus determining, by this and other circumstances, the probable insularity of the large tract which had received the name of Melville Island. After an absence of fifteen days, they returned, and every preparation was made to be in readiness for seizing the first favourable opportunity of leaving their ten months' residence. On the first of August, an open channel to the westward presented itself, and the ships got under sail; but, on the 16th, after an exhausting and hazardous navigation, the ice was found impenetrable, and they were compelled to return, having nearly reached the 114th degree of West longitude. Skill and exertion had done their utmost. Captain Parry and his gallant crew had per-

sisted until further perseverance would have been, not resolution, but unprofitable, perhaps destructive pertinacity; and we believe that the wise determination to desist from protracted efforts in this direction, cost more painful sensations to his mind, than the determination to proceed at all hazards, could possibly have done. A close survey was made of the western coast of Baffin's Bay, while the ships were on their homeward voyage, and the results are given in an interesting chart. With the exception of an interview with a party of Esquimaux, and of a severe storm which caused the Hecla to carry away her bowsprit, foremast, and main top-mast, nothing of importance occurred until their safe return.

We have very little to offer by way of comment on this memorable voyage. It has, we conceive, ascertained beyond all rational scepticism, the existence of a North-west passage, and it reflects the highest credit, not only on the ability and firmness of Captain Parry, but on the talent and decision manifested by Mr. Barrow; who is understood to have been the strenuous advocate of the enterprise, amid all the discouragements which Captain Ross's representations were evidently designed to perpetuate. With respect to the actual transit of the intervening sea, no opinion of its practicability can be hazarded with any approach to certainty. Captain Parry attributes the difficulty, perhaps the impossibility, of achieving such a passage, to the increased obstacles attending Arctic navigation, in proportion to the distance, from a permanently open sea. Hence, if the midway voyage could be accomplished, he would reckon on completing the remainder with comparative ease. In the present instance, the attempt was unsuccessful from the failure of the land along which it was necessary to keep in avoidance of the ice; but, from the less rigid climate, and from the continuity of the American coast, the navigation along the southern side of Barrow's strait would be more likely to succeed. With a view to easier access, he proposes the exploration of Cumberland Strait, Roe's Welcome, and Repulse bay, as probable communications with the Polar sea.

Respecting the last work on our list, we feel reluctant to say much. Taking into consideration all the circumstances under which it was composed, the Winter Chronicle is, on the whole, creditable to the talents and good humour of the gentlemen who furnished its different papers. Some of the poetry, in particular, is substantially good; and a few specimens express sentiments of piety which we were happy to meet with in such a quarter. A few extracts will, however, give a much more satisfactory intimation of the quality of this publication, than could be communicated by general criticisms.

'ARCTIC MISERIES.

'Going out in a winter morning for the purpose of taking a walk, and before you have proceeded ten yards from the ship, getting a cold bath in the cook's steep-hole.*

'When on a hunting excursion, and being close to a fine deer, after several attempts to fire, discovering that your piece is neither primed nor loaded, while the animal's four legs are employed in carrying away the body.

'Setting out with a piece of new bread in your pocket on a shooting party, and when you feel inclined to eat it, having occasion to observe that it is so frozen that your teeth will not penetrate it.

'Being called from table by intelligence that a wolf is approaching the vessels, which, on closer inspection, proves to be a dog; on going again below, detecting the cat in running off with your dinner.

'Returning on board your ship after an evening visit, in a contemplative humour, and being roused from a pleasing reverie by the close embrace of a bear.

'Sitting down in anticipation of a comfortable breakfast, and finding that the tea, by mistake, is made of salt water.'

'Reflections on seeing the sun set for a period of three months.
November, 1819.

'Behold yon glorious orb, whose feeble ray
Mocks the proud glare of Summer's livelier day,
His noon-tide beam shot upward thro' the sky,
Scarce gilds the vault of Heaven's blue canopy—
A fainter yet, and yet a fainter light—
And lo! he leaves us now to one long cheerless night.

'And is his glorious course for ever o'er?
And has he set indeed—to rise no more?
To us no more shall Spring's enlivening beam
Unlock the fountains of the fetter'd stream—
No more the wild bird carol through the sky,
And cheer yon mountains with rude melody?

* * * * * *

'Once more shall Spring her energy resume,
And chase the horrors of this wintry gloom—
Once more shall Summer's animating ray
Enliven nature with perpetual day—
Yon radiant orb, with self-inherent light,
Shall rise, and dissipate the shades of night,
In peerless splendour re-possess the sky,
And shine in renovated majesty.

'In yon departing orb methinks I see
A counterpart of frail mortality.

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* A hole in the ice for steeping salt meat, &c.

Emblem of man! when life's declining sun
Proclaims this awful truth, "thy race is run."
His sun once set, its bright effulgence gone,
All, all is darkness—as it ne'er had shone!

'Yet not *for ever* is man's glory fled,
His name for ever "numbered with the dead."
Like yon bright orb, th' immortal part of man
Shall end in glory, as it first began—
Like Him, encircled in celestial light,
Shall rise triumphant 'midst the shades of night,
Her native energies again resume,
Dispel the dreary winter of the tomb,
And, bidding Death with all its terrors fly,
Bloom in perpetual Spring thro' all eternity.'

'To the Editor of the Winter Chronicle.

'Sir,

'I do not know whether you take cognizance of such matters as I am now to address you upon; but if you do, I hope you will endeavour to remedy the grievance I complain of. However improbable it may seem to you in these times of somnolency, I like to read for an hour or two now and then, and even to write a little occasionally, beyond the daily repetition of "moderate breezes and cloudy," and the formal assertion that we have been "employed as necessary."

'Under these circumstances, added to the great scarcity of light in our own cabins at this season, you will, I am certain, enter into my feelings of annoyance, at the innumerable disturbances to which our tables are subject; I allude to the habits which some members of our community have acquired in earlier life, and which they continue to practise daily, to the interruption of the more industrious, and to the absolute preclusion of all serious occupation. I have endeavoured to class these annoyances, or rather those who practise them, under separate heads, of which the first are the *Whistlers*, who, having a tolerable ear themselves, seem to forget that the rest of us have any ears at all, and are continually serenading us with "Molly, put the kettle on," or the "Duke of York's March," with variations, to the utter discomfiture of every reader within hearing. Of the Whistlers there are frequently more than one, and in that case the process is as follows: Whistler the first (whom I shall call A) commences a tune: Whistler the second (B) takes it up about the third or fourth bar, and accompanies him to the end of the stave, by which time A has exhausted his wind, and stopt to replenish his lungs. In the mean-time B continues, and just as you are flattering yourself with a hope that *he* also will soon be winded, and allow you to pursue your employments, a third Whistler (C) at the other end of the table, unexpectedly opens his pipes, and takes a spell at the bellows; soon after which, A once more joins the concert with renewed vigour,—and so on *ad libitum*.

'Second are the *Hummers*, who are closely allied to the first class, and are distinguished by employing the greater part of the day in humming songs, which they usually do out of tune, and *always* out of

time. They are in general more sentimental than the Whistlers in their selection of tunes, confining themselves to the Irish melodies, or some plaintive Scotch ditty. Of these they will hum you a detached bar or two occasionally, in the most pathetic strain imaginable, and are particularly fond of filling up in this manner all the little intervals of time, which are not easily disposed of in any other way, such as while the ink is drying on one side of the paper, or while they are mending their pens or warming their fingers. Perhaps, Mr. Editor, you can recommend some mode of proceeding by which it shall necessarily fall out that all our pens want mending, and all our fingers warming, exactly at the same instant. We could then all have our *hum* at the same time, and no disturbance would result, as at present, to any individual of the party.

'The third class are the *Drummers*, who, to borrow a well-known joke from Joe Miller, were certainly born to make a great noise in the world. They have, like the Whistlers, a tolerable ear for music, and occupy a great deal of their time in drumming most musically with both hands upon the table; they usually join the Whistlers, to whom they may, indeed, be considered as an accompaniment. They have been lately practising a new mode of drumming, which is performed by placing the wrist upon the table, and then bringing the nails of each finger, beginning with the little one, in quick succession, one after the other, upon the wood, or what is considered more sonorous and musical, upon a hard-covered book, which they keep by them *shut* for the purpose. I beg leave strongly to recommend this mode, as infinitely more neat and gentleman-like than the other, which consists in merely thumping the table unmercifully with both hands, like a common drummer, and making the candlesticks and inkstands dance a hornpipe. Perhaps these first three classes might be employed with advantage for a couple of hours daily, in whistling, humming, and drumming to the ships' companies when they take exercise: and a convenient spot for practising their arts might be selected in the neighbourhood of the boat-house, or the green ravine.'

These classes are followed by the Bangers, Blowers, Sniffers, Door-slammers, and Growlers, who are described with considerable humour.

The decorations of Captain Parry's volume are excellently got up. The charts are most satisfactory, and the plates aquatinted by Westall from his own drawings, are just what might have been expected from so skilful an artist, working on such valuable materials as the sketches of Lieutenants Beechey and Hoppner. We should, however, have preferred a different mode of execution in the views of headlands and lines of coast. In a volume so costly, it might surely have been found practicable to finish them in the interesting and skilful style of the similar representations in the voyages of Staunton, Vancouver,

* Published separately by Alexander.

and Flinders. Much, we suspect, has been sacrificed to rapidity of publication. The Appendix contains a large and valuable series of scientific collections, and a supplement, containing Zoology, Botany, Geology, &c. is promised.

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1. Art. VI. *Principles of Political Economy*, considered with a View to their practical Application. By the Rev. T. R. Malthus, M.A. F.R.S. &c. 8vo. pp. 601. London. 1820.
2. *Observations on certain verbal Disputes in Political Economy*, particularly relating to Value, and to Demand and Supply. 8vo. pp. 84. London. 1821.
3. *An Inquiry into those Principles respecting the Nature of Demand and the Necessity of Consumption, lately advocated by Mr. Malthus, from which it is concluded that Taxation and the Maintenance of Unproductive Consumers can be conducive to the Progress of Wealth.* 8vo. pp. 128. London. 1821.

NO fewer than four distinct treatises on Political Economy are now laying claim to public attention; the "*Nouveaux "Principes*" of M. Sismondi, of which we gave an extended account in a former volume; the work of the not less celebrated J. B. Say, of which a translation from the fourth edition has just appeared; the singularly novel and somewhat paradoxical treatise of Mr. Ricardo; and the present volume from the learned author of the Essay on Population. To these we shall very speedily have to add, a work on the Elements of the science, from the pen of the Historian of British India, which we anticipate with no small satisfaction. Should that very acute thinker and lucid writer bring to the subject, thus thoroughly sifted by discussion, a mind unshackled by theory, and unbiassed by party opinions, he will, we make no doubt, furnish a volume of more practical utility than any work which has appeared since the time of Adam Smith. At present, our knowledge on several of the most interesting questions may be considered as in a transitive state,—as 'in the making.' A large portion of each of the works referred to, is occupied with controversial matter; and much that is valuable in them is obscured by an affectation of mathematical precision, and an arbitrary or technical phraseology. The work of M. Sismondi appears to us to be the most free from these faults, on which very account, it seems likely to attract the least attention: if not the most ingenious, it is, perhaps, the most elegant treatise that has appeared on the subject. But any competent reader will not fail to be struck with the intellectual strength and stature of the well-matched combatants in this strife of words. Since the days of scholastic controversy, there has not been started a subject of pure abstract inquiry, either so abstruse, or so tran-

scendently important, as that which is now engaging some of the first thinkers of the day in protracted debate. On the part of the public at large, there is a rather pettish impatience of the dispute. Those persons who have no other way of making up their minds on the subject than by adhering to some *authority*, are exceedingly perplexed at finding men of equal authority, in these matters at issue; and they are ready to imagine that nothing is known, because some things are disputed. For ourselves, we cannot but look on with considerable complacency, feeling assured that, ultimately, a real advance will have been made in this most important of human sciences, the true object of which, is to discover the means of most effectually promoting the welfare of man in a state of society.

Mr. Malthus has condescended in his Introduction, to enter into a vindication of the usefulness of the science itself. We agree with the author of the "Observations," that this was a work of supererogation. Those who understand the subject, will require no arguments in favour of its importance: on those who do not understand it, his reasonings will be thrown away, since they leave undiminished the difficulties and perplexities which repel such persons from the study. What is chiefly wanted, is, not to prove the usefulness of the science, but the existence of it. It is the property of all true science, that the truth of the propositions of which it consists, should, when the terms employed are understood, be self-evident. There is a great deal of certain truth in the conclusions which have been arrived at in the pursuit of this science, which is far from being self-evident, because, unhappily, the terms employed are of equivocal meaning. To remedy this obscurity, Mr. Malthus, like some of his predecessors, has recourse to definitions. But definitions, which comprise a number of complex ideas, are in themselves the most difficult things to be understood by the novice, and the last things respecting which controvertists can bring themselves to agree. Instead, therefore, of being placed at the threshold of the study, they should be reserved as the conclusions to which it leads. There is, we think, a great deal of force and point in the remarks which the Author of the Observations makes on this source of mere verbal discussion. Mr. Malthus enumerates among the 'main 'propositions of the science' on which great differences of opinion still exist, the *definitions* of wealth and of productive labour, the *nature* and measures of value, &c. One might have thought that, with respect to the import of so simple a word as *wealth*, a difference of opinion could hardly be seriously maintained. Yet, Mr. Malthus tells us, in the very outset of his work, that, 'in 'reality, the more the subject is considered, the more it will ap-'pear difficult, if not impossible, to fix on' a *definition* of the

word 'not liable to some objection.' Then why define the word at all, seeing that, in its indefinite sense, it is perfectly intelligible, and that the attempt arbitrarily to define it, is the source of the whole difficulty in question? Mr. Malthus would reply, that 'it seems *natural* to look for some definition of those ob-'jects, the increase or decrease of which we are about to esti-'mate.' Its seeming natural to look for one, is not a very philosophical reason for adopting a method in itself ineligible. And in truth, to state the object of inquiry in intelligible language, is one thing; to embark in a verbal dispute at the beginning of such inquiry, is another thing. The first is both natural and necessary; the latter is almost absurd. But, continues Mr. M.,

'So important is an appropriate definition, that perhaps it is not going too far to say, that the comparative merits of the systems of the Economists and Adam Smith depend mainly upon their different definitions of wealth and of productive labour. If the definitions which the Economists have given of wealth and of productive labour be correct, *their* system has the advantage: if the definitions which Adam Smith has given of wealth and of productive labour be the most correct, his system is superior.'

Here the reader will naturally ask, What, then, is a definition? Mr. Malthus should have defined this word also. By the definition of a word, persons in general understand the conventional meaning or acceptation of a word; not the opinion of an individual as to the nature of the thing. The Economists hold, that the produce of the soil is the only source of wealth. But, to maintain that that produce is the *definition* of wealth,—to use the term wealth as meaning such produce, or as synonymous with it, is an abuse of words as perplexing as it is arbitrary. And to set out with such a definition, would be in fact to propound as a dogma in the commencement of the inquiry, the conclusion which it had for its object to establish. Adam Smith has no where given 'a very regular and formal definition of wealth.' And yet Adam Smith's work is far more perspicuous, and his use of terms far more uniform and correct than that of any subsequent writer. Mr. Malthus's own definition is clearly exceptionable. 'I should define wealth,' he says, 'to be those *material* 'objects which are necessary, useful, or agreeable to mankind.' But are not air and water material objects, which are both necessary and agreeable? And yet, the former in no case, and the latter only under peculiar circumstances, are capable of appropriation and definite valuation, or of becoming sources of wealth. Supposing we admit its correctness, however, what is gained to the science by adopting this technical definition in preference to Lord Lauderdale's loose and all-comprehensive expressions—'all that man desires as useful and delightful to him?' Mr.

'be lowered in value in consequence of a real rise of wages, but 'never can be raised from that cause,' is ably analysed and refuted by Mr. Malthus. By a real rise of wages, Mr. R. here means a rise relative to the profits of capital, or a fall of profits; and 'undoubtedly,' remarks Mr. Malthus, 'no one could 'have thought the proposition paradoxical, had he stated that a 'fall of profits would occasion a fall of price in those commodities, 'where, from the quantity of fixed capital employed, the profits 'of that capital had before formed the principal ingredient in the 'cost of production.'

'On the other hand, there is a large class of commodities, where, from the absence of fixed capital, and the rapidity of the returns of the circulating capital from a day to a year, the proportion which the value of the capital bears to the quantity of labour which it employs, is very small. A capital of a hundred pounds, which was returned every week, could employ as much labour annually as 2,600*l*. the returns of which came in only at the end of the year; and if the capital were returned nearly every day, as it is practically in some few cases, the advance of little more than the wages of a man for a single day, might pay above 300 days' labour in the course of a year. Now it is quite evident, that out of the profits of these trifling capitals, it would not only be impossible to take a rise in the price of labour of 7 per cent., but it would be impossible to take a rise of ½ per cent. On the first supposition, a rise of only ½ per cent. would, if the price of the produce continued the same, absorb more than all the profits of the 100*l*.: and in the other case, much more than all the capital advanced. If, therefore, the prices of commodities, where the proportion of labour is very great compared with the capital which employs it, do not rise upon an advance of labour, the production of such commodities must at once be given up. But they certainly will not be given up. Consequently, upon a rise in the price of labour and fall of profits, there will be a large class of commodities which will rise in price; and it cannot be correct to say, (as Mr. Ricardo does,) "that no commo-"dities whatever are raised in exchangeable value merely because "wages rise: they are only so raised when wages fall, or when the "medium in which they are estimated falls in value." It is quite certain, that merely because wages rise and profits fall, all that class of commodities (and it will be a large class) will fall in price, where, from the smallness of the capital employed, the fall of profits is in various degrees more than overbalanced by the rise of wages. What then becomes of the doctrine, that the exchangeable value of commodities is (uniformly) proportioned to the labour which has been employed upon them?' pp. 92—5.

Instead of the quantity of labour which has been employed in the production of an article, Mr. Malthus thinks that the quantity of common day-labour which any article will *command*, though not an accurate standard of real value in exchange, approaches the nearest of all commodities to a complete test. But,

standing by it the produce of agricultural labour, others resolving it into utility, a third considering its basis to be exchangeable value, a fourth defining it by material objects; nevertheless, we are, *for clearness' sake*, it seems, by this equivocal word, to fix the meaning of another word!! But why 'productive of 'wealth?' What is produced by any description of labour, is either commodities, or an additional value attaching to commodities. In fact, the term would seem to require no explanation whatever. To the question, Productive of what? it were asufficient reply to say, of produce. The words 'productive labour,' might seem indeed to be a pleonasm, since labour, in the usual acceptation of the word, must be productive; were it not that, under the general denomination of *labourers*, those are included who live upon the salaries of personal service,—professional men, domestics, and the agents of government. The labour of these classes, (if such it must be termed,) not being in co-operation with capital, but being supported out of the *profits* of the community, originates no produce or value,—is, in that sense, unproductive. Whether these *non*-productive labourers contribute to the *wealth* of a country, will admit of a question, the solution of which depends on what we understand by wealth; they contribute in no small degree to its welfare, its comfort, and its greatness; but that they contribute nothing directly to the productive powers of a country, amounts almost to a truism. And what then? Why, some such distinction as this, says Mr. Malthus,

'must be considered as so clearly the corner-stone of Adam Smith's work, and the foundation on which the main body of his reasonings rests, that, if it be denied, the superstructure which he has raised upon it must fall to the ground.....It appears to me in some degree inconsistent in those who allow of no distinction in the different kinds of labour, to attribute any considerable value to an *Inquiry into the nature and causes of the Wealth of Nations*, in which the increase of the quantity and skill of what is called productive labour, is the main hinge on which the progress of national opulence and property is made to turn.'

'No, Sir,' rejoins Mr. Say; 'that is not the corner-stone of 'Smith's work; for when that stone is removed, the edifice, 'although imperfect, remains as solid as before. What will 'eternally sustain that excellent book is, that it proclaims in 'every page, that the exchangeable value of things is the foundation of all riches.' 'To separate this essential character 'from the definition of wealth,' adds this paradoxical Frenchman, 'is to plunge science again into the depths of obscurity.' No, again, says Mr. Ricardo; Adam Smith knew better than to confound exchangeable value and riches, or to make value the

foundation of wealth. Riches depend on abundance, consist in abundance; the exchangeable value of things is diminished by their abundance: how then can value and riches be the same thing? Adam Smith's book must be eternally sustained by some other part of it, some other corner-stone than this. But, leaving these philosophers to decide on what really constitutes the chief merit of the work of their common Master, we are content to take Adam Smith's book as it is, satisfied that his terms, if not wholly unexceptionable, are sufficiently definite and correct for his purpose, yet, that his reasonings in no degree depend on the use of any particular technical expressions. The distinction which he points out between productive and unproductive services, really exists, whatever classification be adopted. Yet, were the terms, productive and unproductive labourer, laid aside entirely, and agricultural labourer, manufacturing labourer, mercantile labourer, used instead, science would neither retrograde, nor be plunged into the depths of obscurity.

Mr. Malthus's second chapter treats 'of the nature and 'measures of Value.' Here, again, a most unprofitable discussion has been raised about the proper definition of the word, which any man of plain sense would have cut short at once, by asking the controvertist what sort of value he meant to speak of, whether intrinsic value, that is, value in use,—real exchangeable value, however estimated,—or nominal value, that is, market price. As these are three distinct ideas, referring to three distinct facts, it might seem convenient to distinguish them by separate adjuncts. But, to use the simple word *value* as restricted to one of these senses, is to sacrifice perspicuity to conciseness. Mr. Malthus, however, thinks, 'it may be questioned, 'whether in fact we are in the habit of using the term in the 'first of these senses;' although he himself, only two pages before, (p. 48) remarks, that 'Adam Smith fully allows the '*value* and importance of many sorts of labour which he calls 'unproductive;' and, in the same paragraph, he speaks of the *value* of the labours of the moralist, and the *value* of Newton's discoveries. What, indeed, can be more common than to speak of setting a value on a thing on account of some particular associations connected with it? To restrict value to price, would be just as accurate, as to maintain that estimable means that which may be estimated in pounds, shillings, and pence, and that to appreciate a man is to set a price upon him. The axiom, that every man of value has his price, would then be strictly true. But exchangeable value, says M. Say, is the only value we know of in political economy.

'If you choose to say,' remarks the Author of the Observations, 'that political economy does not *treat* of any other sort of value, well and good: but the limited nature of political economy cannot

alter the meanings in fact affixed to words. And why is there no other? *i. e.* why is value in use discarded? Because, he says, "celle la seule (value in exchange) est sujette à des lois fixes," &c. Now, value in exchange, according to M. Say, *depends*, in part, on value in use, or what he calls utility. How then can it be exclusively subject to fixed laws, when it depends on that which is without fixed laws?'

Mr. Malthus seems to be of the same opinion as M. Say, (if we understand him aright,) as to the foundation of value in exchange, since he represents it as originating in 'a reciprocal 'demand in the party possessing the article wanted, for the article proposed to be exchanged for it.'

'When this reciprocal demand exists, the *rate* at which the exchange is made, or the portion of one commodity which is given for an assigned portion of the other, will depend upon the *relative estimation* in which they are held by the parties, founded on the desire to possess, and the difficulty or facility of procuring possession.'

That is to say, founded on their *value in use*, their *scarcity*, and the *cost of production*. Mr. Ricardo, however, considers the only basis of exchangeable value, or, to speak more correctly, the only *measure* of real value in exchange, to be, the cost of production. Scarcity he puts out of the question, as he confines his reasonings to such commodities as can be increased in quantity by the exertion of human industry, and on the production of which, competition acts without restraint. 'The quantity of 'labour realized in commodities,' is that which, in his opinion, 'regulates their exchangeable value.' That is, ultimately regulates it, when no restraint is laid upon competition, or upon supply. This doctrine, Mr. Malthus combats at considerable length, asserting that, in all transactions of sale, 'there is a 'principle which determines prices, quite independently of the 'cost of their production,' and that this principle, namely the relation of the demand to the supply, determines the natural price as well as the market price of articles; any alteration in this relation of demand to supply, being sufficient to overcome the influence of the cost of production, even in that class of commodities the market price of which is generally coincident with the cost. He admits, however, that the *necessary* condition of a *regular* supply, is, that the cost of production should be realized; which amounts to much the same as Mr. Ricardo's doctrine, that the cost of production is the ultimate cause of exchangeable value, or the basis of price.

Mr. Malthus cannot agree either with Adam Smith or Mr. Ricardo in thinking that, 'in that rude state of society which 'precedes both the accumulation of stock and the appropriation 'of land, the proportion between the quantities of labour ne-'cessary for acquiring different objects, seems to be the only

ible. For this reason, Mr. Malthus contends, that, 'if the fertility of all the lands in the world were to be diminished one half, a great part of the population and wealth of the world would be destroyed, and with it, a great part of the effective demand for necessaries.' The consequence of this would be, he adds, that 'the largest portion of the lands in most countries would be thrown completely out of cultivation; and wages, profits, and rents, particularly the latter, would be greatly diminished on all the rest.' One can hardly forbear smiling at the magnificent extravagance of such a supposition, which is brought in for the purpose, apparently, of establishing a truism. Mr. Malthus's intention, however, is to controvert Mr. Ricardo's statement, that 'a diminution of fertility of one tenth would increase rents by pushing capital upon less fertile land.' And certainly, one might rationally imagine, that, before a great part of the population quietly resigned themselves to destruction, less fertile land would be taken into cultivation.

'I think, on the contrary,' says Mr. M., 'that in any well-cultivated country it could not fail to lower rents, by occasioning the withdrawing of capital from the poorest soils. If the last land before in use would do but little more than pay the necessary labour and a profit of 10 per cent. upon the capital employed, a diminution of a tenth part of the gross produce would certainly render many poor soils no longer worth cultivating. And, on Mr. Ricardo's supposition, where, I would ask, is the increased demand and increased price to come from, when, from the greater quantity of labour and capital necessary for the land, the means of obtaining the precious metals, or any other commodities, to exchange for corn, would be greatly reduced?'

In a 'well cultivated,' that is, a *highly taxed* country, where taxation has the effect of virtually diminishing the fertility of the soil, the withdrawment of capital from the poorer soils, will, of course, be consequent on a fall of agricultural profits—whether occasioned by an increase in the cost of production, (the case supposed,) or a fall in the exchangeable value of the produce from other causes. But it seems to us, that a *general* diminution of the fertility of the soil, must of necessity raise the exchangeable value of the produce, so as to justify Mr. Ricardo's view of the case; and that so far from its leading to a withdrawment of capital from land, it would lead eventually to a rise of wages and a fall of profits in other branches of productive industry, which would occasion, an augmentation of agricultural capital.

The remaining sections of this chapter treat of the necessary separation of the rent of land from profits and wages; of the causes which tend to raise rents in the ordinary progress of society; and of the causes which tend to lower them; of the dependence of the actual quantity of produce obtained from the

land, upon the existing rents and the existing prices; of the connexion between great comparative wealth and a high comparative price of raw produce; of the causes which may mislead the landlord in letting his lands, to the injury of both himself and his country; of the strict and necessary connexion of the interests of the landlord and of the State in a country which supports its own population; of the connexion of these interests in countries importing corn; and, in conclusion, are given some general remarks on the surplus portion of the land. In these sections, Mr. Malthus enters the lists with Mr. Ricardo, and disputes the ground he has taken on the subject almost inch by inch; maintaining that 'the interest of no class is so nearly connected with 'the interests of the State as that of the landlord.' By the interests of the State, however, Mr. Malthus seems to understand the interests of the few, in opposition to those of the many—the State in opposition to the population; for he admits that, while 'it is eminently the interest of those who live upon the 'rents of land, that capital and population should increase, to 'those who live upon the profits of stock and the wages of labour, an increase of capital and population is, *to say the least 'of it*, a much more doubtful benefit.' 'It may be most safely 'asserted,' he says, 'that the interest of no other class in the 'State is so nearly and necessarily connected with its *wealth and 'power*, as the interest of the landlord;' but, that the wealth and power of a State are generally in an inverse proportion to the happiness of the community, may be gathered from his very panegyric upon Rent. We scarcely know how to understand the following passage—whether as sober seriousness or profound irony.

'Among the inestimable advantages which belong to that quality in the land, which enables it to yield a considerable rent, it is not one of the least, that, in the progress of society, it affords the main security to man that nearly his whole time, or the time of nearly the whole society, shall not be employed in procuring mere necessaries. According to Mr. Ricardo, not only will each individual capital in the progress of society yield a continually diminishing revenue, but the whole amount of the revenue derived from profits will be diminished; and *there is no doubt that the labourer will be obliged to employ a greater quantity of labour to procure that portion of his wages which must be spent in necessaries. Both these great classes of society*, therefore, may be expected to have less power of giving leisure to themselves, or of commanding the labour of those who administer to the enjoyments of society, as contra-distinguished from those who administer to its necessary wants. But, fortunately for mankind, the neat rents of the land, under a system of private property, can never be diminished by the progress of cultivation. Whatever proportion they may bear to the whole produce, the actual amount must always go on increasing,

and will always afford a fund for the enjoyments and leisure of the society, sufficient to leaven and animate the whole mass.

'If the only condition on which we could obtain lands yielding rent, were, that they should remain with the immediate descendants of the first possessors, though the benefits to be derived from the present would no doubt be very greatly diminished, yet, from its general and unavoidable effects on society, it would be unwise to refuse it as of little or no value. But, happily, the benefit is attached to the soil, not to any particular proprietors. Rents are the reward of present valour and wisdom, as well as of past strength and cunning. Every day lands are purchased with the fruits of industry and talents. They afford the great prize, the "*otium cum dignitate*," to every species of laudable exertion; and in the progress of society, there is every reason to believe, that, as they become more valuable from the increase of capital and population, and the improvements in agriculture, the benefits which they yield may be divided among a much greater number of persons.

'In every point of view, then, in which the subject can be considered, that quality of land which, by the laws of our being, must terminate in rent, appears to be a boon most important to the happiness of mankind; and I am persuaded that its value can only be underrated by those who still labour under some mistake as to its nature and its effects on society.' pp. 237—9.

A more gloomy, a more distressing view of the consequences of 'the progress of society,' could not, in our opinion, be presented. If it does not go the whole length of substantiating Mr. Ricardo's assertion, 'that the interest of the landlord is always opposed to that of the consumer and the manufacturer,' ('that is,' remarks Mr. Malthus in animadverting upon it, 'to all the other orders in the State,') it at least represents that interest as the all-absorbing one which, in the progress of society, swallows up every other. It is true, that this is stated to be brought about as the necessary effect of an excessive augmentation of capital. The capitalist, therefore, is to be considered as the great nuisance. It is capital that presses down profits and wages; capital that stimulates the population to excess; capital that compels the labourer to double his exertions in order to obtain the necessaries of life, leaving to three fourths of the community less and less power of giving leisure to themselves, or of commanding the labour of others. But then, '*happily*,' for the remaining fourth of society comes in Rent—undiminished Rent—for the wise and the valiant, and the sons of the wise and the valiant,—this blessed boon of Rent, the spoil, literally the spoil, of those 'great classes' whom the progress of society has thrown further and further back from the *otium cum dignitate*, the leisure necessary, not only for comfort, but for moral improvement!! And is this all the consolation which Political Economy has to offer us?

' Star-lighted science, hast thou wandered there,
' To waft us back the message of despair?'

Were this indeed a true picture, none need ' admire

' That riches grow in Hell; that soil may best
' Deserve the precious bane.'

But, whether it be more philosophical or not, it strikes us as far more rational, to believe with M. Sismondi, that ' the social ' system is always wrong *somewhere*, when the greater part of ' the community are in a state of suffering.' The attempt to refer it to necessary circumstances and ' the laws of our being,' how specious soever, carries on its face the characters of an almost impious fallacy. To Mr. Malthus, for whose talents it would be quite superfluous for us to express that high respect which they universally command, we are far from imputing either sophistry or a want of benevolence. We consider his writings as the unimpassioned calculations of the closet philosopher, to whom mathematics and political science are alike matters of pure abstract reasoning. He is himself, as he good-humouredly remarks, neither a receiver, nor in the expectation of becoming a receiver of rents; he writes, therefore, under no bias of self-interest. Yet, we cannot, for all this, bring our minds to dwell with the least complacency on some of the doctrines he has propounded. We believe his view of the *natural* progress of society to be essentially erroneous; and this we shall endeavour to shew in resuming the general subject in reference more particularly to the disputes respecting the nature of demand and the necessity of consumption. For the present we must take leave of him.

Appended to Mr. Malthus's volume is a very complete and valuable summary of its contents, occupying seventy pages, as well as a full index. This is an admirable plan in a work of such a description. Both the pamphlets mentioned at the head of this article, are deserving of perusal. Of the " Observations," which is by far the most lively performance of the two, we have freely availed ourselves; and have only to wish that they had been a little less desultory. The Author is a literary sharp-shooter. The ' Inquirer ' must learn to shorten his sentences, and contrive to get his notes into the text. Thirty-six notes to ninety pages is out of all proportion. His thoughts are sound, but want *fining*.

Art. VII. *The aged Minister's Encouragement to his younger Brethren.* Two Sermons occasioned by the Death of the Rev. Thomas Scott, late Rector of Aston Sandford, Bucks. By Daniel Wilson, A.M. &c. 8vo. pp. 90. London. 1821.

THESE Sermons will be read with a very lively interest. They comprise a biographical sketch of the public labours and latest days of the venerable and eminent individual to whom they relate, whose praise may with truth be said to be in all the churches. His invaluable commentary on the Scriptures, would of itself entitle him to rank at the head of modern Theologians as at once the most laborious and the most useful writer of his day. This immense undertaking had undergone his repeated revision; and the numerous alterations and additions which the latest editions received from his unwearied diligence, rendered the task equal to that of re-writing the work. The first edition, consisting of 5000 copies, was begun in 1788; a second edition of 2000 copies, appeared in 1805; a third, of the same number, in 1810; and a fourth, of 3000, in 1812. At the time of his death, he was superintending a stereotype edition, which is now passing through the press, and had finished the revision of it to nearly the end of the second Epistle of Timothy. Besides these, eight other editions, consisting altogether of 25,250 copies, have been printed in America. 'The local and temporary 'prejudices always attaching to a living writer,' having less force there, Mr. Wilson remarks, 'its value seems to have been 'at once acknowledged.' Its more extensive sale in the United States is, however, to be otherwise accounted for, by the greater cheapness of the work,* and the open competition which takes place where the law of copy-right has no operation. The sale of the work in England since 1805, considering its bulk and price, must be allowed to be almost unprecedented, especially taking into calculation the almost numberless editions of Henry's Bible, Brown's Bible, and other standard works, together with more recent 'Family Bibles' by Fawcett, S. Burder, Mant and D'Oyley, &c. which have during the same period been offered to the public. We can easily imagine that there is a class in this country, to whom the venerable name of the Apologist for Calvinism would be offensive; but we much doubt if they are, in general, persons among whom the work itself, by whatever author, would be in much request. Among evangelical Christians of every denomination, Mr. Scott's labours have always been held in respectful and affectionate estimation.

'It is difficult,' remarks Mr. Wilson, 'to form a just estimate of a work which cost its author the labour of thirty-three years. Its capital ex-

* The Boston edition, 1815, was advertised to sell at 18 dollars.

cellency consists in its following more closely than perhaps any other the fair and adequate meaning of every part of Scripture without regard to the niceties of human systems. It is a scriptural comment. Its originality is likewise a strong recommendation of it. Every part of it is thought out by the author for himself, not borrowed from others.* It is not a compilation; it is an original work, in which you have the deliberate judgment of a masculine and independent mind on all the parts of Holy Scripture. Every student will understand the value of such a production. Further, it is the comment of our age, furnishing the last interpretations which history throws on prophecy, giving the substance of the remarks which sound criticism has accumulated from the different branches of sacred literature, obviating the chief objections which modern annotators have advanced against the doctrines of the Gospel, and adapting the instructions of Scripture to the particular circumstances of the times in which we live. It is again the work of one who was at home in what he did. It was the very undertaking which required, less than any other work, what he did not possess, and demanded more than any other, what he did—it required a matured knowledge of Scripture, skill as a textuary, sterling honesty, a firm grasp of truth, unfeigned submission of mind to every part of the inspired records, unparalleled diligence and perseverance—and these were the very characteristics of the man. When to these particulars it is added, that he lived to superintend four editions, each enriched with much new and important matter, and had been engaged above three years in a new one, in which, for the fifth time, he had nearly completed a most laborious revision of the whole work, we must at least allow its extraordinary importance.'

The claims of this excellent man to the merit of distinguished usefulness as a writer, do not, however, rest entirely on his great Biblical undertaking. His "Force of Truth," (first published in 1779,) which is known to have been the means of recovering Henry Kirke White from infidelity, has been of the most important service to the cause of religion. His "Essays" are an admirable work, and in every respect worthy of the Author, whose distinguishing merit, perhaps, is judiciousness and clearness in the exposition of Scripture doctrines. His earlier writings, namely, his treatises on Repentance, Growth in Grace, and Faith, his sermon on Election, and his volume of Discourses, published between the years 1785 and 1797, had for their chief object to rescue the Evangelical doctrines from the reproach or the admixture of Antinomianism. The rest of his smaller works consist of an Answer to Paine, and other tracts in reply to infidel writers, Notes on the Pilgrim's Progress, a Reply to the Rabbi

* 'The later editions are enriched with brief and valuable quotations from most writers of credit—but the substance of the work is his own; and the first edition contained scarcely a single passage of any other author.'

Joseph Crool, in vindication of the Messiahship of Christ, occasional sermons, and detached papers in periodical works. To these are to be added, his elaborate Remarks on Bishop Tomline's Refutation of Calvinism,* and his History of the Synod of Dort.† Speaking of the "Essays on the most important "Subjects," above adverted to, and his reply to the *soi-disant* Refuter of Calvinism, Mr. Wilson says, in a note:

'These two last works appear to me incomparable, the one for the plain exposition, the other for the acute and masterly defence of truth. The comment,' he adds, 'should be a part of a student's constant reading. To turn to a few controversial pages, can afford no fair criterion of its merits. I can safely say, that after regularly consulting it for above five and twenty years, it rises continually in my esteem.

'Perhaps it is only fair to add, that his style is heavy and redundant, and that a want of clearness and method prevails in some of his productions, especially in his Sermons and his first edition of the Remarks.'

In his Commentary, however, 'where he had only to follow 'the order of thought in the sacred book, the faults of method 'and style which detract from some of his other writings, are,' Mr. Wilson remarks, 'less apparent;' and in his Essays they are by no means prominent.

The Rev. Thomas Scott was born at Braytoft near Spilsby, in Lincolnshire, in 1747. He was ordained deacon in 1772. 'The commencement of his faithful labours as a minister, may 'be dated from 1775, 6. He entered on the curacy of Olney in 1780; was chosen chaplain to the Lock Hospital, in 1785; and presented to the small rectory of Aston Sandford in 1801. Of the Lock Asylum, he was the entire founder; he was, for the first two years, secretary to the Church Missionary Society; and was among the earliest friends of the British and Foreign Bible Society, as well as of the Society for promoting Christianity among the Jews. He expired at Aston Sandford, after a long illness, on the 16th of April, 1821, in the seventy-fifth year of his age. A detailed narrative of his life, compiled partly from materials written by himself, is stated to be in preparation by one of his sons, of whom he has left three, all clergymen. The obituary contained in the second of these sermons, is highly instructive and affecting.

Mr. Wilson finds himself compelled to assume, in the close of his remarks, the tone of apology and the language of vindication, in reference to the *opprobrium* cast upon his venerable

* Eclectic Review. O.S. Vol. vii. p. 399.
† Eclectic Review. N.S. Vol. xii. p. 452.

friend is common with others of the Evangelical clergy, as a *Calvinist*. 'The charge of Calvinism has, strange to say, be-
'come within these last few years, a favourite topic of declama-
'tion.' But surely, this is a charge of much longer standing. It may, now and then, be revived with fresh vehemence, when a man wants to work his way to the Episcopal Bench, or when an individual of peculiar temperament gets enthroned upon it. But the charge must have been a pretty frequent subject of declamation, when Bishop Horsley many years ago cautioned his clergy, before they ventured on attacking Calvinism, to understand what Calvinism is. What does it signify, however, whether the Evangelical clergy are reviled as Calvinists, or as Bible men, or as Gospellers, or even as Puritans? If 'the
'present names of reproach were forgotten,' as Mr. Wilson justly observes, 'others 'would be invented.' After remarking that against many important particulars in the theology of Calvin (we were not aware there were '*many*,') Mr. Scott himself protested in his Remarks, Mr. W. says:

'It would be an act of injustice in me not to add, that the Commentary of Calvin on different parts of Scripture is an eminently judicious and practical work. After two centuries and a half, it remains unrivalled in all the grand characteristics of a sound, and perspicuous, and holy exposition of the Sacred Book.'

A similar testimony was borne to the great Reformer by Bishop Horsley; nor will the praise of being the most classical of modern Latinists, as well as the most judicious of commentators, be denied him, except through the veriest bigotry or ignorance. The merits and the character of Calvin are, however, matters of subordinate interest. The doctrines reviled as Calvinistic, are common to the most eminent of both the Continental and the English Reformers. 'Would our Reformers,' asks Mr. Wilson, 'have framed the eighty-seven Questions now im-
'posed in the diocese of Peterborough? Or would the Author
'of those eighty-seven Questions have drawn up the thirty-
'nine Articles?' Assuredly not. Those Articles have, manifestly, too Calvinistic a complexion to comport with the ideas or answer the purpose of the right reverend prelate; and yet, they are, confessedly, Calvinism in its mildest form. The points in dispute, Mr. Wilson is well aware, are not such as are peculiar to Calvinism: they are the vital doctrines of the Gospel, and there is nothing strange in their being unpalatable.

That Mr. Wilson is, in the best sense, a Calvinist, although he may disavow the appellation as a party name, we cannot entertain a doubt. For this reason, we regret that he has fallen, as it appears to us, from excess of caution, into an unguarded style of expression in the following passage.

'Since, therefore, we find only a *very few thinly scattered texts on the subject of the secret will of God*; but almost innumerable series of texts, yea, whole books of Scripture on other topics—on the fall and corruption of man, repentance, faith, the grace and mercy of God, the person and sacrifice of Christ, humility, love, peace, forgiveness of injuries, &c. &c. we endeavour to follow this order of instruction in our ministry. But then we cannot, we dare not wholly conceal any part of Scripture, or allow it to be, in its place, either useless or dangerous; nor can we soften or explain away the express and continually recurring truths of salvation, in order to avoid *that humiliating doctrine of the Divine grace* into which no doubt they ultimately flow.'

Will Mr. Wilson bear with us when we say, that there is a want of explicitness in the terms which he has selected, which renders his language somewhat equivocal. It is by no means clear what he intends by 'the subject of the secret will of God,' and 'the humiliating doctrine of the grace of God.' If, by the former, he intends what is commonly but rather technically called the Divine decrees, and by the latter, the doctrine of Irresistible Grace, we quite agree with him, that a sacred reverence, a preponderating caution, and a constant reference to the devout uses of the doctrines, are the only proper manner in which they can be approached. But the humiliating doctrine of Divine Grace, so far from being intimated in a few thinly scattered texts, pervades, as he will readily admit, the entire system of Christian doctrine; we regret, therefore, that it should seem to be set in contrast, in this respect, to the topics of the fall of man, faith, repentance, &c., which are stated to occupy the substance of Scripture: we regret that, in that enumeration, the fundamental doctrines of regeneration and transformation by the Spirit of God, should seem to be slurred over under the vague terms, the mercy and the grace of God. It is our solemn conviction, that no preaching is adapted to promote the great ends of the Evangelical ministry, in which these doctrines are not explicitly, boldly, and constantly maintained.

With regard to the doctrine of Election, disincumbered from the technicalities of any theological school, and from the consequences rashly deduced from it, we cannot consent to the representation that it is adapted only to excite 'a fearful awe.' The view which is taken of it in the Seventeenth Article, is widely different. It is there stated, that the 'godly consideration of 'Predestination and our Election in Christ, is full of sweet, 'pleasant, and unspeakable comfort to godly persons;' although its abuse by 'curious and carnal persons' is pointed out and deprecated. And this view accords with the purpose for which it is uniformly introduced in the Apostolic writings. The expression —a 'few thinly scattered texts,' is adapted to convey a defective

idea of the peculiar manner in which the sacred writers refer to the subject in question—not dogmatically, not with preponderating caution and fearful awe, not even (if we may say so) guardedly; but incidentally, as to truths fully known and believed, and the holy tendency of which had not yet been questioned,—and in the language of gratulation, as to a doctrine fraught with unspeakable comfort. The texts which more or less distinctly imply this doctrine, are by no means thinly scattered, although, owing to the incidental manner in which the most important doctrines of Revelation are conveyed, the passages may be comparatively few which can be pressed into the service of the controvertist. And if it be true, that innumerable series of texts, and whole books, treat of the fall of man, repentance, &c. it is equally true, that not one of these subjects is treated without a continual reference to the doctrines of Divine Grace, which are scattered, indeed, over the sacred pages, but it is as the rays of light are scattered over a wide surface. It is remarkable too, that the strongest and most striking enunciations of the more mysterious and offensive doctrines, (as they are deemed,) occur in connexion with practical exhortations,—in enforcing 'humility, 'love, peace, forgiveness,' &c., the topics which Mr. Wilson seems to oppose to them. The error of opposite theologians consists in separating them—in dwelling exclusively on certain doctrinal points, as detached dogmas, on the one hand, as if their use terminated in believing them; or in endeavouring, on the other hand, to expound the Christian scheme, and to enforce the Christian morality, without the aid of the considerations and *motives* deducible from those points of doctrine, to which it is thought enough to pay the occasional homage of a fearful reverence, or a formal avowal of assent.—In these sentiments, the estimable Author of these Sermons would, we persuade ourselves, concur, although his language is liable, we fear, to be misrepresented.

As these Sermons are likely to be very soon in the hands of most of our readers, we deem it quite unnecessary to make any further extracts; but we cannot deny ourselves the pleasure of transcribing into our pages, the conclusion of some 'Hints for 'promoting a revival of religion,' from a discourse on Rom. xv. 29. by this venerable friend, which are thrown into an appendix.

'A great deal of Gospel truth may be preached and little good done, because we do not fairly use all the means in addressing and calling on sinners to repent and turn to God. We do not expect this fulness of blessing, and are satisfied without it. There is a littleness in our faith and conception of things. We do not ask nor expect this fulness, we have no idea of it, it does not enter our minds. Can we wonder, then, that the Lord says to us, 'According to thy faith be it unto thee?' But the Apostles went forth and expected and asked a

fulness of blessing. When a man is in earnest, nothing will satisfy him but this. Others may be satisfied without success. They may go through a formal set of observances, and be contented; instead of examining their ministry and their whole conduct, and saying, 'Show me wherefore thou contendest with me.' If we can be satisfied without this enlarged blessing, certainly we shall never have it. If a man says, I have a large, attentive congregation; I have a good income; the people are obliging; my circumstances are comfortable—he is in a most dangerous state. It is the same as if a fisherman should be satisfied because he has a good net and pleasant companions and fair weather, though he comes home empty. If any thing but usefulness will satisfy us, I do not wonder we are not useful. We must thank God for this and that thing; but nothing must satisfy us but the conversion of sinners.

'Our faithfulness and earnestness are more in the pulpit than in the closet. We preach Christ as if in earnest, and we go and pray as if not in earnest. There is but little wrestling with God for a blessing. There is a want of the spirit of prayer. Sometimes this may arise from humility; but it is a false one. St. Paul was most humble: yet most earnest in prayer, most persevering, most importunate; and so he obtained a fulness of the blessing of the Gospel of Christ.

'There is a want of that holy heavenly temper and that general circumspection of conduct, which would make us patterns of good works. Our example may not be dishonourable; but is it so honourable to the Gospel as it might be? Our example is not a scandal; but can we say with the Apostle, 'I have coveted no man's silver, or gold, or apparel?' Can we say, 'Ye know how holily and justly and unblameably we behaved ourselves among you that believe?' Do we embody Christianity? Do we not only put a copy before others and leave them to write, but take the pen and show them how to form each letter? Are we men of God; heavenly, disinterested, dead to the pleasures, interests, and honours of this world? What would Paul say, if he were to come amongst us? Would he not have reason to say, 'All seek their own, none the things that are Jesus Christ's?' 'Are we not fishers of ease, fame, money; rather than fishers of men?' p. 89, 90.

Art. VIII. SELECT LITERARY INFORMATION.

*** *Gentlemen and Publishers who have works in the Press, will oblige the Conductors of the* Eclectic Review, *by sending information (post paid) of the subject, extent, and probable price of such works; which they may depend upon being communicated to the public, if consistent with its plan.*

Wm. Haygarth, Esq. is preparing for the press, the History of the Roman Empire, from the accession of Augustus, to the death of the younger Antoninus, which is expected will not exceed two quarto volumes.

Mr. Charles Marsh has in the press, the Life of the late Rt. Hon. William Wyndham, comprising interesting correspondence, and the memoirs of his time.

Mr. T. C. Hansard is printing in a 4to volume, an Historical Sketch of the Origin and Progress of Printing; including the process of stereotyping, and of lithographic printing.

Mr. James Henderson will soon publish, a copious History of Brasil, in 4to., with thirty plates and maps.

Dr. Alex. Henderson is preparing for publication, in a quarto volume, the History of Ancient and Modern Wines.

Dr. Adam Duds will soon publish, the Physician's Guide, being a popular dissertation on Fevers, Inflammations, and all diseases connected with them.

Mr. William James has in the press, the Naval History of Great Britain, from 1793 to 1820, in four octavo volumes, with a separate volume of tables.

Speedily will be published, the essentials of Geography, or Geography adapted to the most essential Maps of modern Geography, and also to the Maps of ancient Greece, the Roman Empire, and Canaan, for the use of Classical, Commercial, and Ladies' Schools; with a preface containing observations on Mr. Pinkerton's and Dr. Butler's Geographies, and directions for using this. To which is added, a pronouncing Index to the Greek, Latin, and Scripture proper names. By the author of the Essentials of English Grammar, Lindley Murray examined, &c. &c.

Early next month will be published, a Treatise on the Game of Chess: including the games of the anonymous Modonese, and the Traité des Amateurs, and containing many remarkable situations, original as well as selected. By John Cochrane, Esq. in one large vol. 8vo. illustrated by numerous diagrams, and an engraved frontispiece.

Mr. S. F. Gray has in the press, in two octavo volumes, a natural arrangement of British Plants, preceded by an introduction to Botany.

Dr. James Miller has nearly ready to appear, Practical Observations on Cold and Warm Bathing; with an account of the principal watering places in Scotland and England.

Dr. Dickinson has in the press, the Medical Student's Vade Mecum, being a work in the form of question and answer.

Mr. Thomas Webb is printing, in royal octavo, a Greek and English Prosodial Lexicon, with synonymes and examples, marked and scanned in the manner of the Latin Gradus.

A Treatise of the Principles of Bridges by suspension, with reference to the catenary, and exemplified by the cable bridge now in progress over the Strait of Menai, will soon appear.

Professor Dunbar is preparing a third edition of his Greek Exercises, with considerable additions, and a key for the use of teachers. Also a new edition of Dalzel's Collectanea Majora, Vol. I, including extracts from Euripides and Plato, not in the former editions.

Shortly will be published, a Reprint of that very rare and curious little Manual, Arthur Warwick's "Spare Minutes," or Resolved Meditations and pre-meditated Resolutions. This edition will be printed in super-royal 16mo. with fac-similes of the singular emblematical frontispieces, and the explanatory Poems of *Francis* Quarles and George Withers.

The Rev. Robert Hall has in the press, a new edition of his "Apology for the Freedom of the Press," with additions.

The Third Report of the Serampore Native Schools has been published in London, and may be had *gratis* of Black, Kingsbury, and Co.

Preparing for publication, a corrected edition in octavo, of the Life of Colley Cibber, with additional notes, &c. By Mr. E. Bellchambers.

In the press, The Triple Aim: or the improvement of leisure, friendship, and intellect, attempted in epistolary correspondence. 1 Vol. 8vo.

In the press, in one volume, small 8vo. Essays on the Formation and Publication of Opinions, and on other Subjects.

Preparing for the press, Pocket Anecdotes, with brief Notes subjoined. By the Rev. James Churchill. N. B. any communications for the work from the Editor's friends, will be gladly received, addressed 13, Prince's-street, Soho.

Mr. A. Maxwell, the Author of "Plurality of Worlds, or letters, notes, and memoranda, philosophical and critical," in reply to the Rev. Dr. Chalmers, is now preparing for the press, a translation from the Latin, of "Conamen recuperandi Notitiam Principiorum Veteris et Verae Philosophiæ," &c. By A. S. Cates, L L.B. or, an Attempt to recover the principles of the antient and true philosophy, collected from the sacred writings, and lately explained by the eminent John Hutchinson, Esq. With a new preface, and many additional notes, and illustrated by plates, which clearly elucidate the different phænomena connected with the annual and diurnal motions of the earth.

Art. IX. LIST OF WORKS RECENTLY PUBLISHED.

BIOGRAPHY.

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Erratum in the present Number.

At page 48, *for* equis *read* sequis.

The Title Page, Index, and Contents to Vol. XV. will be given with the next Number.

THE

ECLECTIC REVIEW,

For AUGUST, 1821.

Art. I. *Theology explained and defended*, in a Series of Sermons. By Timothy Dwight, S.T.D. LL.D., late President of Yale College. With a Memoir of the Life of the Author. In five Volumes. 8vo. Price 3l. 10s. Middletown, printed: London, re-printed, 1819.

AMERICA has not of late years been indebted to this country for any theological publication of greater value than these lectures of President Dwight. If that jealousy of our transatlantic brethren, which has too long manifested itself in the supercilious tone of English writers towards every thing American, were not already subsiding, this work might seem sufficient to give a check to the language of disparagement, and to compel a more respectful estimate of at least one branch of her literature. But, unfortunately, that one branch is the least likely to obtain in this country adequate attention, or to be fairly and impartially appreciated; the American divines being too closely identified, in the minds of a large class of persons, with the English Calvinistic Dissenters, to stand a fair chance of having their claims to high consideration generally recognised. A modern essayist actually ranks President Edwards among English Dissenters, being ignorant that the Author of the acutest piece of metaphysical reasoning in the language, was an American. For any thing that appears to the contrary in respect to the purity of his style and the extent of his literary information, the Author of these volumes too might pass for an Englishman. And his masterly exposition and defence of the doctrines of the Reformation, might occasion his being referred to that class of theologians who in this country are stigmatised as Calvinists or evangelical divines. The truth is, that he was a man whom any religious denomination might be proud to claim, one whom every true Christian, of whatever country or language, must delight to recognise as a brother. Such men, the Latimers and the Leightons, the Pascals and the Fenelons,

the Owens and the Henrys, the Brainerds and the Martyns, the Doddridges and the Dwights, are the property of no exclusive community: they belong to the Catholic Church. And one might be allowed to apply to them the apostolic designation: they are "the angels of the churches, and the glory of Christ."

Timothy Dwight was born at Northampton in the county of Hampshire, state of Massachusetts, on the 14th of May, 1752. His paternal ancestors were English, but his family had been settled in Massachusetts upwards of a century. His mother was the third daughter of President Edwards; and to this excellent parent, young Dwight was indebted for the rudiments of his education, and for his early impressions of piety. She is said to have possessed uncommon powers of mind, and having been accustomed from infancy to the conversation of literary men at her father's house, was well aware of the importance of intellectual acquirements. It was a maxim with her, that children generally lose several years, in consequence of being considered by their friends as too young to be taught. She, accordingly, began to instruct her son almost as soon as he was able to speak, so that before he was four years old, he was able to read the Bible with correctness.

'At the age of six, he was sent to the grammar school, where he early began to importune his father to permit him to study Latin. This was denied, from an impression that he was too young to profit by studies of that description; and the master was charged not to suffer him to engage in them. It was soon found to be in vain to prohibit him: his zeal was too great to be controlled. Not owning the necessary books, he availed himself of the opportunity when the elder boys were at play, to borrow theirs; and, in this way, without his father's knowledge, or his master's consent, studied through Lilly's Latin Grammar twice. When his master discovered the progress he had made, he applied earnestly to his father, and finally obtained a reluctant consent that he might proceed; though every effort short of compulsion was used to discourage him. He pursued the study of the language with great alacrity, and would have been prepared for admission into College at eight years of age, had not a discontinuance of the school interrupted his progress, and rendered it necessary for him to be taken home, and placed again under the direction of his mother.'

The conduct of the father will remind our readers of the similar prohibition which was laid, from the same mistaking kindness, on Pascal, and which gave occasion for the astonishing display of his precocity of genius. Mr. Dwight was an intelligent man, and in the company of the well educated persons whom his hospitality attracted, his son had valuable opportunities of enlarging his information, and was stimulated to ardent exertion. In his fourteenth year, having, during the previous twelvemonth, improved his knowledge of the Greek and Latin

languages in a respectable school at Middletown, young Dwight was admitted a member of Yale College; but the disorganized state of the college at that period, together with the interruptions of ill health, rendered the first two years which he passed there, all but absolutely lost time. His intense application during the subsequent two years, laid the foundation of a weakness of sight which caused him great distress during the remainder of life. He formed a resolution, to which he faithfully adhered, to employ fourteen hours every day in close application to his studies. In the year 1769, being a little past seventeen years of age, he received the degree of Batchelor of Arts. On leaving college, he was employed to take charge of a grammar school at New Haven, and during the two years he passed in that situation, his time was thus distributed: six hours in school; eight hours in close and severe study; ten hours to exercise and sleep. In Sept. 1771, he was chosen a tutor in Yale College.

'When he entered upon the office, more than half the members of his class were older than himself; and the freshman who waited upon him, was thirty-two years of age. Notwithstanding a circumstance generally so disadvantageous, he proceeded in the discharge of his official duties with firmness and assiduity; and in a short time gained a reputation for skill in the government and instruction of his class, rarely known in the former experience of the College. In addition to the customary mathematical studies, he carried them through Spherics and Fluxions, and went as far as any of them would accompany him into the Principia of Newton. He also delivered to them a series of lectures on style and composition, on a plan very similar to that contained in the Lectures of Blair, which were not published until a considerable time afterwards. His application to study during the six years he remained in office, was intense. In the year 1772, he received the degree of Master of Arts, on which occasion he delivered, as an exercise at the public Commencement, a Dissertation on the History, Eloquence, and Poetry of the Bible. This production, composed and delivered by a youth of twenty, on a subject then so new and of such high interest, was received with the strongest marks of approbation. A copy was immediately requested for the press; and it was afterwards re-published both in America and in Europe. The field of thought was new in this country. The Lectures of Lowth, if then published, were not known on this side of the Atlantic; nor do we know of any work, except the Bible itself, to which the Author appears to have been indebted for his plan or his illustrations.'

During the second year of his tutorship, he subjected the physical powers of his constitution to an experiment which had very nearly proved fatal. In order to save the time spent in bodily exercise, he resolved to attempt how far he could obviate the inconveniences attendant on habits of constant sedentary application by abstemiousness. He began this system by gradually

reducing the quantity of his food at dinner, till he brought it down to twelve mouthfuls. After trying this regimen for six months, feeling 'less clearness of apprehension than was desirable,' he adopted a vegetable diet, without increasing the quantity. His constitution was strong enough to enable him to persevere in this rash system for a twelvemonth. At length it gave way, although, strange to say, Mr. Dwight, when he first perceived the reality of the change in his health, had no suspicion of the cause. Repeated attacks of the bilious cholic brought him, at last, to so extreme a degree of emaciation and weakness, that it was with great difficulty that he was removed to Northampton, and his recovery seemed even to himself hopeless. He was recommended, when some improvement had been effected by the aid of medicine, to try the effect of vigorous bodily exercise as the only means of restoring his constitutional health; and to his perseverance in following up this advice, he was doubtless indebted for his complete recovery. Within a twelvemonth, he walked upwards of two thousand miles, and rode on horseback upwards of three thousand.

In May 1777, the College was broken up in consequence of the American War. Mr. Dwight, who had recently married, retired with his class to Weathersfield, where he entered on the labours of the pulpit, and continued to occupy himself with instructing his pupils and preaching on the Sunday, till September. He then resigned his charge, and being appointed Chaplain to General Parsons's brigade in the patriot army, joined the forces at West Point.

'The generous enthusiasm,' remarks his Biographer, 'which then pervaded the country, not only prompted our young men of honour in civil life to take the field, but induced many of our clergy of the first reputation for piety and talents to attach themselves to the staff. The soldier of the revolution need not be told how animating were their sermons and their prayers, nor how correct and exemplary were their lives.'

Mr. Dwight remained with the army a little more than a year, during which he distinguished himself, not only by the diligent discharge of his official duties, but by writing several patriotic songs, which contributed not a little to keep alive the enthusiasm of the soldiers in the cause of freedom. The melancholy death of his father, who fell a victim to the disease of the climate in a distant expedition, leaving a widow and thirteen children behind him, imposed upon him new duties as the elder son and the brother. He now removed with his family to Northampton, where he devoted himself for five years to the education of his younger brothers and sisters, and to the superintendance of a farm, the maintenance of the family depending almost entirely on his personal exertions. He also established a school for the instruc-

tion of youth of both sexes, which was almost immediately resorted to by so great a number of pupils, that he was under the necessity of employing two assistants. During this period, he preached on the Sunday almost without intermission.

'The filial affection and dutiful respect and obedience which he exhibited towards his mother, and the more than fraternal kindness with which he watched over the well-being of his brothers and sisters, deserve the most honourable remembrance. To accomplish this object, he postponed his own establishment for life and a provision for his family. To accomplish it, though destitute of property, he relinquished in their favour his own proportion of the family estate; laboured constantly for five years with a diligence and alacrity rarely exampled; and continued his paternal care, and exertions, and liberality long after his removal from Northampton. Often have we heard his mother acknowledge in language of eloquent affection and gratitude, his kindness, and faithfulness, and honourable generosity to her and to her children. The respect which she felt and manifested towards him, though perhaps not his inferior in native powers of mind, resembled the affection of a dutiful child towards her father, rather than the feelings of a mother for her son.'

In the years 1781 and 1782, he twice represented the town of Northampton in the State Legislature; and it was owing to his exertions and those of his colleague, the Hon. Joseph Hawley, 'in opposition to the current of popular feeling and to no small 'weight of talents and influence, that the new Constitution of 'Massachusetts was adopted by the convention of the most im-'portant county in the State.' His talents, his industry, and his eloquence soon rendered him one of the most influential and valuable members of the legislative body. He was at this period warmly solicited to devote himself altogether to public life; but his attachment to the duties of the Christian ministry induced him to decline every offer of a permanent employment in a civil capacity; and in November 1783, he accepted of the pastoral charge of the church at Greenfield, a parish in the town of Fairfield in Connecticut. Here, to supply the deficiencies arising from an inadequate stipend, he established, absolutely without funds, an academy for both sexes, and supported it with unexampled reputation, devoting six hours every day to the instruction of his pupils, numbers of whom were carried through the whole course of education customary at college. He adopted to a considerable degree one part of the Lancasterian method, making it the duty of the older scholars to hear the recitations of the younger. During the twelve years of his residence at Greenfield, he instructed more than one thousand pupils.

'When it is considered that, from his leaving college as a tutor, his eyes were so weak as not only to preclude him almost entirely from reading and writing, but to cause him very frequently extreme pain and distress, it will naturally be concluded, that he must have passed a

very industrious and laborious life. Such, however, was his capacity for every kind of business in which he was engaged, that he was able to devote as much time as was necessary to the calls of company and friendship, as well as to perform the extra-parochial duties of a minister to his people.'

In 1787, Mr. Dwight received the degree of doctor of divinity from the college at Princeton, New Jersey. In May, 1795, the presidency of Yale college becoming vacant by the death of the Rev. Dr. Styles, he was unanimously appointed to that honourable station, and once more removed with his family to New Haven, to the extreme regret of the parish over which he had so long presided. The state of the college at this period was truly deplorable: its discipline was relaxed, its reputation deservedly on the decline, and to such a height had the prevalence of a shallow and flippant infidelity arisen, that a considerable proportion of the class which he first taught, had assumed the names of the principal English and French infidels, by which they were more familiarly known than by their own.

'To extirpate a spirit so pernicious and fatal, he availed himself of an early and decisive opportunity. Forensic disputation was an important exercise of the senior class. For this purpose, they were formed into a convenient number of divisions; two of which disputed before him every week in the presence of the other members of the class, and of the resident graduates. It was the practice for each division to agree upon several questions, and then refer them to the President to select which he thought proper. Until this time, through a mistaken policy, the students had not been allowed to discuss any question which involved the inspiration of the Scriptures; from an apprehension that an examination of these points would expose them to the contagion of scepticism. As infidelity was extensively prevalent in the state and in the country, the effect of this course on the minds of the students had been unhappy. It had led them to believe, that their instructors were afraid to meet the question fairly, and that Christianity was supported by authority and not by argument. One of the questions presented by the first division, was this, "*Are the Scriptures of the Old and New Testament the word of God?*" To their surprise, the President selected it for discussion; told them to write on which side they pleased, as he should not impute to them as their own, any sentiments which they advanced; and requested those who should write on the negative side of the question, to collect and bring forward all the facts and arguments which they could produce: enjoining it upon them, however, to treat the subject with becoming respect and reverence. Most, if not all, of the members of the division came forward as the champions of infidelity. When they had finished the discussion, he first examined the ground they had taken; triumphantly refuted their arguments; proved to them that their statement of facts was mistaken or irrelevant; and, to their astonishment, convinced them, that their acquaintance with the subject was wholly

superficial. After this, he entered into a direct defence of the Divine origin of Christianity in a strain of powerful argument and animated eloquence which nothing could resist. The effect upon the students was electrical. From that moment, Infidelity was not only without a strong hold, but without a lurking place. To espouse her cause, was now as unpopular as before it had been to profess a belief in Christianity. Unable to endure the exposure of argument, she fled from the retreats of learning ashamed and disgraced.'*

A man who could by means so mild, yet so decisive, achieve such a resolution as this, must have been of no ordinary character; and had we no other data than this solitary anecdote for forming an exalted estimate of the distinguished subject of this memoir, it would be amply sufficient to prove that he must have united, in a very striking degree, calmness of temper and coolness of judgement with moral intrepidity and decision. The means which he adopted, were undoubtedly the most direct and the most prudent; and yet, in the hands of a man of inferior powers of mind, the result, if not doubtful, would, assuredly, have been far less triumphant. It is in vain to speak of the omnipotence of truth, in any other reference than its ultimate prevalence; for, in the practical encounter with infidelity, truth is often found powerless, owing to the unhappy facility with which minds in love with error may repel the utmost force of argument, and escape from their own convictions. The confutation of confirmed scepticism would seem, indeed, to be a hopeless adventure. But in the instance before us, it was with ignorance as much as with scepticism, that President Dwight had to contend; and it is quite evident, that he won the day as much by his conciliatory policy, as by his power of reasoning. The young men were taken by surprise, by a conduct so different from what they had been accustomed to; while the mild energy of their President was well adapted to conciliate, not only their respect, but their confidence. At precisely the right moment, he interposed the full weight of his authority, and the whole force of his eloquence, in vindication of the truth; and then it was, that feeling themselves grappled with by a superior mind, they were not only conquered, they threw away their arms. Had he previously attempted to decide the dispute by his own authority, whatever had been his powers of reasoning or of oratory, he would, in all probability, have failed in producing any lasting conviction on the minds of his pupils. On the other hand, had he, with mistaken candour, permitted them to remain in any degree of indecision, had he betrayed any deficiency of clearness

* Two Discourses "on the Nature and Danger of Infidel Philosophy," addressed to the Candidates for the Baccalaureate in Yale College, which President Dwight published in 1797, have been reprinted in this country.

of his belief, had he disclaimed the wish to bias their minds in matters of infinite interest, their infidelity would never have been vanquished. His conduct on this occasion was in perfect contrast to that spurious liberality of opinion which would tolerate the ceaseless renewal of such discussions, in what is termed the spirit of free inquiry, as a scholastic exercise. Between the mistaken policy which precluded altogether the discussion of any question involving the inspiration of the Scriptures, and the worse than impolitic conduct which would give up the fundamental truths of Christianity to be bandied about with daring *nonchalance* in academic games, there is surely to be found a practicable medium. Our readers will, perhaps, call to mind Bishop Watson's remark on the themes selected for disputation in the Sopha's school at Cambridge, when he was Moderator: 'The liberality of principles in which the University of Cambridge initiates her sons, would, had he been acquainted with them, have extorted praise from Mr. Gibbon himself.'* By such praise, Dr. Dwight would not have considered himself as honoured.

There were other circumstances which rendered his situation as president of the college at that period, one of peculiar difficulty.

'A general sentiment of insubordination, growing out of the political situation of the civilized world, had seized the minds of the young as well as the old. High notions of freedom and personal independence prevailed among all ages. And the first impulse to which, in many instances, the minds of youth as well as men, were disposed to yield, was, *resistance to authority*. Many of our higher seminaries of learning have witnessed its effects in scenes of riot and insurrection, which have, for the time, subverted their authority, and destroyed their usefulness. Yale College wholly escaped these evils. No general combination of the students to resist its government, ever occurred during his Presidency. This fact is to be ascribed to the wisdom and firmness of the President and his associates in office. He well knew that the tranquillity of such an institution must depend on the respect and affection of the students, and the steady watchfulness of its officers. Deeply read in the human character, and emphatically so in the character of young men, he foresaw the approaches of the storm which so extensively prevailed, and provided in season the means of defence and security. On every occasion of this kind, he derived the utmost benefit from one trait of his character, his *energy*, a trait which no man ever possessed in a more eminent degree. His decision and inflexibility to his purpose cannot be surpassed.'

On his accession to the presidency, the number of the students was only a hundred and ten. Almost immediately after his ac-

* Eclectic Review. N. S. Vol. IX. p. 101.

session, they began to increase; till they amounted, at one time, to three hundred and thirteen. His conduct towards the young men was truly paternal. He encouraged more especially the senior class, in all their difficulties and troubles, to come to him for advice and assistance; and those who, on leaving college, wished to be employed as tutors, regularly applied to him to procure them eligible situations.

He remembered the feelings of a young man just leaving college without a profession, without property, and with no means of support but the blessing of God and his own exertions. Nothing gave him higher pleasure than to encourage the heart of every youth so situated, to save him from despondence, and to open to him the road to property, to usefulness, and to honour. The number of his students whom he thus essentially befriended, would almost exceed belief. With others who were in more affluent circumstances, he would enter into a free and confidential conversation on their plan of life, explain to them their peculiar dangers, and lead them to aim at eminence in their professions, and to form for themselves a high standard of moral excellence. His pupils familiarly spoke of him by the most honourable appellation, the "Young Man's Friend."

During twenty years, Yale College continued to enjoy the watchful superintendance and indefatigable labours of this invaluable man; and at the age of sixty-three, his constitution exhibited no symptoms of decay or infirmity. The regularity of his habits, and the uniform course of exercise which he pursued, rendered him at that age more active and energetic than most men are at forty. It was his constant practice, when the season admitted of it, to work for at least one hour before breakfast in his garden. He also walked, or rode on horseback, for some time every day; and often in the winter, when no other mode of exercise was convenient, would employ himself in cutting fire-wood. By these means, he secured the uninterrupted enjoyment of vigorous health, till, in February 1816, he was seized with the first attack of the painful disease to which he ultimately fell a victim. For several weeks, he endured with unyielding fortitude and resignation the most excruciating pain; and when at length he obtained, by surgical aid, partial relief, it was evident that the disorder had made the most fearful ravages in his constitution. During the summer, he was able so far to struggle with the disease as to resume his professional and official labours. But, although his cheerfulness, as well as the activity of his mind, were unabated, his strength was visibly ebbing away. Often, languid and scarcely able to support himself, he would enter the lecture-room, announcing his intention only to ask the students a few questions; but, kindling with the subject, 'his physical system,' says his Biographer, 'seemed 'temporarily excited by the action of his mind, and he would

'discourse with his usual eloquence and interest, and even 'threw a charm of sprightliness and brilliancy over his communi-'cations.' Only a week before his death, he heard the theological class at his own house for the last time. His sufferings were extreme; his debility so great that it appeared a painful effort for him to speak; 'but again, his mind abstracted itself 'from sympathy with an agonised frame,' and, in a discourse of one hour and a half, he expatiated on the doctrine of the Trinity in a strain of cogent reasoning and interesting illustration, which left an indelible impression on the minds of his pupils. He continued in a state of suffering, but not of inactivity, his amanuensis being kept in constant employment during his long confinement, till the 8th of January, 1817, when he was seized with new and alarming symptoms, and after lingering till the 11th, expired without a struggle.

We have deemed this brief sketch of the life and character of the admirable Author of these volumes, the best introduction to a review of their contents, and, possibly, the most effectual recommendation of them to our readers. The high veneration which the memoir is adapted to inspire, although by no means necessary to secure the attention which they demand, and which they will so richly repay, prepares the reader to enter with appropriate expectations on the perusal. We have of necessity omitted many very interesting details illustrative of his finished character as a preacher, a theological tutor, a citizen, and a Christian, which will be found in the very ample narrative of his Biographer. It would admit, in some parts, of a little compression, and, in a revised form, would be highly deserving of separate republication, since the magnitude of the work will place it out of the reach of many individuals to whom the memoir will be highly acceptable.

The Lectures contained in these volumes were planned, and in part composed and delivered, during Dr. Dwight's residence at Greenfield. When appointed to the divinity professorship, in addition to the presidency, of Yale college, his practice was, to preach one of them on every Sunday morning during term time; by which arrangement, he finished the course once in four years, so that every student who completed the regular term of his education, had the opportunity of hearing the whole series. The lectures were published as they were dictated to the amanuensis, with scarcely any corrections. He wrote no plan of them himself, and yet, the analysis of them drawn up by the Editor, exhibits the most exact and lucid arrangement. They are strictly, and in the best sense, sermons, and sermons of a highly practical nature, while they are fully entitled by their systematic order, their metaphysical acuteness, their depth and comprehensiveness of thought, and their logical accuracy of reasoning, to

the character of theological lectures. 'Their primary object,' the Editor justly states, 'is to explain and prove the great 'truths of Theology; their second, to enforce them on the con-'science, and to shew their practical influence.' His most obvious purpose was, to promote the salvation of those to whom they were addressed.

The two leading divisions of the work are, a series of lectures on the doctrines, and a series on the duties of religion. The first series is rather arbitrarily, and not very correctly subdivided, in the Editor's analysis, into doctrines of natural religion, and doctrines peculiar to the Christian religion. With no propriety are the discoveries of Revelation respecting the decrees of God, the existence and rank of angels, the fall of man, and the impossibility of being justified by the works of the law, ranked among doctrines of natural religion. For such an arrangement, Dr. Dwight is not responsible. His own division of the subjects, is, into Scripture truths, and Scripture precepts. The first sixteen sermons treat of the *existence and attributes of God*, and embrace, of course, a notice of what is termed the atheistic controversy. These are followed by nine sermons on the *works of God*, including a specific consideration of the nature and the end of man. To these succeed a series on the *providence of God as Creator*, in which the probation, the fall, and the consequent depravity of man, together with 'the situa-'tion in which mankind are by means of their corruption,' are treated at large. These thirty four sermons have a general correspondence, as to their order and contents, to the first book of Calvin's Institutes, *De cognitione Dei Creatoris*. Dr. Dwight has followed the same natural order of the Apostles' Creed, in proceeding to treat, in the subsequent sermons, on the doctrines which come under the title of his second book, *De cognitione Dei Redemptoris*. In these, the Socinian controversy comes under examination; and many of the remarks and illustrations which occur in this part of the series, are peculiarly striking and original. The following is the order of the subjects which it comprises: *the deity of Christ* (in seven sermons), *the humanity of Christ* (one sermon), *the covenant of Redemption under which he acted* (one sermon), *his threefold office as prophet, priest, and king*, including the special consideration of the nature, necessity, and extent of his *atonement* (sixteen sermons), the *miracles* of Christ, his *resurrection*, and the *amiableness of his moral character* (each, one sermon). *The consequences of Christ's mediation* are treated of under the heads of justification by faith, regeneration, adoption, and sanctification, with its fruits and evidences, in sermons 61 to 90; corresponding to the third book of Calvin, *De modo percipiendæ Christi gratiæ, et qui fructus inde nobis prove-*

niant. The doctrine of the Holy Spirit's agency, and that of the Trinity, come under consideration in this part of the series. The 'system of duties,' which occupies sermons 91 to 102, comprises, first, *an exposition of the Commandments*, and, secondly, all those subjects which come under the general designation of *means of grace*. The subjects of Calvin's fourth book, therefore, *De externis Mediis ad Salutem*, are embraced in this part of the work, including the subject of Church government, as well as what is too often considered as foreign from theological discussions, a code of Christian morality, *death, the resurrection, the final judgement, and the future state*, which are treated of by Calvin in his third book, among the fruits of Christ's mediation, are with more correctness reserved by Dr. Dwight for what might be termed a fifth book. We see no propriety, however, in the general title given to them in the analysis; a 'system of dispensations.' They belong in fact, with the exception of the first topic, to the truths of revealed religion. They form a part only, and are but the consummation of that great system of Providential dispensations which commences with the mediatorial intervention of the Saviour. This, it is evident from the Author's own language, was the light in which he himself viewed these subjects, although, from their mixed nature, he deemed it more proper, instead of classing them with other doctrines of religion in connexion with the scheme of Redemption, to reserve them for a separate series that might form an impressive conclusion of the whole course. They consist of nine sermons, which, with two concluding lectures on the internal evidence of the truth of Revelation, supplied by this view of the Christian theology, make a total of one hundred and seventy-three.

Besides these, Dr. Dwight had collected materials for a series of fifty lectures on the *Evidences of Revelation*; some of which he delivered in the year following his induction. But the weakness of his eyes compelled him to desist, and they were left unfinished. This subject, however, strictly speaking, forms no part of a system of theology; and it is possible that the Author was less anxious to complete his design, from feeling that it was more proper for the lecture-room than for the pulpit, as being of a less practical nature. He might also think, that the internal evidences of revealed religion are those which it is most safe and most beneficial to bring forward; and these he takes frequent occasion, in these volumes, to insist upon. He well knew, that a man may acknowledge the authority of the Scriptures and the credibility of the Gospel history, and yet remain, as to the substance of Revelation, an infidel. In all these lectures, he takes the truth of Christianity for granted, and argues from the declarations of Scripture as from first principles, never

evidence, at the same time, to shew the resemblance of its doctrines, and the harmony of revealed truth with the soundest deductions of logic. We cannot but consider this as the most rational, the most philosophical, as well as the most salutary mode of investigation. Theology pre-supposes a Revelation, and that Revelation is not merely the primary source of our knowledge, as to a large class of the most important truths, but it supplies the only medium of proof. This holds good with regard to the doctrines of what is termed natural religion, not less than, with respect to the discoveries of the New Testament. Not only were they not discoverable, as the history of the most civilized nations of heathenism shews, by the light of reason; but the Divine testimony is the only basis of certainty upon which, as principles of theological science, they can rest, and faith in that testimony is the only means of our knowing them. The practice, therefore, of exhibiting those doctrines apart from Revelation, we cannot but consider as wholly unadvisable, since it is to separate them from their true and proper evidence. Even the infidel who rejects the authority of the Scriptures, derives from the very Revelation he impugns, the knowledge of those primary theological truths which he attempts to turn against the believer. The existence and authority of Revelation must, then, be assumed as a first principle, in laying the foundation of theological science; and the legitimate purpose of *à priori* reasoning is, not to prove the truth of what, being revealed, is certain, but to answer the objections brought against the matter of Revelation. It is an unwarrantable and dangerous concession, to the Humes, the Gibbons, and the Paines, to seem to admit, by the style of our reasonings, that there is any reasonableness in their scepticism as to the genuineness and credibility of the sacred records, or that Christianity, at this time of day, stands in need of being proved to be true. Yet, in many of the apologies of its advocates, and many lectures on the external evidences of Revelation, there is, we think, something too much of the tone of concession; and there is in some theologians a hesitating or timid way of referring to the Scriptural proof of religious doctrines, as if the inspiration of Scripture were really questionable; as if "Thus saith the Lord" were a less philosophical reason for believing, than, Such is the testimony of Tacitus, or, such the reasoning of Mr. Hume.

The theological lectures of Dr. Dwight are characterised by a manner and spirit the very opposite of this. There is no dogmatism, neither is there any compromise of the oracles of Revelation. He treads firmly, with the air of a man who knows the ground he has taken, and feels his position to be impregnable. There is, at the same time, a calm earnestness of manner, which bespeaks his conviction of the intrinsic value and

practical efficacy of the truths he advocates. There is none of that professional *sang-froid* with which sometimes theological subjects have been discussed and lectured upon. The connexion between his intellectual powers and his moral sensibilities, seems never to be suspended, but a wholesome circulation is going forward, which communicates warmth to his most abstract speculations. The consequent effect is, that these lectures are admirably adapted to make the reader not merely a rational believer, but a devout Christian.

In proceeding to substantiate these remarks, we feel no small difficulty in making from so large a mass of materials, our selection of extracts. The eighth and ninth sermons treat of the benevolence of God. In the first of these, the scriptural proposition, that "God is love," or benevolence (Αγαπη), is proved from the works of creation and providence.

'Although,' says Dr. Dwight, 'I can by no means admit with many of my fellow-men respectable for their understanding and worth, that the Benevolence of God is not capable of being completely proved, or that it is not in fact completely proved, by the Scriptures, yet, I cannot help believing, that, if the proof furnished by reason be satisfactory also, and can be fairly exhibited as satisfactory, the minds of many men, at least, will rest on this subject with a conviction more unmingled, a confidence less exposed to danger and disturbance. The question concerning the amount of the evidence which Reason gives concerning this doctrine, has long been, and is still disputed. The proofs of the Divine benevolence from Reason, are regarded by many persons of reputation as insufficient. I have myself entertained, heretofore, opinions on this subject different from those I now entertain. As I have not seen it discussed in such a manner as satisfied my own wishes, I shall now consider it with more particularity than might otherwise be necessary.'

Having, in the previous lectures, proved from the self-existence and necessary attributes of Deity, that God is absolutely independent,—that is to say, that 'he needs, and can need, nothing 'to render his ability either to do or to enjoy whatever he 'pleases, greater or more perfect,'—he proceeds to argue in proof of the necessary benevolence of God, first, 'that *God 'can have no possible motive to be malevolent.*' The nature of things can furnish no such motive, since it is impossible to suppose, that to be malevolent is a more desirable state of being, than to be benevolent. And no such motive can be presented to God from without himself, since all other beings, together with all that pertains to them, being what he, antecedently to their existence, chose either to produce or to permit, it is certain that he could gain nothing to himself by the exercise of malevolence. Therefore, if malevolent, he must sustain that character without a motive.

The second argument is, that, inasmuch as an Omniscient Being cannot but see, that to sustain and exhibit a benevolent character is more glorious to himself and more beneficial to his creatures, than the contrary, and as the glory of the Creator and the good of his creatures involve every thing that is desirable,—an *infinite motive* is constantly presented to the Creator, to the exercise of benevolence; that the exercise of malevolence would, therefore, be not only without a motive, but against the influence of the strongest possible motive to the contrary, and could arise only from an original inherent propensity in the Infinite Nature,—'a propensity uninfluenced by truth, and immoveable by motives.'

Thirdly. 'The only conduct which a Creator can receive 'with pleasure from his creatures, must plainly be, attachment, 'reverence, and the voluntary obedience which they produce;' and 'it is impossible that God should not choose to be loved, 'reverenced, and obeyed.' But the Creator has so formed his works, and so constituted his providence, that the minds of men irresistibly, and of absolute necessity, esteem a benevolent being, and hate and despise malevolence. To suppose the Creator to be a malevolent being, therefore, would be, to believe, 'that he has necessitated, beyond a possibility of its 'being otherwise, his intelligent creatures to hate and despise 'that which he supremely loves and approves, viz. his own 'moral character,' and to esteem and love the opposite.

Fourthly. 'The Creator has placed mankind either in a 'state of trial, or a state of reward: but our present state is, on 'neither of these suppositions, compatible with the doctrine 'that he is malevolent.' Rational creatures can exist in no possible situation except one of these two. 'If, then, we are 'placed in a state of reward, we are beyond measure more 'happy, and less miserable, than is consistent with the charac- 'ter of malevolence in the Creator.' If in a state of trial, our circumstances are equally at variance with the supposition, all our opposition to such a character being necessarily approved by our own consciences. And 'God has so constituted the world, 'as to make misery the only legitimate and natural consequence 'of malevolence, and happiness the only natural consequence of 'benevolence.'

Lastly. 'The goodness of God displayed in the present 'world, is a strong argument that he is a benevolent Being.' This is illustrated by the following considerations pursued into detail. The last is urged in a very forcible manner as a proof of the forbearance of God.

"1. God makes mankind the subjects of extensive enjoyment in the present world. 2. God has furnished mankind with many alleviations and many remedies for the evils which they suffer in the present

world. 3. The original and main design of each particular thing appears plainly [as insisted upon by Dr. Paley] to be benevolent. 4. All the blessings experienced by mankind are bestowed on sinful beings.'

Dr. Dwight then notices the objections usually made against this doctrine as a dictate of reason, which are reducible to two; the existence of moral evil, and the existence of natural (or, more properly, physical,) evil. Here he frankly avows himself to be unable, and expresses his complete conviction that all other men are unable, to explain this subject so as to give an inquirer clear and satisfactory views, by the light of reason, 'of the propriety of permitting the introduction of moral evil into the Intelligent System.' He contents himself with insisting on the following positions: 1. 'God cannot be proved to be the efficient 'cause of sin;' and till this is done, man is unquestionably to be acknowledged as the cause of his own sin. 2. 'It cannot be 'be proved, that God was obliged, either by justice or benevolence, to prevent sin from existing;' inasmuch as a state of trial supposes a liability to sin, and it cannot be proved, that it is inconsistent with justice or benevolence, for God to place his rational creatures in a state of trial. 3. 'It cannot be proved, 'that the existence of sin will, in the end, be a detriment to 'the Universe.' The objection drawn from the existence of physical evil might seem scarcely deserving of separate discussion, physical evil being but the consequence of moral evil. The considerations urged by Dr. Dwight,—that, of a large proportion of such evils, men are themselves the authors, that the evils inflicted by God are always less than the subjects of them merit, and that afflictions have often a beneficial influence,—do not appear to us to be urged with his usual acuteness, since they leave the *previous* difficulty undiminished. The case of infants, he evades, rather than fairly disposes of. In fact, the existence of physical evil, viewed apart from that of moral evil, is wholly inexplicable. An infidel can give no answer to the question—how death originated: the only solution is that of the Apostle—"By "one man sin entered into the world, and *death by sin*." Rejecting this, or attempting to go beyond this, we are lost in interminable conjectures. Although afflictions have unquestionably a beneficial effect on the minds of many individuals, it is equally certain, that their effect on others is of a prejudicial kind. That they are over-ruled as means of good, may be admitted to supply a striking proof of the benevolence of the Supreme Moral Governor in his providential dispensations; but, unless the necessary tendency of pain and suffering were beneficial, which assuredly it is not, the existence of physical evil is by no means accounted for. The only conclusion on which we can repose as a dictate of reason, is that at which Leibnitz

arrives in his Essay on the Goodness of God. 'Infinite Goodness united to Supreme Wisdom, could not but choose, out of all possible things, that which is best. An objector may reply, that the world might have existed without sin and without suffering; but I deny that it would therefore have been *better*.' 'Every thing,' he adds, 'having been foreseen by God, has contributed as it were *ideally (idéalement)*, before its actual existence, to the determination formed in the Divine mind respecting the existence of all things. If, therefore, the smallest evil which arises in the world, were not to take place, it would no longer be that world which, all things being taken into the account, has been deemed the best by the Creator who has made choice of it.' 'I may not be able to shew you in detail how any other conceivable worlds would be inferior to that in which we exist; for can I comprehend, or can I represent to others, infinite things, and compare them one with another? But you ought to conclude with me that it must be so, *ab effectu*, since God has chosen the world such as it is.'*

Dr. Dwight admits, in concluding the discourse, that the arguments he has adduced, scarcely amount to a demonstration in the strict logical sense, but they furnish the most solid foundation for rational and immoveable confidence. He adds very forcibly:

'Intuitive or demonstrative certainty concerning the moral character of God, might exist in every supposable case, without any useful influence on the heart or on the life. Nor would he who, in the possession of high probable evidence that God is a benevolent being, demanded a demonstration of this truth before he would yield his heart to his Maker, be at all more inclined to yield it, when he arrived at the demonstration. Confidence, on the contrary, is always a virtuous state of mind, being invariably a cordial assent to that truth, which is its object. Confidence in the moral character of God is a virtuous emotion, capable of reaching to any degree of excellence predicable of rational creatures, and being founded on evidence which, like a converging series, will rise higher and higher for ever, it will increase eternally in strength and excellency; and will more and more intimately, in an unceasing progress, unite the hearts of all moral beings to their glorious and perfect Creator.'

The proof of the doctrine from Revelation is very strikingly enlarged upon in the subsequent discourse. Among other arguments, what amounts almost to demonstrative evidence, presents itself in the considerations, 'that, in the law which God has given to mankind for the regulation of all their moral conduct, He has required no other obedience than their love to himself and to each other;' and, that 'God requires the whole regard which he claims to be rendered to him, only as a benevolent

* "Theodicée," 12mo. Tom. i. pp. 84—6.

God.' One of the inferences drawn from the whole argument, is this; that 'the perfect benevolence of God must delight in a greater good more than in that which is less, and most in that which is supreme.' The present system, therefore, it is argued, in accordance with the sentiment quoted from Leibnitz, must be the best and most perfect system of good; and the means employed for the accomplishment of God's final end, must also be the best and most proper that could be chosen. 'The whole work of creation and providence, composed of the means and the end, is, then, a perfect work entirely suited to his character.'

In the fifteenth sermon, on the Decrees of God, in which the reader will find some very able reasoning, the same sentiment is thus expressed.

'It cannot but be acknowledged, that He knew what system was, upon the whole, most desirable, wisest and best. If he did not resolve on it, it was plainly because he did not desire or choose to bring it to pass. In plain English, then, he did not desire the chief good of his creation, or the supreme glory of himself, with sufficient good-will to resolve on it. Can this be infinite goodness? Can it be moral perfection? If he did not resolve on the superior system, it must be that he chose to do less good, rather than greater.'

In this sermon, we meet with one of the very rare instances which the work contains of Americanisms.

'The metaphysical nature of Moral Agency both in God and his creatures, is a subject, perhaps, as *tenuious*, as difficult to be fastened upon, and as easily evanescent from the mind, as any which we can attempt to examine.'

In the twenty-sixth and twenty-seventh sermons, on the probation and fall of man, this vast, and fathomless, and ever recurring question, *Si Deus est, unde malum?* again presents itself; and our Author's views of the metaphysical difficulties of the subject, are still further developed. After enlarging on the character of the Tempter, and the subtlety which distinguished the manner of the temptation, he remarks that the character of the persons was probably singular.

'They were newly created; were innocent; were holy; and, considering the short period of their being, were undoubtedly possessed of no small discernment in divine things. Still, they were imperfect beings, without experience, and destitute of knowledge in many particulars which would naturally be wished in a case where art and falsehood were employed against them; and, although furnished with a clear comprehension of their own duty, were totally ignorant of the character, and unable readily to conjecture the designs of their Adversary. The first deceit which they ever knew, was now practised on themselves; and the first falsehood of which they ever heard, was now directed to their own destruction. Of the rebellion of the Angels, they probably knew nothing; of the character of the Tempter, they would not naturally form even a suspicion.

accustomed to hear only truth, they would not easily expect a lie; and, habituated only to faithfulness and friendship, fraud and malevolence were, in their approach to them, assumed of a necessary and sufficient disguise. That artless, childlike simplicity which so delights the mind, and embellishes the pictures of the historian and the poet, which adorned the life, and endeared and enforced the lessons of the Redeemer himself, and which now constitutes no small part of evangelical excellence, was then a principal trait in their character. In the peculiar kind of wisdom which we call prudence, they certainly had made little progress; and caution must have been known to them only in lessons of instruction.

'Thus they were, in several important respects, beings fitted for imposition, and not unnaturally the victims of insidiousness and cunning. The same means, at the present time, ensnare persons of the same character; and it is not in the nature of things, that superior sagacity, however employed, should not possess the power of influencing, more or less, the same simplicity. Firm obedience, such as they were bound to render to their God, a prompt undeliberating refusal, and an original stedfast determination not to listen, would have secured them from yielding; but when they began to hear, and to investigate, they began to be exposed; and their danger increased with every step of their progress in inquiry.

'In the meantime, it seems that neither of them thought of supplicating the aid of their Creator. A single prayer would have put the Tempter to flight, and dissolved the charm of the temptation. A single recollection, also, of his commands, his kindnesses, and his instructions, might easily have produced the same effect. But neither prayer nor recollection was summoned to their assistance. Like their descendants, when forgetful of God, and, in a sense, forgotten by him, they were weak, frail, and exposed to every danger.'

The Author then briefly adverts to the immediate consequences of the temptation, and passes on to a consideration of the 'two 'great questions' so perpetually iterated: 'Since our first 'parents were entirely holy, how could they become sinful?' and, 'Why did God permit Adam to fall?'

The first question, he remarks, in its simple and proper form, is no other than this: 'How can a holy being become sinful, or 'how can a holy being transgress the law of God?' To this, no philosophical answer can, he thinks, be given. It has, however, been unnecessarily embarrassed by the modes in which answers to it have been attempted. To refer the effect, in the case of Adam, to *a principle of action* inherent in his nature, would seem to involve the subject in deeper difficulty, because, if the only principles of moral action in Adam were holy, the question returns; How could a holy principle be the cause of a sinful action? Dr. Dwight is of opinion, however, that a fallacy lies concealed under the vague and equivocal word, principle. He admits that 'there is a cause of moral action in in-'telligent beings, frequently indicated by the words principle,

'affections, habits, nature, tendency, propensity, and several 'others;' terms indicating a cause, the existence of which is proved by its effects, but the real nature of which is to us *wholly unknown*. They intend no more than this; that 'a reason 'really exists, although undefinable and unintelligible by ourselves, why one mind will, either usually or uniformly, be the 'subject of holy volitions, and another, of sinful ones.' The existence of such a cause must be admitted, unless we acknowledge it to be a perfect casualty that any volition is sinful rather than holy. But there is no such thing as a casualty in this sense; that is, an effect uncaused. This unknown cause is what the Scriptures denominate *the heart*. It is the state of mind out of which volitions arise, and from which they receive their character; a state of mind neither unchangeable, nor so powerful as to necessitate that the volitions should uniformly correspond to it, so as absolutely to prevent either from sinning, where the mind is inclined to holiness, or from acting in a holy manner, where it is inclined to sin. To explain the effect in question, therefore, it is necessary only to suppose 'that a temptation actually present-'ed to the mind, is disproportioned in its power to the inclina-'tion of that mind towards resistance.'

'There is no proof, *from the nature of things*, that finite strength and stability are sufficient to resist all possible motives to sin. From *facts*, we are irresistibly led to admit the contrary doctrine. Angels, though entirely holy, yielded to such motives, as did our first Parents also, who possessed the same virtuous character. These facts furnish a strong presumption, at least, that it is not within the limits of created perfection, to resist temptation in all possible cases; and that the final perseverance of saints and angels, both in a state of trial and in a state of reward, is derived ultimately from the Almighty Power of God.'

We are desirous to exhibit Dr. Dwight's sentiments, rather than to express on these points any opinion of our own. Some of our readers may be surprised that he makes no reference to the *negative* principle in created beings, on which theologians have generally laid so much stress. His object is, let it be remembered, to dispose not so much of the metaphysical as of the moral difficulties of the subject; and the consideration alluded to is purely metaphysical, and adapted to meet a philosophical objection. Leibnitz, in reply to those who contended that God is the only agent in the Universe, remarks: 'When 'we say that a creature depends upon God for all that he is, and 'for all that he does, and even that his preservation is a con-'tinual act of creation, we mean, that God is constantly impart-'ing to the creature, and producing in him, all that is *positive*, 'all that is good and perfect, every perfect gift coming down

'from the Father of lights; whereas the imperfections and 'defects attaching to his operations, proceed from the original 'limitation of which the creature could not but be the subject 'from the earliest commencement of his existence, owing to the 'ideal reasons which set bounds to his nature. For God could 'not bestow upon the creature every thing, without making 'him a God. It was necessary, therefore, that there should be 'different degrees in the perfection of things, that there should 'also be all varieties of limitation.' . . . . . Evil, then, is like 'darkness; and not only ignorance, but even error and malice 'formally consist in a certain species of *privation*. The will 'of the creature tends to good in the abstract; it ought to go 'forward towards the perfection which is suited to our nature; 'and supreme perfection is in God. There is in all pleasure 'some sense of perfection. But when the mind stops short at 'the pleasures of sense, or any other kind of gratification, to the 'prejudice of its higher interests, such as health, virtue, union 'with God, felicity, the defect consists in this privation of an 'ulterior tendency. In general terms, perfection is positive; 'it is an absolute reality: imperfection is privative; it proceeds 'from limitation, and tends to further privation. Thus, it is a 'saying as true as it is ancient; *Bonum ex causa integra, 'malum ex quolibet defectu.* And again: *Malum causam 'non habet efficientem, sed deficientem.*'*

Important, however, as this distinction may be in philosophical reasoning, it contributes very little to a satisfactory view of this inscrutable subject; and we are disposed to agree with Dr. Dwight, that the most advisable method of examining it, is, 'to consider the man and the facts, and not the abstract 'principles.' But the very terms, sin and holiness, are abstractions; and his own statement of the case assumes a metaphysical character. It seems, indeed, impossible, if we go beyond the literal circumstances of the fact, to avoid adopting such a phraseology. Thus much is clear and certain, that *man fell through forgetfulness of God*, and therefore, it cannot be viewed as otherwise than most equitable, that he should have been suffered to fall. And further, since the display of his own perfections is the highest end which an Infinite, Self-existent Being can propose to himself in the creation and government of his creatures; it is conceivable how it should be infinitely worthy of God, to allow of an occasion being afforded for the exercise of mercy to those who had so come short of glorifying him by obedience. To suppose that God was bound antecedently to interpose, is to hold, that sin *merited the favour of God*, which is a contradiction in terms; and yet, a secret dislike of the

* "*Theodicée.*" Tom. i. pp. 106, 7.

demerit of sin, lies at the bottom of the skeptic's reasonings, or rather feelings, on this subject; a disbelief arising from viewing sin in relation to human infirmity, instead of in its more important and primary relation to the holiness and claims of God.

It appears to us to be incorrect to say, that Adam, prior to his defection, was the subject of no other principle of action than a holy principle; or that his defection arose entirely from what has been termed a negative cause. There was a positive principle of action involved in his transgression, a principle neither holy nor unholy in itself, but deriving its moral character from the direction of its exercise. We are not going to plunge again into abstractions; we mean only to remark, that an inclination to seek its own enjoyment is an inherent and necessary principle of all animal and intellectual existence: it is a universal instinct, founded in the nature of things, since it is impossible to conceive of a being that should not seek its own happiness. Man participated in this principle in common with the brute creation; and because he was capable of a higher happiness, a happiness suited to a moral agent, the principle which impelled him to seek that happiness was not, on that account, either virtuous or the contrary. It was a necessary principle, one upon which he could not but always act. But then, what distinguished him from all inferior ranks of existence, was his being the subject of another principle, which bound him to his Creator; and this principle not being necessary, its exercise being voluntary and rational, it followed, that the former might be called into exercise, while the latter remained dormant. The principle which bound him to his Creator was a natural tendency, leading him to seek that happiness which he could not but instinctively seek, in God. But this natural holy tendency, was not a necessary law of his being. God was even then an object of faith; and the religious exercise of his intellectual powers, which was requisite to keep alive the principle of love to God, and to subordinate the natural principle of self-gratification to that which was designed for its guidance, was not essentially different in Adam before his transgression, from what it is in the Christian now. It was properly *faith* as opposed to animal instinct.

It is the incommunicable property of the Divine Nature, that the source of happiness and the end of his operations are within himself. It is an essential law of created intelligence, that the source of its happiness should be without itself, and that its perfection should consist in union to the source of its happiness. This union, it is manifest, can be only of an intelligent and voluntary nature: it is the principle of love. Nothing is more clear from even the concise narrative of Scripture, than that our First Parents, when they listened to the Tempter, were induced to seek their own gratification independently of God,—that they did

ot, at the actual time of transgressing, love God,—that they
nd for the time lost the sense of God,—that the principle of
aith was wholly merged in the instinct of self-gratification,—
nd that the prevalence of inferior motives over those infinite
onsiderations which should have enforced obedience, arose from
he blind operation of a natural principle, neither holy nor unholy
n itself, in the suspension of that higher principle of love to their
Maker, which, in a holy nature, the faintest act of remembrance,
he slightest recurrence to the Invisible Author of their being,
ight seem sufficient to have awakened. The transgression in-
olved an act of self-idolatry: it was a withdrawment from God
s the supreme object of affection and confidence. To main-
ain, then, that the Almighty was bound to prevent sin, involves
ne of these absurdities: either that a created nature should
ave been so constituted as that its union to the Divine Being
hould have been other than moral and voluntary, so as to afford
o scope for moral agency; or, that the creature's voluntary
ithdrawment from his Maker, his ceasing to love the Au-
hor and Source of his happiness, affords a reason why he should
ave been made the subject of a special act of favour.

We are aware that this by no means supplies a complete an-
wer to the question which is in every child's mouth on first
earning the existence and history, of moral evil, Why did God
ermit Adam to fall? It goes some way, however, towards
hewing the unreasonableness and unphilosophical nature of the
lippant objections of full grown sceptics. To that question, the
est answer that can be given in the present world, is, as our
Author remarks, that which was given by our Lord concerning
ne branch of the Divine dispensations: "Even so, Father, for
' so it seemed good in thy sight." 'It was,' he adds, 'a dis-
pensation approved by infinite wisdom, and seen by the Om-
niscient eye to be necessary towards that good which God
proposed in creating the universe.' To this it may be sub-
oined, that it was a dispensation which afforded occasion for a
ranscendent and ineffable display of the Divine character. And
nless it can be proved that, on the whole, the fall of Adam was
a greater evil in the system of the Universe, than the death of
Christ was a good,—all the effects and relations of which stupen-
lous event, no human intelligence can pretend to appreciate,—no
bjection can lie against the legitimate conclusion which is
stablished by reasoning *ab effectu*, that the existing system of
hings, is, in all its parts, the best possible.

The practical remarks which Dr. Dwight makes in the conclu-
ion of this sermon, are most excellent. 1. 'How superior is
the Scriptural account of the introduction of moral evil into
the world, to every other!' 2. 'How dreadful the evil of sin
as exemplified in the malice of the Tempter!' 3. 'The only

'time of successful resistance to temptation, is the moment wh
'it is presented.' 4. 'The ultimate safety of mankind, wh
'they are tempted, lies in God only.'

'Had Eve sought the protection of God when she was assailed b
the Adversary, she had never fallen. Had she remembered the ch
racter of God, she had never believed the declarations of th
Tempter. Had she admitted no jealousy, no suspicion, of the Div
wisdom and goodness, she had, in all probability, kept her happ
state.

'The same dangers attend all her descendants. If we wish t
overcome, or escape temptations, it is indispensable, that we remem
ber the presence, and acknowledge the character of God; that w
distrust in no degree his sincerity or kindness; and that we go di
rectly to him for the succour which we need. The closing petition o
the prayer taught by Christ to his disciples, is, "Lead us not int
temptation, but deliver us from evil;" that is, Suffer us not to b
led into temptation, but, should this danger betide us at any time
deliver us from the evil to which we shall then be exposed. Of th
petitions only, of which this prayer consists, a prayer taught by hi
who knew all the dangers and necessities of man, this is one. So ne
cessary did he determine this assistance and guardianship to be; an
so necessary our continual prayer that it might be afforded.

'In the first temptation, we see the doctrine strongly illustrated
Here no prayer ascended for aid. Here, therefore, no aid was given
and here, left to themselves, the miserable victims were of cours
destroyed. Let us, then, learn wisdom both from their exampl
and their end. Let us avoid the one, that we may escape the othe
For protection from tempters and temptations, both within us an
without us, let our prayers unceasingly rise with fervent repetition
Especially, when the Serpent approaches, when the charm is abou
to begin, and when his mouth is ready to open and swallow us up, le
our cries for help ascend to Heaven, that He who is swift to hea
and always prepared to pity and relieve, may mercifully extend h
arm, and snatch us from the jaws of destruction.'

We feel restricted by the length to which this article has al
ready extended, from entering in this place on any fresh topi
We must, therefore, in justice to the merits of the work, reque
the indulgence of those readers whose dissatisfaction with conti
nued articles is equal to their impatience of long ones, in re
serving some account of the contents of the remaining volume
till our next Number.

Art. II. *Substance of Lectures on the ancient Greeks, and on the Revival of Greek Learning in Europe.* By the late Andrew Dalzel, A.M. F.R.S.E., Professor of Greek in the University of Edinburgh. 2 Vols. 8vo. pp. xxvi. 906. Edinburgh, 1821.

IT is not extraordinary, that, in an age so fertile of paradoxes, and so remarkable for the endless mutabilities of its doctrines, the utility of classical letters should have been called into question. In a high state of intellectual refinement, strange opinions and adventurous heresies break out, as humours from a plethoric and pampered body. The system is relieved, and health and sanity are restored. Happily, however, this is a class of reasoners, who are not yet, either in respect of their numbers or their influence, entitled to the dignity of a sect. Yet, it is with some regret that we have observed even among those who are themselves sincerely addicted to ancient learning, and most eager to repel the assaults of its defamers, a disposition to concede a great deal too much, by estimating it merely as an intellectual ornament,—as an external embellishment proper only for the education of those who are destined to the higher departments of society. Whereas it is, in truth, a portion, and a highly important portion, of that general intelligence which contributes to the sum of human happiness, and the chief aims and destinations of our beings.

What are the subjects of this branch of knowledge? We answer—the moral nature of man, his desires, affections, the strength and weakness, the greatness and imperfection of his powers,—

votum, ira, voluptas,
Gaudia, discursus——

all which is not foreign from our common humanity. It is the condensed wisdom of ages, fitted for daily use and ordinary action;—philosophy built upon the soundest induction, because it is illustrated by the greatest variety of examples, but philosophy cleared of its mysticism, and redeemed from the 'illimitable 'void' of speculation and fancy,—supplying us in our progress through life with salutary precepts for its conduct,—enriching us in our earliest days with the wisdom of time, unbought by the sadness and pain of experience.

It is, indeed, a more limited, but an equally correct estimate of the usefulness of the study, to calculate its literary influences only. Among these, we must not overlook the silent but perceptible coercion which the ancient languages exercise over our modern dialects; preserving them, by means of a permanent standard of elegance and propriety, from that barbarous host of innovations and solecisms which perpetually threaten to overrun spoken languages. The ancient masters are emphatically the

legislators of taste; not conveying their precepts in the dry formularies of the schools, but embodying them in their own living examples. Unembellished reason is often an inert and useless instrument. It is only by an assiduous intercourse with those masters, that the youthful student can attain a style; not what is implied in the ordinary acceptation of the phrase, but that simple though polished diction which is a clear mirror to the understanding, and in which the choice and collocation of the words holds a due and graceful subordination to the primary aims of human discourse. Those who are inclined to dispute our positions, must be referred to that inherent principle of vitality which has perpetuated their writings through so many revolutions of taste and vicissitudes of opinion; to the temperate dignity and chastised graces of their compositions, their just delineations of character and passion, the unclouded simplicity of their narrative, the correct rhetoric of their reason, and the rapid and sparkling stream of their elocution.

The historic records of Greece, must minister perpetual delight to those whose minds are tinctured with these studies. No country whose character has descended to us, awakens an interest so powerful. To the comparatively monotonous annals of ancient Rome, and her uniform, undiversified march towards universal domination, the masterly pencil of Tacitus himself could scarcely impart warmth and animation. Of Greece, on the other hand, the numerous States, varying from each other not more in forms of polity than in moral features, impart to its history, a scene perpetually new and shifting, and abounding in those strange and sudden reverses which agitate and interest the mind of man. Greece also is a picture both of the struggles and triumphs of the human genius, gradually nursed and matured amid the emulations of her little republics;—republics which occupy but a speck on the map, but fill a space to the eye of taste and philosophy infinitely larger than the mightiest empires that have overshadowed the earth.

Such then being our sentiments, it may be easily supposed, that we hailed as an auspicious omen to literature, a posthumous work on Greek history and letters bequeathed to us by the learned and diligent pen of Professor Dalzel. If, however, we candidly confess that we have been in some degree disappointed, candour requires us also to state, that of this disappointment much must be attributed to exorbitant expectation. It is, moreover, probable, that it may not have occurred to us, that Lectures on Greek literature, addressed to a class of youthful auditors, were necessarily elementary aids merely,—hints for thinking, and outlines of a course of reading which their own diligence was afterwards to fill up, rather than a regular system of instruction, in which every doubt is cleared and every subject de-

veloped. Embracing also a wide and multifarious collection of topics, they could not have been more than a rapid and slight survey, the utmost object of which would be accomplished, if it invited and secured attention by short and elegant, rather than minute and elaborate investigations. Nor did we advert, perhaps, to the relative state of classical learning in the Northern division of the kingdom, and, therefore, we might not have been sufficiently mindful of this important consideration,—that the younger members of the Scotch Universities have not kept an equal pace with those who repair from the discipline of our public schools to prosecute their maturer studies at Oxford or Cambridge, and, in all probability, have not advanced beyond that stage which corresponds to the upper fourth or lower fifth forms of Eton and Westminster, but are to be considered as still 'hovering about the elements.'

We admit that these considerations ought to temper our criticism. Besides these, there are others which we must not pass over, suggested by Mr. Dalzel's apology for the publication of his Father's papers; an apology, however, more creditable to the piety of the Son than the discretion of the Editor.

'Although the following work is addressed to youth alone, and is intended to contribute to their improvement and *liberalization*, it is thought that it may not be uninstructive to many who have passed the period of academical tuition, and who are fond of having their attention recalled to the beauties of the ancient writers. It is true, indeed, that the art of criticism has of late years reached a station in literature, which it has seldom before occupied in modern times. But although fourteen years have elapsed since the death of the author, and a much longer period since they were written, the elementary criticisms contained in them are even now submitted to the public with confidence as not deficient either in energy or good taste. The fact, however, must be stated, that he never intended publication, and consequently the manuscripts received from him no preparation whatever.' Preface, pp. 13, 14.

But even this does not, we apprehend, amount to a rightful exemption from critical jurisdiction. It comes too late. They are reasons, and powerful ones, which ought to have influenced the Editor, while the manuscripts were yet slumbering in the silence of the cabinet. As lectures, they had done their duty; and no over-ruling necessity urged their publication. In fact, the recent appearance of Dr. Hill's Lectures* on the same subjects, renders the present work nearly superfluous as an addition to that

* "Essays on the Institutions, Government and Manners of the States of ancient Greece." By Dr. Hill, Professor of Greek in the University of St. Andrews. 8vo. 1819.

department of letters. But a published book stands irrevocably for judgement according to its deserts, without reference to the state in which it was left, or the wisdom or inexpediency of drawing it from obscurity and safety. The Editor, moreover, invalidates the plea, at the very moment that he proffers it; for he offers it—need we say with what consistency?—as 'not unin-'structive to those who have passed the period of academical 'tuition.'

Unwilling, however, to take advantage of a careless or casual expression, we shall examine the work with a view only to its avowed purpose; as an elementary course of instruction for Greek students. The subjects are discussed according to the following distribution: the political situation of the Greeks, comprehending an introductory history of Greece, with a retrospective view of manners, arts, and sciences during its several periods; the manners, character, and religion of the Greeks; their polite learning, comprising investigations on grammar, language and poetry, and the revival of Greek learning in Europe.

We certainly did not require deep or original disquisitions in such a course of lectures. We expected, however, from a scholar of acknowledged acquirements, elucidations more elegant and striking of these interesting subjects of inquiry; more curious and correct views of the domestic life, and more enlarged and philosophic surveys of the political institutions of that wonderful people. It is an absurd error, to descend too much, when we address ourselves to the youthful capacity. The nurse does not make herself more intelligible, who talks nonsense to her child; and Professor Dalzel would not have soared above the comprehensions of his class, had he gone a little deeper into the subjects upon which he lectured. In every course of instruction, there ought to be mixed something to exercise without perplexing the mind. And if, on the one hand, abstruse and recondite investigations were unfit for their capacities; on the other, common-place and slight discussions, awakening no curiosity, and presenting only the most ordinary aspects of their subjects, are the mere husks and shells of literature, served up to understandings prepared for a better and more substantial repast. It will be a justification, we think, of our remarks, to take the opening observations on Grecian history.

'Ancient Greece, small as it was in extent, rose to a degree of splendour, in point of the improvement of the human mind, to which no other nation ever attained; and gave birth to a greater number of illustrious men, than has been produced by any one nation that ever existed. Poets, orators, philosophers, warriors, artists,—in all these Greece stands unrivalled, and reflects the highest glory upon human

nature. But such is the nature of human affairs, that no one government or political society has been known to subsist constantly, but all have been either destroyed or changed. Greece has undergone the same fate with others; and that once accomplished nation is now no longer what it was in the days of Lycurgus, Themistocles, or Epaminondas. The descendants of its heroes groan at present under the despotic dominion of the Turks, and *Greece constitutes but a small part of that tyrannic empire.*' Vol. I. pp. 12—19.

Here there seems to be only a barren collection of truisms, not unmixed, however, with mistakes, and moreover, a total want of coherence in the reasoning. That a country small in extent derived high glory from the illustrious men to whom it gave birth, is a proposition enunciated with sufficient correctness; but what elucidation it receives from the connecting sentence with which it is qualified immediately after, that no form of political society constantly subsists, we are not sufficient Œdipuses to divine. Poets, orators, philosophers, warriors, may vanish, and the form of government remain unchanged; nay, the completest changes and transitions of government are not necessarily followed by the extinction of genius and virtue. But, although the meaning of the Professor would have been better understood, had it been more developed, he misses altogether the opportunity which the subject almost thrusts upon a lecturer, of tracing, how slightly soever, the connexion of liberty and genius. No period in the memorials of the world illustrates more clearly than Grecian history, the indissoluble alliance of civil security, and that generous emulation which brings into life all that is vigorous in intellect, or exalted in art; none more forcibly depictures liberty, genius, and art falling a common prey to an insidious corruption and a fatal degeneracy, and buried at last in one common sepulchre. The causes of that mournful decay, and the progress of that overwhelming corruption, might have been advantageously traced; a lesson that cannot be too deeply impressed, if we are desirous of deriving from history those reflections without which it is little more than a dry and barren register. It was this lesson which Longinus sought to impart in the strength and copiousness of that mighty language which, in a degenerate age, and under a despotic government, he still knew how to attune to sounds of freedom and virtue. Θρεψαι τε γαρ υκαν τα φρονηματα των μεγαλοφρονων η ελευθερια και εφιλκυσαι, και αμα διωθειν το προθυμον της προς αλληλους εριδος και της περι τα πρωτεια φιλοτιμιας.* Nor is this threadbare and trifling view of this mighty subject redeemed either by historical accuracy or correct reasoning. The people now groaning under the despotic dominion of the Turks, are not, strictly

* De Subl. s. 44.

speaking, the descendants of the ancient Greeks." It is a common inaccuracy, indeed, but it is so easy to instil error, that, in a lecture addressed to a young audience, it should have been altogether avoided. The history of Greece, from the time of Alexander to the present day, will clearly shew, that those who now people its soil, are not descendants from its ancient heroes. That Greece is but a small part of the Turkish empire, is true in fact; but a more egregious instance of Partridge's *non sequitur* does not often occur.

The summary of Grecian history, to which we are adverting, is admirably adapted to the hypothesis, that, for the youthful student, nothing can be too trite, or too remote from what is subtle or profound. But if jejune and trivial disquisition is most fitted for their apprehensions, (which we strenuously deny,) accuracy is an indispensible requisite in elementary instruction. But the learning and diligence of the Professor are no guarantees against frequent slips and mistakes. For instance:

'We may safely say, that the different periods which we have thus sketched out, compose a history which, of all others, exhibits the most finished pictures of human genius, and is therefore, next to our own history, the most interesting and instructive. Some of the Roman writers have indeed insinuated, that the Greeks are much indebted for their glory to their own historians, who have transmitted them to posterity, embellishing all their actions with the finest eloquence and strongest panegyric. But this may have been said by the Romans from a malicious intention of extenuating that lustre which it was not in their power, by their own deeds, to obscure. And with respect to the reflection cast upon Greece by Juvenal, *Quicquid Græcia mendax audet in historia*,—this alludes rather to the fabulous times of Greece, and is spoken in the spirit of satire. The veracity of the Greek historians, at least in relating the events that happened during the ages of the Grecian liberty and glory, is sufficiently to be depended upon. As to the first age, which we have denominated the *Rise of the Greeks*, and which is generally known by the name of the fabulous and heroic times; this very last-mentioned appellation shews, that historians do not mean to impose upon mankind as strictly true, the events which they narrate as having then happened.' Vol. I. pp. 18—19.

Here there is a manifest error, which must have been instantly detected by his class, if they had read the tenth satire of Juvenal. The *Græcia mendax* does not allude to the fabulous times of Greece, unless the times of Xerxes and Themistocles are fabulous, for it is of that monarch and his army that the satirist is speaking, in allusion to the exaggerations with which the Grecian narratives of the Persian invasions were blended; exaggerations from which the honest credulity of He-

rodotus was not altogether exempt. We will quote the entire passage.

——— creditur olim
Velificatus Athos, et *quicquid Græcia mendax*
Audet in historiâ, constratum classibus isdem
Suppositumque rotis solidum more—

And here it was the Professor's duty to point out the error of Juvenal, when he selected the celebrated canal cut through Athos, as an exemplification of the Grecian propensity to falsehood. For there is scarcely any circumstance in the history of the Persian expedition, more strongly supported by historical testimony than the construction of that canal. The fact is recorded by Herodotus.* Thucydides §, who lived a considerable time in Thrace, speaks of it with perfect confidence. It is mentioned as an unquestionable fact by Plato †, Isocrates‡, and Lycias‖; and the last mentioned writer speaks of it as being in his time a subject of common conversation. Nor is the fact at all improbable. Herodotus, indeed, supposes that the ostentation and pride of Xerxes suggested the undertaking. But it seems to have been an enterprise strictly politic and expedient; for, in the unimproved state of early navigation, the doubling of Cape Athos was a most fearful undertaking. As the object of the Persian invader was, to unite to his dominion the countries west of the Ægean, it was of the utmost consequence to secure the fleet from delays and accidents; and the immense army which he led to that expedition, rendered the work, stupendous as it may seem, easy and practicable. Surely, the Lecturer should have adverted to a circumstance, overlooked, indeed, by the commentators on Juvenal, but which is not likely to have escaped his learning and sagacity. At any rate, he should have steered clear of so palpable a misapplication of the sarcasm of the poet, which could have had no reference to the *fabulous* period of Grecian history.

This, however, is a trivial error compared with the expression 'fabulous and heroic ages.' The heroic ages were not fabulous, though the traditions concerning them were mixed with poetry and fable. An irretrievable error would be imbibed by the student who, in the very vestibule of Grecian history, should be induced to pass over the heroic ages as fabulous. The distinction between a real state of things coloured by fiction, and a state wholly fabulous, is highly important. How accurately was it apprehended by Livy! 'Quæ ante conditam,' he says, 'condendamve urbem, poeticis magis decora fabulis, quam incorruptis rerum gestarum monumentis,

* Herod. l. 7. c. 22. § l. 4. c. 109. † Plat. de Leg. l. 3.
‡ Panegyr. p. 222. t. 1. ‖ Lys. Or. Fun.

'traduntur, ea nec affirmare, nec refellere in animo est.' The mind must hold a middle course between indiscriminate scepticism and indiscriminate assent. But the spirit of philosophy, which, to a certain extent, influences all historical disquisition, may select from this blended state of fable and history, much weighty and valuable induction respecting the heroic ages of Greece, by which we mean that portion of time which elapsed from the arrival of Pelops to the death of Codrus. To pass it over, as Professor Dalzel has done, with a mere dash of his pen, appears to us an unpardonable neglect of a point in human societies, which, how destitute soever of direct testimony, is more clearly and definitely exhibited in the Grecian annals, than those of any other country. And though direct evidence is wanting, the defect is more than supplied by those authors who made their national antiquities their especial study; above all, by Homer, the first of poets—we had almost said, of historians; by Hesiod; by the tragic and comic writers; by Thucydides in his valuable summary of Grecian history prefixed to his work, a treatise which Professor Dalzel would have done well had he consulted; by Strabo, the most accurate of geographers; and by Pausanias, the most diligent of antiquaries. From these sources might have been furnished a sketch consentaneous to probability, and correct in its outlines; mingled, indeed, with prodigy and fable, but true to the leading features, and reflecting the manners and incidents of the period.

The absence of this species of disquisition in the views sketched by the Professor, is the more to be regretted, because, in Grecian story, the rude beginnings and earliest essays of civilization, from the first faint and scarcely perceptible streaks and dawnings of social light to full and mature refinement, are distinctly and clearly disclosed. The history of no civilized state takes up man in a stage so perfectly infantine. It is the process of social man from the cradle to the nursery, from the nursery to the forum. The portraiture of early manners traced by the mighty genius of Tacitus in his treatise on the ancient Germans, is, perhaps, the most finished piece that history or philosophy has preserved to us. But Tacitus does not begin with the first rudiments of our nature. He has sketched a rude but not a barbarous state, in which it is evident that some progress had already been made in the arts and institutions of life, before he began his delineation. In Greece, on the contrary, the inventors and the inventions are commemorated. He who first taught his rude countrymen to exchange the savage product of the oak for the nutritious grain; the far-sighted philanthropist who, by the marriage contract, first placed the most intractable of our passions under the mild yoke of laws and

of manners; the enlightened legislator who imported the knowledge of the East into Bœotia, and taught the sublimest operation of the mind, that of fixing the fugitive sounds of the voice in determinate characters; these have, in the persons of Cadmus and Cecrops, been enshrined in the grateful traditions of their country. They have fixed certain historical epochs, to which we may refer, not indeed with assurance, but with much satisfaction, in the absence of authentic records. We do not say that Professor Dalzel has passed by this important period in silence, but his review of what he calls 'the rise of the Greeks' from the first establishment of government to the destruction of Troy, is so rapid and imperfect, that, in our opinion, it is little better than no mention at all.

Of the heroic age, indeed, Homer is the only original historian, though many valuable intimations may be collected from the other sources to which we have referred. It is, therefore, a more lamentable *hiatus* in the Professor's scheme. For the beautiful illustrations which the society and manners of those early times receive from the Iliad and Odyssey, would surely have afforded interesting matter for one or two lectures, and have impressed upon the memories of his pupils the sweetest and most enchanting pictures which are to be found in the whole compass of Greek poetry. Nor would it have considerably augmented the toil of the Lecturer. The valuable Thesaurus of Gronovius* would have supplied him with those illustrations, arranged from the Homeric writings under the different heads which they serve to elucidate. They would thus have been enabled to discern, that, however the historical events themselves have been mixed with fable, the state of society as it then existed, has been drawn to the life by the Father of poetry; and would have become acquainted with a system of manners extremely curious, and, in many important features, widely different from that which afterwards subsisted in Greece. It is our opinion also, that the Lecturer himself would have derived from so faithful a guide, sufficient lights to have secured him from one or two mistakes into which he has perhaps unconsciously glided. For instance, the following positions would surely have been somewhat qualified.

'During the early period of Greece which we have been reviewing, the military art was pretty well understood, owing to the struggles that necessarily take place in the first establishment of kingdoms..... The reason of the progress of the Greeks in the military art at this time is, that their governments were plainly military.' Vol. I. pp. 32, 3.

The fact is wholly different. During the heroic ages, the

* Freithii Antiquitates Homericæ apud Gronov. Thesaur. Græc. Antiquit. 6 vol.

Greeks, as it appears from every page of Homer, though by no means deficient in valour, were totally ignorant of the art of war. Troy was not defended by a ditch, and her walls were of a moderate height; yet, it does not appear that any attempt was made to scale them. Nor were they ever invested by the Grecian army, whose camp was at the distance of several miles from the city they were besieging, and, in consequence, supplies of troops and provision arrived in safety at the gates during the whole progress of the siege. The use of cavalry, almost the first improvement of the art of war, was wholly unknown; and their horses were used only in chariots, in which, of the two who rode in them, one only could fight, the other being occupied in directing the horses; and the intervention of uneven ground, of a ditch, or of a wood, rendered those machines not only useless, but dangerous to the army to which they belonged. In leading on to battle, there were no evolutions, no preconcerted arrangement of the troops, who rushed impetuously to the conflict in a deep phalanx, when each man chose his adversary, with whom he continued to fight till superior strength decided the victory. And this was the substance of military science at that period.

Had it fallen within the scope of Professor Dalzel's plan, to draw a completer sketch of that interesting period, it is probable that the ingenuous curiosity of the young student might have been gratified by some satisfactory conjectures as to the age of Homer himself. He is only incidentally told, that Homer lived about three hundred and forty years after the destruction of Troy; (Vol. I. p. 57.) and in the twenty-first lecture, that he probably lived about three hundred years after that event. And yet, it is more than probable, from a system of evidence which is almost conclusive, that the Bard was nearly contemporary with the events he commemorates; at any rate, that he flourished within sixty years after the fall of Troy. For the minuter proofs by which this important fact has, we think, been completely established, we refer our readers to the appendix in the first volume of Mr. Mitford's History. But we content ourselves with the passage in the Iliad, in which the Poet expressly says, that he lived at the same time with the grand-children of Æneas,* (whose family he is remarkably disposed on all occasions to extol,) and with the decisive fact, so pregnant with inference, that he makes no mention of the return of the Heraclidæ;†—a stupendous revolution both political and moral, which entirely changed the face of society and government through the whole of Peloponnesus and Asia Minor, and on which, from the magnitude of its interest, and the misfortunes it entailed on the principal families of Greece, many of whose genealogies Homer has him-

* Il. l. 20. v. 308. † About eighty years after the taking of Troy.

self traced, he would not surely have been silent, had he lived to see it; especially since his account of Peloponnesus before the Dorian conquest, is so exact, that Strabo traces its antiquity step by step upon his authority. The Professor, it is true, was not bound to enter into a thorny and perplexed controversy; yet, will it be said, that it became him to notice so transiently and slightly, a point essential, not merely to the right apprehension of insulated passages of the Iliad, and, in truth, of the whole context and spirit of the poem, but to history itself, and to chronology, which is the lamp of history?

Of chronology, indeed, not a word is said. But without an accurate system of dates, history sheds a doubtful and glimmering light. It is difficult to say, what system he adopts. One lecture at least might have been dedicated to a subject vitally connected with authentic history, and absolutely necessary to the right study of it. It formed a part of his duty as historical lecturer, from which no apology can absolve him, to throw at least a glance on the question. Without involving himself or his hearers in the obscurities of long and uncertain computations, he might have adverted to the conflicting hypotheses, and pointed out their characteristic repugnancies. Without pledging himself to any opinion, he might have noticed the recent system of his own countryman, Dr. Blair, and incidentally remarked upon its convenience and adaptation to the received course of events; qualifying, indeed, his praise of its clearness and ingenuity by a few animadversions on the suspicious faith of the Oxford marbles and the ambiguous testimony of the old chronologers, which, though disowned by Strabo, Plutarch, and Pausanias, seem to have been implicitly followed by that ingenious scholar. Freret's theory might also have been deemed worthy of a passing mention, and the project of our own Newton, (worthy of his comprehensive and accurate genius,) who framed a system for the early Grecian ages from traditions and genealogical calculations, aided by astronomical records, might have been concisely and perspicuously explained to them. Chronological inquiries are, it is true, rugged and uninviting to those who read history for its moral and social philosophy; but history cannot be read without chronology, and the merits of the opposite systems might, at least in their general points of discordance or affinity, be rendered intelligible to minds less disciplined than those of a Greek class at a university. For instance, might not the Lecturer, while he pointed out some of the advantages of Blair's tables and Freret's hypothesis, have adverted to the necessities to which they are driven, by supposing the existence of two kings of Elis of the name of Iphitus, and of two Spartan kings named Lycurgus, who, at the distance of two centuries, did the same things and

acquired the same reputation? And would there have been any difficulty in impressing upon his young audience, how little such rare coincidencies agree either with the order of nature or the course of history?

No review of Grecian history, however circumscribed in its plan, or rapid in its execution, can be in the least degree instructive, which dismisses too hastily, or notices too lightly, the three great institutions which, after the Dorian conquest, preserved Greece from a relapse into barbarism, and, in the progress of her greatness, had a most powerful influence over her affairs;—we mean, the Oracles, the Amphictyonic Council, and the Public Games. Each of these subjects is complimented with a superficial and inaccurate notice. We give the Professor's history of the celebrated Oracle of Delphi in his own words.

'With respect to the oracle, in particular, which was the cause of all this grandeur, it owed a great deal of its original reputation to the nature of the ground where it was situated. There is a fabulous story told by several historians concerning the origin of it, viz. that some goats who fed about the valleys near Mount Parnassus, having accidentally approached the mouth of a certain cave not formerly discovered, immediately began to skip, and to bound, and to utter cries in a most astonishing manner, as if possessed by the influence of some deity. Soon after, the shepherds and other inhabitants approaching the same place were seized in the same way, and began to be fully persuaded that it was the *afflatus* of a god that affected them in this manner, and that he meant to emit oracular responses from this place. A rustic temple was immediately erected, and the oracle was first dedicated to Neptune and the Earth, afterwards to Themis, and last of all to Apollo, upon account of his exquisite skill in divination. It grew into reputation gradually, and the resort to the place gave rise to the city, which was called Delphi. As the oracle was supposed to consist of an afflatus of the god emitted from the cave, it was thought necessary to place a consecrated person immediately on the entrance, who might receive this afflatus, and utter the response accordingly. At Delphi this person was a female, and she went by the name of the Pythia, and sometimes the Pythonissa,—a word derived, according to some, from Python, the name of the serpent which Apollo slew; or rather from the Greek verb πυνθανομαι, on account of the questions that were put to her. This Pythia, or female priest of Apollo, when she was to receive the afflatus of the god, was conducted by certain priests, to the mouth of the cave, on which was placed a sort of seat called a tripod, from its being supported by three feet or props over the aperture of the cave. Before the Pythia was conducted hither to be placed on the tripod, it was requisite for her to have fasted, some say three days, to bathe herself in the Castalian fountain, and to drink of its waters, and to eat some laurel leaves that grew upon its brink. After this, Apollo gave notice of the approach of his influence, by making the temple to shake from its very foundation. Then the Pythia was conducted by the priests to the shrine, and seat-

ed upon the tripod. The instant she was seized with the divine enthusiasm, her hair became dishevelled, and her countenance fierce and wild, her mouth foamed, and a sudden and violent convulsion agitated her whole body.

'In a situation such as this, the Pythia uttered some hideous shrieks which filled the priests with a holy awe. In short, unable to resist any longer the influence of the god, she gave herself up entirely to him, and uttered, in a sobbing and broken manner, some sounds ill-articulated, which the priests collected and joined together into one or more verses, and delivered as the response of the god. The affair being over, the priests reconducted the Pythia from the tripod to her apartment, where she employed some time in recovering from the violent agitation with which she had been affected.' Vol. I. pp. 200—203

It certainly was not to be expected, that the Lecturer should lead his hearers a long and tedious journey over this mystic region; yet, some probable conjectures concerning the changes in the property of this celebrated place, and the succession of the divinities supposed to preside there, might have been extracted from the fables and traditions which have reached us. It is quite manifest, that, as soon as the oracle received the sanction of public authority, a regular establishment, and a revenue to support it, became requisite. Those who came to consult it, could no longer come empty-handed; and it was the interest of the priests, that the donations should be as large as possible. It was to the goddess Earth, it should seem, and not to Neptune, as the Professor states, that the *first* temple was dedicated. But the profits allured to it by the prophetic powers of the goddess beginning to fall off, it was then given out, that Neptune was associated with her in the oracle. After this, according to Pausanias, it was asserted, that the goddess Themis had succeeded her mother Earth in the inheritance. This, however, was not sufficient. The reputation of the oracle still declined, and new incentives to curiosity and credulity were wanted. Of the important revolution which transferred the tutelage of the oracle to the new divinity, under whose protection it remained till its final extinction in the reign of Theodosius, the hyma to Apollo, attributed to Homer, and certainly of high antiquity, has preserved an account at once interesting to the classical student, and, when detached from the fable with which it is interwoven, probable, if not entirely authentic, as a portion of general history. But Professor Dalzel has not only passed by this important era of the Delphic temple, but has neglected the opportunity of explaining to his class a circumstance which throws a strong light upon passages in Æschylus and Euripides, otherwise unintelligible,—the appellation of 'navel of the earth,' which was attributed to Delphi.* This singular fact ought not to have been

* Analysis. Vol. I. p. 243.

wholly pretermitted; and his young auditors might have been referred for minuter information, to the origin of the title detailed with great learning and acuteness by Bryant. And this suggests to us a palpable defect observable in every lecture; that the sources from which the student might be enabled to fill up the shadowy outline of the Professor, are not once pointed out to him. Surely, upon so important a subject as the Grecian oracles, they might have been recommended to consult the books* in which that far-famed institution is more fully and elaborately described.

Of the Amphictyonic Council, a transient and incidental mention only occurs in the second Lecture. This singular institution, called by Cicero the "*commune Græciæ consilium*," was not only a confederacy against foreign invasion, (the aspect in which alone the Professor condescends to notice it,) but exercised a jurisdiction unprecedented in the long story of the world, over various and discordant states, engaged in endless competitions, and inflamed with unceasing jealousies. Such a tribunal, the first scheme of polity founded upon a federal or representative basis, by which the deliberative voice of delegated wisdom is substituted for the tumultuary decisions of public will,—repressing by its decrees the violence of warfare, and deciding questions relative to the law of nations by its authority,—levying forces, and making war on those who disobeyed its decisions,—is a monument so rare and anomalous in historic records, that a particular notice of it in a course of Lectures upon Grecian history, was scarcely a matter of discretion. We say nothing of its superintendance of the oracle and treasure of Delphi, and its connexion with the political transactions of the country during its most memorable periods. Nor are the functions exercised by this extraordinary judicature, subjects merely of dark or doubtful conjecture. The learned Professor must have been well conversant with the form of the Amphictyonic oath, which is preserved in an oration of Æschines,† and the awful imprecation with which it was administered. In that oath, the authority and duties of the council are clearly defined and enumerated. And if the restricted plan of the Lectures rendered it inconvenient to enter into a particular disquisition, we repeat, that it was an indispensable duty to refer his hearers to the ancient authors by whom the subject has been illustrated, or, at least, to the admirable summary of ancient learning pertaining to it, by Dean Prideaux in his treatise on the Oxford Marbles.

* The best authorities are the following. Van Dale de Oraculis Veterum, Venerius de Oraculis, and Bulengerius's Treatise on the same subject. The two last are to be found in the Thesaurus of Gronovius already referred to. The subject also has been more popularly treated by M. Hardion on the Delphic Oracle in the 3rd vol. of the Memoires de l'Academie des Inscriptions.

† Æschin. Orat. de fal. Legat.

We are forbidden by our limits from following the Professor into his review of the Grecian games, which would have been more worthy of that interesting feature of ancient manners, had he not confined himself to the Archæologia of Potter, and the Treatise prefixed to West's Translation of Pindar. Fuller information might have been procured by a judicious consultation of the P. Fabri Agonisticon in the Thesaurus of Gronovius,* and the series of Dissertations on the exercises practised at the games, in the Memoirs of the French Academy of Inscriptions.

The third part, which treats of the Polite Learning of the Greeks, very properly commences with some grammatical disquisitions, of which we are disposed to speak with much commendation; although the following commentary on the useful invention of letters, (the invention of alphabetical writing would have been a more correct phrase,) might have been well spared had he been addressing even the rawest and most unpractised tyros.

'We cannot, therefore, sufficiently admire the noble and useful invention of letters. It is indeed truly wonderful, that by the help of twenty-four characters, we can represent to the sight, and thence convey to the mind of another, all the various thoughts and operations of our mind. By the help of letters, one man is enabled to profit by the thoughts and experience of another. By the help of letters, we in modern times have been able to profit by the wisdom and learning of antiquity, and consequently to arrive at a degree of elevation in the scale of being which we never could otherwise have attained. But for letters, where now would have been the learning of Greece and Rome—the sublime philosophy of Plato and Socrates—the fluent, sweet, and easy style of Xenophon—the enraptured songs of all the ancient bards, which still please and enchant the imagination?' Vol. I. p. 304.

If this species of reasoning is not remarkable for its depth or comprehension, it has the advantage of being completely secure from contradiction. After this specimen, the Professor may be ranked amongst the steadiest assertors of incontrovertible truths.

From the learned Editor of the "Collectanea Græca," we looked for some philological remarks upon the Greek Article, more explanatory of its doctrine. He contents himself with merely describing it as intended to define and ascertain objects already known; as for instance, ἵππος being conventionally established as the name for a horse, the prefixed particle would denote in future, that it was the same object to which that name had been already appropriated; and thus it would be called ὁ ἵππος, *the* horse. This is by no means a satisfactory or accurate history of a part of speech on which the meaning and the elegance of so large a portion of Greek literature obviously depend. He overlooks the important fact, that the article is the relative pronoun ὁ; but, as the relative pronoun is only a part of a proposition,

* Tom. 8.

and, as it is essential that something should be predicated in every proposition, its relation is explained in some adjunct annexed to it by means of the participle of existence (ων) expressed or understood. It is by this process that the *ille* of the Latins, though associated with a substantive, or adjective, and performing, in many instances, the function of the prepositive article of the Greeks, still retains its pronominal character. The student of Homer ought to bear in mind this distinction.

Upon the subtile and elegant distinction by which the aorist defines the precise point of time when the action or energy implied is going on or has been performed, the Professor's observations, generally speaking, are judicious and philosophical. We scarcely collect from the following passage, whether he intended to deny a *present* sense to the aorist.

'We have occasion sometimes to speak more indefinitely still. Sometimes an action or energy is enunciated with a reference to all time taken together, without a view to any particular period. Thus in the New Testament, ουτος εστι ο υιος μου ο αγαπητος εν ω ηυδοκησα. "This is my beloved Son, in whom I was, and am, and always will be well pleased." Some bungling grammarians have ventured to assert that the aorist is confounded with the present, because the Latin and the English make use of the present in translating such expressions as those just quoted.' Vol. I. p. 336.

For our own parts, we venture to assert, that it is agreeable to common sense, though grammarians usually refer the aorists to the past, to refer them also to the present. For, in all cases where time is signified, without any other circumscription than that of simple present, past, or future, the tense is an aorist. Take the following instance from Milton.

> 'Millions of spiritual creatures walk the earth,
> Unseen, both when we wake and when we sleep.'

Here the verb 'walk' means, not that they are walking at that instant only when Adam spoke, but αοριστως, indefinitely at any instant of time whatever, and in precisely the same comprehensive *present* as ηυδοκησα in the Evangelist cited by the Professor. In like manner, those sentences which we term γνωμαι, have their aorists. '*Semper avarus eget.*' Here, the present tense is strictly an aorist. So, also, the verbs in mandatory or prohibitory sentences, as, "Thou shalt not steal,"—comprehend not only the present, but extend indefinitely to every part of futurity, and are equally to be classed as aorists.

This, however, is minute criticism, which we gladly suspend to bestow our unmingled commendations upon the impressive exhortations with which the assiduous study of the Greek is recommended and enforced in the fifteenth Lecture.

'No man can possibly obtain the praise of erudition, who is ignorant

of the Greeks and their language, because this is the source from which learning flows. In whatever rank of life above the vulgar any person is to appear, some knowledge of the language of ancient Greece is not only ornamental, but almost absolutely necessary. In the three literary professions of theology, law, and medicine, any person who is destitute of some acquaintance with this language, must be considered as a novice or smatterer among all men of real learning. To a divine it is a sufficient reason for his applying to the Greek, that the New Testament of our Saviour is written in that language. But here he cannot be supposed to be a true critic, unless he have a considerable acquaintance with the Greek authors. The fathers of the church also wrote, many of them very elegantly, in this language. At any rate, a divine ought to aspire at the praise of learning. An illiterate person of this character is alway considered as contemptible.

'Nor ought the student of law to be ignorant of Greek. The Roman or civil law, which makes a great part of his study, although it was delivered in Latin, is still intermingled with a great many Greek words. The Emperor Justinian, who collected it, reigned at Constantinople, at a period when the Greek language was much more spoken than the Latin, and many of the commentaries upon the civil law were written in Greek. The modern writers and commentators on the civil law, suppose the student moderately skilled in Greek. Heineccius upon the Institutes of Justinian, as well as the Pandects, every now and then introduces Greek words, which must puzzle and disconcert a student who is totally ignorant of that language. When we reflect, farther, that lawyers are considered universally as men of learning, and that they ought to be also men of eloquence and taste, it must be allowed, that at least a moderate knowledge of the Greek tongue is absolutely necessary for them.

'The vast utility of Greek in a medical education is so obvious, that it was never called in question. Almost all the terms of art are derived from that quarter, and Greek words are made use of in every prescription. This, of itself, is sufficient to recommend some acquaintance with that language to every student of medicine. But he who aspires at real eminence in his profession, will not be contented with such a skill of the language as will only enable him to consult his lexicon; he will also endeavour to read Hippocrates, Aratæus Cappadox, and Galen, in the original tongue. And he will emulate that learning, particularly in the Greek and Roman authors, for which eminent physicians have always been remarkable.

'No gentleman, indeed, ought to be without a moderate skill in this sort of literature. Whether he be called to act a part in the supreme council of the nation, or lead a life of rural retirement, some knowledge of the Greeks and their language, will enable him to embellish his harangues if he speaks in public, and to amuse his solitary hours in his rural retreat. If classical taste be suffered to decline among the youth who are to be the future supports of the state, it is to be feared that real eloquence will also decline, and incorrectness and inelegance succeed. If gentlemen who retire to the country would be at more pains to cultivate their minds with classic elegance, we should not behold so many of them spending one half of the day at

the chase, and besotting themselves in the evening over their bottle. With what superior lustre do we behold to arise the example of a Granville, of a Lyttleton, of a Shenstone, who have paid the debt of nature, celebrated and honoured by all men of real taste!

'It must be confessed, that to be real adepts in the language of ancient Greece, is attended with considerable difficulty and pains, but this ought not to hinder any scholar from endeavouring to acquire a moderate skill in it. Although the pursuits in after life leave but little time for the prosecution of such a study, yet no person will ever repent the pains he has taken, although he should but retain through life the meaning of the ordinary vocables in the language, without which, indeed, he must meet with repeated mortifications. Allow me to conclude what I have to say at present, in the words of the elegant author already quoted. "It were to be wished," says he, "that those amongst us, who either write or read with a view to employ their "liberal leisure, would inspect the finished models of Grecian literature."—"To be competently skilled in ancient learning," adds he, "is by no means a work of such insuperable pains. The very "progress itself is attended with delight, and resembles a journey "through some pleasant country, where every mile we advance new "charms arise. It is certainly as easy to be a scholar as a gamester, "or many other characters equally illiberal and low. The same applica"tion, the same quantity of habit, will fit us for one as completely "as for the other. And as to those who tell us, with an air of seeming "wisdom, that it is men and not books we must study to become wise "and knowing; this, I have always remarked, from repeated experi"ence, to be the common consolation and language of dunces. They "shelter their ignorance under a few bright examples, whose tran"scendent abilities, without the common helps, have been sufficient of "themselves to great and important ends."

We pass over the critical remarks on Milton and Tasso, in the comparison instituted between those poets and Homer and Virgil,—and hasten to the Professor's disquisitions on the ancient Drama, a field of curious and interesting research, obscure indeed, but, in skilful hands, susceptible of much elucidation. We must again confess our disappointment. The Lecturer seems completely satisfied with what has been said before, and never thinks of deserting opinions which an indolent acquiescence has so long considered as authoritative truths, or of quitting the beaten track for new paths of speculation and research. As might be expected, therefore, the three dramatic unities receive from Professor Dalzel the same unreflecting homage which has for ages consecrated that reverend absurdity. His reasonings wear the livery, as it were, of this antiquated, though now exploded error, and march with an undisturbed solemnity and tranquil confidence,—as if he were unconscious that Shakspeare and Nature had successfully resisted its usurpation. But, although he has not joined in the revolt of fancy and genius against Aristotle, we feel some complacency in remarking, that

his arguments, if they deserve the name, are but a languid echo of the French school of dramatic criticism, and little likely from their intrinsic force, to re-animate the expiring authority of its tenets. But the learning and diligence of a Greek professor might, we should think, have led him to the supposed source of those tenets in the well-known treatise of the Stagyrite on poetic Imitation. Had he consulted the passage, he would have found, that, rightly understood, or even faithfully translated, it gives them no support or sanction. It is with reluctance that we forbear proceeding further into this interesting question, referring our readers to the satisfactory elucidation which it has received from the profound and enlightened researches of William Schlegel. We refer them to a still higher authority, to that right reason and common sense, those authentic legislators in matters of taste and feeling, whose influence has happily survived the enfeebled oracles of scholastic authority. We shall only remark, that when the Author laid down with undiscerning generality the law of the unities, and remarked, 'that however much they have been transgressed by some modern English dramatic poets, yet they were strictly preserved and attended to by the ancient Greek tragic writers;' he made an assertion which, if implicitly received upon his authority, must have considerably misled his hearers. Unity of time has been frequently violated by Euripides. Æschylus, though for the most part faithful to the unities of action and time, has, in the Eumenides, been wholly unobservant of that of place.

In the twenty-third lecture, the Greek tragedy is traced from its first beginnings, but with a singular inattention to one of the most extraordinary phenomena in the process,—the sudden transition, almost anomalous in the literature of nations, with which it leaped from the rudest elements to a state nearly of maturity. Nor are these miraculous energies, which repeal, as it were, the ordinances of nature, and outrun the tardy developments of time, peculiar to the drama only of the Greeks. They are characteristic of the language itself, which, by a single bound from its Oriental infancy, started at once to consummation, a sort of Minerva full grown and armed from the brain of Jove;—ready in the hands of Homer for every tone of passion and every operation of mind, and furnished with all the graces of inflection and strength of combination to which it owes its empire over the hearts and understandings of mankind. But the interval between the rough dithyrambic origin of tragedy, and the perfection which it received from Æschylus, is surprisingly short. He took it from Phrynicus, the disciple of Thespis, and in a few years, was effected a complete revolution in the art. Instantaneously emerging from a condition devoid both of dignity and grace, and throwing off its obscene buffooneries, it rose at

once to speak the language, and to represent the deeds of gods and heroes. His predecessors had merely introduced a single person to tell the story by simple recitation. The father of the Greek tragedy first invented dialogue, the distinctive feature of the drama, and imparted to it the form and substance which, with slight variations, it has retained to the present hour. From Æschylus, also, the chorus, which till his time chaunted hymns and odes bearing no relation to the events or destinies of the piece, derived its more appropriate functions, participated in the action, admonished the powerful, terrified the wicked, and consoled the unhappy.—We have conceived it to be our duty to point out these omissions, as serious defects in a professed review of the Greek drama.

We insert the following account of Sophocles, premising, that the Professor has manifestly erred in attributing to him, among other improvements upon Æschylus, the introduction of a third personage into the colloquy; for Æschylus had already introduced three into the Chœphoroi, and into the Eumenides.

'Sophocles was born in the second year of the seventy-first Olympiad, 495 years before the Christian era. He was fifty-one years younger than Æschylus, who was his master in dramatic poetry, and fifteen older than Euripides, who was his rival. Though his father was a mechanic, yet he spared as much by his industry as to bestow a polite education upon his son, who being thus introduced into the company of the first-rate youth of Athens, became extremely agreeable to them by his wit and conversation. When Xerxes invaded Greece, Sophocles was but a boy; yet, upon the defeat of that haughty tyrant, and his disgraceful escape after the battle of Salamis, the young poet put himself at the head of a troop of other young men, who sung a triumphal song on that ever-memorable occasion.

'Sophocles had a genius nobly turned for tragic poetry, and he applied himself when very young to that species of composition. Having, even in his first essay, vanquished Æschylus, who was long considered at the head of his profession, the people conceived such a high admiration of him, as to think him the favourite pupil of some god. This great poet rose to honour and dignity in the Athenian republic. He had a genius for war as well as Æschylus, and he was joined with Pericles in the command of an expedition for suppressing a rebellion in the island of Samos. His name, however, is chiefly celebrated for his skill in tragic poetry. He improved greatly upon Æschylus. Particularly, he introduced a third personage frequently in the colloquy upon the stage, and he reformed the style: for his taste was delicate, his genius was powerful, and he was master of the *curiosa felicitas verborum*. The tragic muse, under the guidance of Sophocles, trod the stage with dignity though with ease. Her language was noble and elevated, and often sublime, but never degenerated into the rant and fustian of Æschylus. Sophocles also made the chorus connect better with the action of his pieces than Æschylus

ad done. 'And, upon the whole, he brought the ancient tragedy to s great pitch of glory.

We learn from Cicero, in his treatise De Senectute, that beautiful ittle work, which contains so many just panegyrics on the Greek iterature, that Sophocles continued writing tragedies to a great old ge. When his sons wanted to prove that he doted, and was incapa- le of managing his affairs, he produced his tragedy of Œdipus Co- oneus, which is still extant, and which he had just finished, and asked he judges if that was the work of one who doted. Cicero's words are is follows: "Sophocles ad summam senectutem tragedias fecit; " quod propter studium quum rem familiarem negligere videretur, a " filiis in judicium vocatus est: ut quemadmodum nostro more male " rem gerentibus patribus bonis interdici solet; sic illum, quasi de- " sipientem, a re familiari removerent judices. Tum senex dicitur " eam fabulam, quam in manibus habebat, et proxime scripserat, " Œdipum Coloneum recitasse judicibus, quæssisseque, num illud " carmen desipientis videretur. Quo recitato, sententiis judicum est " liberatus." ' Vol. II. pp. 200—3.

We are disposed to think that the Greek drama has been more ably and satisfactorily discussed than the greater part of the topics comprehended in the Lectures. Yet, how inviting an opportunity seems to have been omitted, of dilating upon the distinguishing excellencies of the three tragedians,—the most interesting, we will add the most philosophic province of criticism! Pathos seems to have been the latest refinement of the tragedy of Greece. Æschylus never unlocks the source of our sympathies; as if, conversant with humanity only in its sublimer and more heroic forms, he considered tears to derogate from its dignity and greatness. Love, he appears to have considered as amongst the imperfections of our nature: he scorned to paint its agonies, or its triumphs, or the hopes which render its delusions blissful, and even its disquietudes pleasing. He was made of sterner stuff. Terror strides in gigantic march before him. His models were chosen from the heroic times, and there is a constant effort visible in his dramas to preserve the heroic elevation of language and sentiment. Hence, his diction is frequently pushed to the very confines of meaning, and becomes obscure and tragic. His notions of theology, which were nearly the same as those of Homer, impress a peculiar character on his poetry; and his views of human nature are saddened by the reflection, which seems never to depart from him, that man is the sport and victim of a power which overrules the gods as well as men,—a blind fatality, a dark, irresistible necessity. It is this predestination that impels his personages into the crimes which bring down upon their heads the celestial vengeance, of which the Fates and the Furies are the ministers. Sophocles introduced still more refinement into tragedy, and it was principally by avoiding the defects of his predecessor,—the towering elevation of his

expressions and the obscurity of his thoughts. His heroes, therefore, are brought nearer to us, and are more within the sphere of our sympathies. They are, however, still heroes, though not too high to interest and agitate the feelings. The style of tragedy, thus lowered by Sophocles, became in the hands of Euripides the language of beings subject to human frailties, and agitated by human passions. Of the wilder graces (the φοβεραι χαριτες) of Æschylus, of the serene but majestic dignity of Sophocles, who kept even the passions within certain limits, and is mildly pathetic even amid the most afflicting fortunes of his drama, there are but few traces in Euripides. He proceeded by other avenues to the heart. Nature seems to have denied him a sublime spirit of poesy; but she gave him the key which unlocks all the fountains of sorrow and pity. He is accused (and Schlegel has reiterated the accusation) of having enervated tragedy. But he found that heroes and demigods were too far out of the reach of humanity, as they had been portrayed by Æschylus and Sophocles. He, therefore, surrenders them to the whole storm of the human passions: they are bowed down by the same griefs, and overwhelmed by the same distresses which prevail throughout the wide scene of mortal suffering. Others have objected against him the rhetorical diffusion of his dialogue, and the sentences (γνωμαι) which are profusely scattered over his writing. But he proposed to himself to render the stage a school of wisdom. The philosophy, therefore, with which he was tinctured, (the system of Anaxagoras,) is visible in his dramas; and as the Athenians had acquired a taste for the artificial eloquence of the sophists, it was the aim of Euripides, who was recent from the school of Prodicus, to fascinate their ears with those rhetorical blandishments which he soon found to administer the highest gratification to that fastidious people.

More might be said upon this interesting subject, so intimately blended with the manners and character of the Greeks. We have slightly and hastily touched it, to point out what we conceive to be matters of curious and elegant elucidation, which ought not to have been omitted by the Professor in discourses addressed to young persons, capable of feeling the beauties of the Greek tragedians. We are admonished, however, that we have already exceeded the limits of our article by dilating too much on so many successive topics, as they were presented to us.

Singula dum capti circumvectamur amore.

We must, therefore, omit all notice of several subjects of disquisition equally important in this comprehensive course of Lectures, and take our leave of the work with a few final observations.

It would be captious and petulant criticism, to deny it the praise of considerable learning and talent. But the Lectures are too

sory and discursive, and exhibit too slight and familiar views of their subjects, to be of any considerable use in directing the studies or enlarging the minds of those who have passed beyond the mere elements of Greek literature. They offer a banquet of much more substantial than the Barmecide's in the Eastern story; they must, therefore, have been wholly unsatisfactory to those who, entering upon the career of elegant studies with a keen appetite for knowledge, would be in no small degree disappointed and famished by its being served up to them in such small and tantalizing portions.

'The hungry flock look up and are not fed.'

At the same time, the justly earned reputation of Professor Dalzel requires us to remark, that it ought not to be answerable for this publication. Either the book-making spirit of the age is so indiscriminate, or the taste for reading so omnivorous, that no manuscript is now permitted to slumber in the drawer or the portfolio. It has been the fate of these Lectures, which were obviously left in an imperfect state, to be thus dragged reluctantly into day; but their errors and imperfections ought to be chargeable only on the indiscreet zeal which has violated the sacred tranquillity of their repose.

Art. III. *Henry Schultze*, a Tale. *The Savoyard*, a French Republican's Story. With other Poems. 12mo. pp. 144. Price 5s. 6d. London, 1821.

THIS anonymous volume of poetry with the hard name on its title-page, unless it should be so fortunate as to awake curiosity, would not seem to possess much chance of gaining general notice. It has merits, however, which, if not of the highest order, entitle it to be honourably distinguished among the crowd of ephemeral publications. The subjects of the two poems which occupy the larger portion of the volume, are such as Crabbe or Lord Byron might have rivalled each other in painting after their respective manners, in the darkest colours of fancy, or the pencil of Fuseli have selected as congenial subjects for the canvas. There appears to be no attempt, however, on the part of the Author, to imitate the style of either of his illustrious contemporaries; and in the choice he has made, he has probably been in no degree influenced by their example. The first poem is stated to have been suggested by an account which appeared in the public papers about a year ago, of the case of a tradesman, who, impelled by a succession of misfortunes, and absolutely destitute of the means of procuring food, retired to a sequestered spot in a forest, and there resolved to starve himself to death.

'He put his determination into force on the 15th of September, and was found on the 3rd of October, (eighteen days), still living

although speechless, insensible, and reduced to the last stage of debility. A small quantity of liquid was given him, after which he expired. By his side was found a pocket book and pencil, with which he had contrived to keep a daily journal of his sufferings, and in which he had persevered till the 29th of September. He begins by giving an account of himself, and states that he was a respectable tradesman, possessing a good property, of which he had been deprived by misfortune and villainy; and that he had come to the determination of starving himself to death, not so much with the view of committing suicide, as because he was unable to procure work; that he had in vain offered himself as a soldier, and was too proud to apply to unfeeling relations. This note is dated the 16th, which day he had employed in constructing a little hut of bushes and leaves. On the 17th, he complains of suffering much from cold, and in his journal of the 18th, he mentions having suffered from intolerable thirst, to appease which, he had licked the dew from the surrounding vegetables. On the 20th, he found a small piece of coin, and with great difficulty reached an inn where he purchased a bottle of beer. The beer failed however, to quench his thirst, and his strength was so reduced, that he took three hours to accomplish the distance back, about two miles. On the 22nd, he discovered a spring of water; but, though tormented with thirst, the agony which the cold water produced in his stomach, excited vomiting and convulsions. The 25th made ten days since he had taken any food but beer and a little water. During the time he had not slept at all. On the 26th, he complains of his feet being dead, and of being distracted by thirst. He was too weak to crawl to the spring, and yet dreadfully susceptible of suffering. The 29th of September, was the last day on which he made any memorandum.'

This anecdote, highly interesting in a physiological point of view, and still more so as a moral incident, is made the groundwork of a very touching narrative, given in the form of a series of extracts from the journal of the wretched sufferer. It describes his love, his happy nuptials, his conjugal happiness, the infidelity of his wife, his revenge on her seducer, her penitence and death, the subsequent loss of his children, the ruin of his affairs, the unkindness of his former friends, want, shame, hunger, despair—all the elements of human misery in no impossible combination. And the tale is told with so little sentimental aggravation, and in language so natural, sometimes homely, that it almost beguiles the reader into a conviction of its literal authenticity. And this feeling is, we think, necessary to reconcile the mind to the horrors of the recital. 'If we 'could,' says Jeremy Taylor, in that famous passage in his "Holy Dying," 'from one of the battlements of heaven espy 'how many men and women at this moment be fainting and 'dying for want of bread——.' We know that such cases as Henry Schulze, in most, if not all of its details, are of but too frequent occurrence, and that the tale, therefore, is substantially

time. At the same time, the impression made by the perusal would be simply painful, were it not for the softened light in which poetry exhibits the tragic realities of life, so as to communicate a picturesque interest to objects the most unsightly and revolting. Tried by this test, this deeply tragic narrative must be admitted, whatever be its faults, to be poetry.

'The eldest now her alphabet could say,
And kneel, and join her little hands to pray
That God papa, mamma, and self would bless,
And in a few small words her wants express.
The next dear fatling by himself could stand;
Nay, round the garden with his sister's hand
Could trot; four teeth, and five good words had he,
When a third nursling smiled upon my knee.
I loved them, for they all resembled her,
Their dearest mother — — —

* * * * * *

'A more accommodating, pleasant man
I never yet had known. Propose what plan
We might, and he agreed to it. He'd play
And prattle with the children half the day.
And at our evening fire how well he'd quote
The touching tale, or cheerful anecdote,
Which he had gathered in the last campaign
He fought in Egypt, Italy, or Spain!
Or join my Constance in some song she loved,
And then commend what he had first improved;
Or take the book, and read instead of me;
Or favorite lines recite from memory.
This constant round of little pleasing arts
In our new inmate, quite engaged our hearts:
We took him to us almost like a brother,
And blessed the day that brought us near each other.'

* * * * * *

'I first observed that our domestic prayers
Were not so regular. The household cares
Seemed irksome too; and in the shop of late,
The customers were often left to wait.
The children's faces were not kept so clean,
Nor frocks so neat and white as they had been:
And Constance too began at home to wear
A tawdry gown and discontented air.
For the first time she slighted my caress,
And haunted public places, and loved dress:
Was happy only when away from me,
And most so in Von Kuhlman's company.'

This is minute and accurate painting: the colouring is sober as reality. But the narration of the manner in which he tracked the villain when he fled, reproached him with his baseness, and

left him miserably wounded, is given in language which sometimes partakes more of literal truth and force than of poetical propriety. We could have wished that one expression at least had been suppressed. The death-bed of the wife will remind the reader, of Crabbe's Sir Owen Dale. It is, however, no second-hand copy of nature.

> ' She sat up in her bed arrayed in white;
> I never saw so beautiful a sight,
> Or so affecting. Ere the door I crossed,
> One boding look informed me all was lost.
> On her fair cheek appeared the hectic bloom,
> And in her eye the watchfire of the tomb;
> And an unearthly radiance in her air
> Bespoke her journeying from a world of care.'

She dies,—his

> ' dimmed, degraded, ruined All,'—

and the state of mind into which this event plunges him, is well imagined, although the language ill accords with the supposed character of the suicide.

> ' Oh! 'twas a heavy time of mist and gloom!
> My thoughts were mostly groping in the tomb,
> Busy with things obscene—worms, bones, and clay,
> Coffins and shrouds,—and would not turn away.
> My spirit was cooped up; my views were chained
> Down to mortality. I never gained
> One glimpse of God or Heaven; I breathed no prayer;
> Nor thought of meeting her I loved elsewhere.
> Chastised but not corrected, there I stood,
> In sullen, stupid, unrelenting mood:
> No humblings felt, no reformation planned;
> Kissed not the rod as in a Father's hand;
> But o'er my loss still brooded and complained,
> And slighted every comfort that remained.
>
> But ah! my spirit from its trance awoke!
> A second thunderbolt upon me broke.
> " Thy child is dying," smote upon my ear,—
> My child! my child!'—

The chief difficulty which the poet has to surmount in a fancy-piece of this description, (for a fancy-piece, of course, it is,) is to preserve a perfect harmony in the narration, so that the feelings and sentiments ascribed to the individual in the successive stages of his miserable career, shall be appropriate not only to his imagined situation, but to the character the situation is supposed to have induced. It is comparatively easy for the mind to place itself in an imaginary situation,—it is what is continually done under the simple operation of hope and fear by those who are no poets,—and, by intensely dwelling upon the cir-

circumstances of such a situation, to realize, in a more or less perfect manner, the feelings which it would occasion. What we have actually felt in circumstances bearing the faintest analogy to the imaginary ones, is sufficient to supply the fancy with a hint to work upon; and, by multiplying that feeling, as it were, by each additional circumstance of aggravation, we seem to ourselves to arrive at the idea of what it would amount to in the given predicament. But to imagine the moral effect that shall be produced on either one's own mind, or on that of another, by physical suffering, is a far different effort. To conceive, not of feelings, but of the effect of those feelings on the character, and to embody that character in a distinct personal subsistence, bearing no resemblance to our present self except in the common attributes of humanity,—and to make that ideal being think, and speak, and act in a way foreign from our own feelings, but strictly appropriate to the character with which we have invested him,—this is the triumph of imagination. This is what Shakspeare pre-eminently has done. This is what Lord Byron, with all his great powers, cannot do. The language of the imaginary recital in the present poem, is, in many passages, extremely natural and pathetic, but, as a whole, the temper in which it is given, does not answer to the idea of the gloomy, degraded, despairing being who could resolve on such a death. One rather imagines as his portrait, Spenser's fine personification of Despair,—the

> ' — cursed man low sitting on the ground,
> Musing full sadly in his sullen mind;
> His greasy locks, long growen and unbound,
> Disordered hung about his shoulders round,
> And hid his face; through which his hollow eyne
> Looked deadly dull, and stared as astound;
> His raw bone cheeks, through penury and pine,
> Were shrunk into his jaws as he did never dine.'

Crabbe would probably have thrown into the portrait of Henry Schultze a gleam of insanity; and this would not only have heightened the effect, but would have given propriety to the whole description, as strictly in character. Lord Byron would have made a Manfred of him; nor would he have let slip the opportunity of putting into his mouth, some fine, terrific, phrenzied railing at human nature. Yet neither, perhaps, would have produced so pleasing a poem, deficient as it is in strict dramatic propriety, as Henry Schultze.

Of the second poem, the Author says that it

' is likewise in some degree founded on fact, and offers an attempt to develop a highly interesting and poetical process of thought and feeling, which he does not recollect to have before seen exhibited at length in verse. It will, perhaps, in parts remind the reader of those

passages of Cowper's extraordinary "Memoir of his own early Life," in which he delineates the workings of his heart and mind under strong religious excitement. The Author by no means pledges himself for the absolute correctness of the religious emotions there exhibited. It is enough for him that such emotions frequently exist, and therefore afford a legitimate subject for poetical description.'

The Savoyard is considerably the longest and the most finished poem of the two. In this, the Author has put forth all his powers, and has displayed much originality as well as vigour of imagination, and poetical skill. The introductory lines, by the solemnity of their character, appropriately serve to prepare the reader for the tale itself. It opens with the following beautiful little picture.

'Years now have fleeted, since I rambled,
A lonely stranger, in the land
Where losel Pleasure long has gambolled,
With sister Folly hand in hand;
And still surviving change and chance,
Writes shame upon thy forehead, France.
And there I heard,—I hear it yet,—
A tale my soul can ne'er forget.
Deep on my thrilling brain 'twas then
Engraved, as with an iron pen;
And comes at every vacant hour
With all its first o'erwhelming power.
Long have I felt, I scarce know why,
A wish to tell it ere I die.'

'One Autumn's eve, the setting day
Upon a dreary moorland found me,
Alone, and weary, and astray,
And nought with sense or speech around me.
In vain my way-worn steed I spurred,
Or guide or shelter to descry:
The whistling breeze or startling bird
Was all that met the ear or eye.
And now the sun descending fast
O'er the long waste has look'd his last;
And in his parting purple beam
The scattered grey-stones round me gleam.
The upland pool is crimson'd o'er;
And the old cross, with lichen hoar,
Far to the westward, lone and high,
Stands in relief against the sky.
At last the whole is passed from sight,
And leaves me to the lonely night.'

A feeble ray breaking on the darkness, directs him to a little hut, from the master of which he meets with a hospitable reception, tendered

'with an air and grace
That suited ill so rough a place.
Of middle age he seemed: and though
His locks were sprinkled o'er with snow,
His step was firm and full of tone,
And mind through all his features shone.
Grief he had felt; his cheek, his brow
Told this; but all was over now;
And Resignation in its stead,
Her moonlight stillness o'er them shed.
Passions had raged: Remorse, Despair,
Had waved their wildest banners there;
But better influence shaded down
Each sterner look, each darker frown,
And left his features more serene,
More calm, than if they ne'er had been.
In all he said and did, 'twas shewn
He better days and scenes had known,
And much had felt, and much had learned,
Where man is busiest; but had turned
From life's vain bustle, sick and tired,
And now to loftier joys aspired.
For he was now a man of prayer,
Of altered views, and meekened air,
To other aims and feelings given,
His help in God, his hope in heaven,'

To his visiter, when free converse had conciliated his confidence, the recluse discloses his fearful history. Born in wild Savoy, the child of a pious mother, he was trained to the love of virtue and of freedom, and grew up a youthful enthusiast, ardent, sanguine, and fearless. Just as he touched on manhood,

——' the fires that long were nursed
In goaded France's boiling veins,
In blazing fury forth had burst,
To light the desperate to her plains.
The magic pencil of Rousseau
Threw glory round their darkest aims,
And made severer spirits glow
With half his own enthusiast flames.
Beneath his all-distorting pen,
The wrong was right, the false was true;
Foul license seem'd the rights of men,
And madness wore a sober hue.
Wild Anarchy took Freedom's guise,
And Sentiment Religion's name;
And Lust unveiled her gloating eyes,
And walked abroad o'er fear and shame.'

'Each better trait, each brighter hue
Were all that met our stripling's view;

High liberty's romantic cause,
To right a nation's trampled laws,
To bow the head of tyrant pride,
Cast superstition's chains aside,
To do, to triumph, to inherit,
The claims of self-asserting merit;—
These were the dazzling meteor lights,
That lured him from his native heights,
His simple home, his mother's care,
To scenes of treason, blood, despair.'

'Soon with the democratic band,
He pledged the mutual vow and hand;
And shared their counsels and their toils,
Their arms, their triumphs, crimes, and spoils.
True, what he witnessed day by day,
Soon chased his golden dreams away;
As under freedom's specious name,
He traced dark passion's selfish aim,
Ambition, vengeance, thirst of blood,
And Avarice in her meanest mood.
True, he disdained, he loathed at first;
Yet found his fetters hard to burst:
His Rubicon of guilt was passed,
His choice was made, his die was cast.
With spirit moveless from its end,
With heart that breaks, but will not bend,
Once launched on that impetuous stream,
A base retreat was not for him;
But he must ride the onward wave
To port or wreck,—success or grave.
The hope of glory, fear of shame,
Still roused ambition's failing flame,
Still goaded on his sickening heart,
In each dark scene to bear its part;
Till on he rushed in desperate zeal,
And left no pause to think or feel,
But sought to lose, in guilt's excess,
Of guilt the sting and consciousness.
Nor failed he. Conscience, often scorned,
At length no more addressed or warned.
In his black trade he mended fast,
Nay, found his joy in it at last,
Of all that dealt in shrieks and blood,
The readiest partizan he stood;
And, through the Reign of Terror, none
Could boast more wreaths than he had won,
And pluck'd, all wet with gore and tears,
From husbands', brothers', fathers' biers.'

The horrors of the dungeon, the scaffold, and the battle-plain, are represented as having formed part of the terrible recital.

'Himself had seen one beauteous spot,
With all its inmates, thus o'erthrown;
It lived,—it was,—and it was not,
Ere twice the Sun had o'er it flown!
There, peaceful homes, on hill of green,
Shone sweetly through the evening air;
And kine and browzing sheep were seen,
And townsfolk sauntering here and there.
The setting sun went down upon
A busy scene of glee and toil,
Where towers and spires shot up like fires,
Illumined by his parting smile.
From chimney white, in golden light,
The curling smoke was upward borne:
That town in evening's sky shone bright,
As virgin on her bridal morn.
Ah! little deemed that glittering town,
As her evening bells rang sweet and clear,
As the sun to her shepherd's pipe went down,
What ruthless foes were hovering near!
That lovely town, ere midnight tolled,
Bathed the broad heaven in bloody light;
And shout and shriek confusedly rolled,
Pierced from her streets the ear of night.
Were seen, from wondering plains below,
Red, naked rafters blazing there,
Wild forms careering to and fro,
And swords thick flashing through the glare.
At morn, black ruins shewed the place
Where shone that town in evening pride;
There living thing no eye could trace,
Nor sound nor murmur ear descried;
Save where, in one tall lonely tower,
A clock still went and wailed on high,
And rung unheard the dreary hour
To echoing walls, and wind, and sky.'

We must make room for the equally graphic description of a scene of kindred horror—the *noyade;* the fatal barge gliding at midnight down the drifting tide, bearing

—'within her crowded womb,
At once their prison and their tomb,
Her human cargo to the deep.
The fisher on the distant shore,
That spreads his nets along the steep,
Hears one shrill stifled cry,—no more,—
One sudden plunge.—'Tis not the cry
Of the wild curlew in the midnight sky;
'Tis not the plunge of the sea-dog, keeping
His giant sports while the world is sleeping.
A stranger, drearier sound than these
Rolls there along the far, dark seas.

The conscious stars the rest must tell,
And the winds that sing their funeral knell;
And the big green wave that slowly rolls
O'er twice two hundred buried souls.'

At length, the master-demon, Robespierre, is arrested in the midst of his Satanic reign, and the 'Savoyard' becomes involved in the ruin of his party. He is dragged with his fellow victims to prison,

'mid yell and shout,
To wait the doom they dare not doubt.'

Here, the mind which had faced death in every frantic form, is made to quail and shudder at his slow and measured approach. In the dreary pause which ensues, the simple scenes of boyhood, his native hills, his mother, rush on his remembrance, and the guilty interval unfolds itself to his review in all its atrocity. Amid the agonies of fear, suspense, and remorse, he is compelled to join in 'the ghastly mirth, the desperate glee' of his reckless companions, while he loathes their revelry, and longs for, yet dreads, the still and stagnant solitude of the tomb as that which, perhaps, may not be an eternal sleep. In this state of mind, he dreams one night, that he dies, that his conscious body is consigned to the clay, and that at length the sound of the last trumpet breaks upon his slumber, and summons him to meet his doom. The dream is very vividly described, and with awful propriety. Its terrible details are such as the conscience has not unfrequently called up to the imagination of the sinner in the visions of the night with more or less distinctness, and the recollection of which has made him tremble, like the Assyrian monarch at the hand-writing, in the midst of his revelry. The prisoner wakes with the fierce energy of his emotions, yet scarcely knowing in which world he wakes. We have not room to insert the description which follows, of his phrenzied despair: it is, we have no doubt, painted from the life; it has, at least, all the force of truth. With laugh and jest, his fellows press around him, and, reading his inward agony, mock at his sufferings. One only wish engrosses him—

'To live! on any terms to live.'

Day after day and night after night succeed, without his being conscious of the change, without his closing his eyes in sleep. He hopes that his throbbing brain may fail, but his 'sober senses would not set.'

'"I was a public scorn; they came,
And look'd, and laugh'd upon me there;
Yet felt I not offence, nor shame,
Nor wrath; no, nought but stark despair.

I took no pains their eye to shun,
Felt no desire their taunts to quell;
Such plaything moods were not for one
Who sat upon the brink of Hell."

We now arrive at the most delicate part of the tale; the sudden transition which is represented as taking place in the mind of the prisoner, from utter darkness and despair to hope and joy, and that without any visible means, or any change in his external circumstances. The possibility of such a transition will not be questioned even by those who would be disposed to resolve such a fact, occurring in real life, into purely physical causes; and its possibility, or rather, its accordance with well known and accredited facts, being admitted, the Author had a good right to introduce the circumstance into his tale, without being committed to any theological or physiological opinion on the subject. And as he seems to waive the question as to the correctness and origin of the religious motions exhibited, we are not inclined to enter into any needless discussion. In reference to the case of Cowper, we have expressed our sentiments much at large in reviewing the "Memoir" alluded to *; and to that article we wish to refer our readers for the best commentary we can offer on moral phenomena of this very interesting description.

"But Heaven had gifts for sinful men
I little knew or thought of then;
And on my night of fear and sin
A ray of peace at last broke in:
A blessed, bright, benignant ray,
The herald of eternal day.
In this dark dotage as I sate,
Wrapt up in my approaching fate,
A message reach'd me—whence, or how,
I knew not then, I know not now;
Unless some angel in his flight,
Touched by my dark and piteous plight,
Transgressed the bounds he was assigned,
And dropped it on my sullen mind.
But there it was, as clear and bright
As if transcribed in lines of light.
It fixed and filled my inward eye,
And made my heart run o'er with joy.
That blessed truth, that heavenly strain,
My soul and it ne'er part again.
I'll spend on it my latest breath,
And hug it in the arms of death;

* Eclectic Review, N. S. Vol. VI. p. 313. (Oct. 1816.)

I'll bear it to the Judgement-seat,
And cast it down at Jesus' feet;
It there shall be my only plea:
For Oh, it tells my Judge, that He
Upon the cross vouchsafed to die,
To save from Hell such fiends as I!

"'" Yes, it was true, my Saviour died
To rescue man from sin and woe.
My heart at once the truth applied,
And could not, would not let it go.
I felt it was my last lorn hope;
A stay to the lone shipwreck'd given;
And grasped it with a drowning grope,
As sent to me direct from Heaven.
In confirmation, word on word
Rose sweetly too from memory's store;
Truths which in other days I heard,
But never knew their worth before.
Lodged by a pious mother's care
In the young folds of thought and sense,
Like fire in flint, they slumbered there,
Till anguish struck them bright from thence.
The beacon lights of Holy Writ,
They one by one upon me stole;
Through winds and waves my pathway 'lit,
And chased the darkness from my soul."'

He finds a Bible in the fort, perchance some captive's who, like him, had found light in his despair, now kept only for sport. He seizes it, and with trembling haste and hungry eye, explores its sacred contents. There he finds every hope of mercy confirmed by the language of God Himself; and a state of transport ensues, in which his prison becomes a home, nd death loses all its terrors.

'"' But to my cell, I know not how,
Nor doom nor summons ever came.
They smiled upon me as they passed,
And treated me as one insane.
They oped my prison door at last,
And sent me back to life again."'

His new and strange feelings on finding himself again at large, are very strikingly delineated. He was prepared for death, but not for a return to the business of the world. Turning from the scenes of his former guilt, he seeks his native place, but finds his mother had died broken-hearted. One day he lingers among the scenes of his youth, and then returns to hide himself in seclusion and solitude, from the scorn, and the strife, and the temptations of the world.

'"I sought at last this desert spot,
And built me here my humble cot;
And taught my little farm to smile,
'Mid the wild waste an Eden isle.
And here, amid my crops and flowers,
I muse away my vacant hours;
And kneel beneath the open sky,
And serve my God at liberty."'

The copious extracts we have given from this poem, will render superfluous any more formal expression of our opinion as to its merits: it will be sufficiently evident, that we view them as of no common order. To those whom the citations have failed powerfully to interest, we should address any recommendation of the volume in vain. We have, indeed, sometimes heard it brought against us as reviewers of works of poetry, that we are rather too easily pleased; and as a critic's acumen is generally reckoned to be in an inverse proportion to his sensibility and good-nature, we are aware how such a charge strikes at our authority in these matters. But we know not how to exclude, in pronouncing upon a work of imagination, the effect which it has produced on our own feelings; and on the most careful analysis of them in the present instance, after making the amplest allowance for the interest attaching to the subject, and the satisfaction afforded by the Author's purity of sentiment and the indications of his piety, we are deliberately convinced, that the pleasure we have derived from the perusal, is chiefly referrible to the quality of his poetry. The minor poems are mere bagatelles. The 'Infant's Address to the departing Day-Light' is, however, extremely pleasing. The volume is said to be the production of a clergyman. As he has chosen to publish it anonymously, we do not feel ourselves at liberty to give publicity to his name, but we know not why he should withhold it.

Art. IV. *Vindiciæ Hebraicæ*; or a Defence of the Hebrew Scriptures, as a Vehicle of Revealed Religion: occasioned by the recent Strictures and Innovations of Mr. J. Bellamy; and in Confutation of his Attacks on all preceding Translations, and on the Established Version in particular. By Hyman Hurwitz. 8vo. pp. 270. London. 1820.

WITH the extraordinary pretensions and peculiar qualifications of Mr. Bellamy as a Biblical translator, our readers have already been made acquainted, in our examination of his version of the Book of Genesis. For dogmatical assertions and palpable contradictions, for ludicrous errors and mischievous representations, Mr. Bellamy is altogether unequalled. His

presumption has already drawn down upon him an abundant measure of severe but just and reasonable reprehension; from which, however, it would seem that he is resolved to receive no salutary impression. He is still, in his own eyes, the most accomplished of Hebraists; and he drives on his translation of the Bible with all the ardour of a man devoted to an enterprise of the least questionable necessity and benefit.

Mr. Hurwitz will unite with him all competent scholars, in the opinion, that there is now very little probability that, after the labour which has been devoted to the elucidation of the Scriptures, any new doctrines should be discovered by a Biblical critic. His object in the present work is to shew, that Mr. Bellamy's attempt to give a new sense to various parts of the Bible, is replete with mischief; that the charges which he has brought against preceding translators and commentators, are calumnious; that, while accusing others of inconsistency, he is himself most inconsistent; and that his errors are so numerous and so gross as most clearly to prove his utter unfitness for the task which he has undertaken. These several counts in the indictment against Mr. B. are ably and satisfactorily supported by the evidence which he has industriously collected.

It is justly stated by Mr. Hurwitz, as a very serious objection to Mr. Bellamy's publication, that 'he has collected in 'his work such a mass of infidel objections against the Bible, 'as is hardly to be found in any single production of Deistical 'writers; and he has, in most instances, attached a degree of 'importance to them, which they really do not merit.' This is a grievous fault; and it exists in Mr. Bellamy's pages in its very excess. He has not been sparing in selecting the choicest articles from infidel writers, and has been not a little ingenious in giving them plausibility. Some of them are, probably, of his own invention. Are the abettors of unbelief prepared to receive Mr. Bellamy's translation of the Scriptures as obviating all their objections, and leading them as willing subjects in the triumph of truth? If not, it is more than possible, that he may be found to have confirmed the prejudices, and strengthened the opposition of unbelievers against the records of revealed religion.

Having, in some former numbers of our work, examined Mr. Bellamy's New Version at considerable length, we must satisfy ourselves, on the present occasion, with reporting, that Mr. Hurwitz's "Vindiciæ Hebraicæ," though it does not contain any very novel or striking specimens of Hebrew criticism, furnishes ample instances of the strange blunders and gross blemishes which pervade the singular publication to which it is opposed. We cordially recommend it to the Biblical student.

ART. V. *Observations on the Idiom of the Hebrew Language* respecting the Communication of Power from Governing Verbs, and the Induction of it into Verbs Subordinate, connected with them. 8vo. pp. 47. London.

THE use of *Vau* as prefixed to the future and preter tenses of Hebrew verbs, and changing their signification in respect of time, to which grammarians have given the designation of *Vau* conversive, is an idiom of the Hebrew language which every expositor of its principles has acknowledged as a difficulty, and has attempted to explain. Granville Sharp's rule, (which, by the way, was well known before he published his illustrations of the usage,) that *Vau* prefixed to the future tense, converts it into a preter, and *vice versa*, affords no assistance towards the solution of the case. Lowth, in his fifteenth Prelection, has offered some remarks on this peculiar structure. But the principle of this construction has never been satisfactorily explained by any writer.

The Author of these Observations details an hypothesis for the solution of the difficulty in question, which we shall state and examine with as much brevity as possible. He is evidently not a little confident of the sufficiency of the rules which he delivers; but there is nothing offensive in his manner of treating the subject. He is never dogmatical or affected. He writes throughout with good temper, and has infused a spirit of seriousness into his philological speculations. His "Theorem" is as follows.

'When Verbs are connected in Hebrew (the connexion being generally indicated by the sign ו prefixed to the latter), the Power, whether temporal or modal, of the first or Governing Verb is communicated from it, and inducted into the Verb following. And whatever be the power proper to the latter Verb, it still retains its use, subordinately; but that which is inducted, becomes the prevailing power. If a third Verb follow in connexion, and so on, the power communicated from each successive Verb to that next following, without destroying its proper subordinate power, is the same as was previously inducted into the former.'

In applying this Theorem, it must be observed, that the verb from which the power is communicated, and the verb into which it is inducted, must be in the same series or system of connexion.

'These are different SYSTEMS OF CONNEXION, which, in relation to one another, may be called *major* and *minor* systems. Major systems, for instance, may be Historical Narrations; within these, at different intervals, there may be minor systems; Digressions perhaps, or Speeches; and within these, there may be other systems still, such as Speeches told, variations in the mode of expression, pa-

renthetical sentences, &c. But each system is to be considered separately in itself with reference to Induction; and though it be interrupted by an intervening system, it may not be terminated by it, but be continued again afterwards.'

This doctrine of systems of connexion, has long maintained a place in the works of some Hebrew Grammarians. It will be found, we apprehend, to avail our Author but little in his attempt to elucidate the usage of the *Vau*. Instead of following him step by step through the several passages to which he has applied his theorem, we shall satisfy ourselves with remarking on the following instances of its employment.

'Isaiah ii. 1, 2.—*The word that Isaiah the Son of Amos saw concerning Judah and Jerusalem, and it was in the after-part of the days*; i. e. The matter revealed was foreseen as then to be: this is the title.—Then begins the Prophecy itself with great boldness and grandeur;—Established shall be the mountain, &c.'

'In Is. liii. The application of the theorem will alter the common translation of the second verse, and fix the meaning of the passage.—*Who hath believed our report, and the ARM OF JEHOVAH, unto whom hath he been revealed, and raised up as a tender sucker in his sight, and as a root from a dry Ground?* Where is the Believer, to whose spiritual sight JESUS has thus been revealed in his humiliation'—&c.

Such is the Author's rendering in both these examples. If the exigencies of his system require alterations like the preceding, it will be necessary only to exhibit them, in order satisfactorily to disprove its pretensions to truth. With such presumptions against the soundness of his hypothesis, as will be immediately suggested to every competent examiner, with these specimens of its application before him, the Author will not be thought to have thrown more light on the usage which he has attempted to explain, than his predecessors. We cannot receive with confidence an hypothesis which requires in its aid, such violation of grammatical construction, and from the application of which, results such mistranslation, as appear in the foregoing extracts. Such cases as these determine the character of the theorem, and are sufficient to satisfy us of its incorrectness.

Art. VI. *Taxidermy:* or the Art of collecting, preparing, and mounting Objects of Natural History. For the Use of Museums and Travellers. 12mo. pp. 168. London. 1820.

THE preservation, in the greatest possible perfection of form, texture, and colour, of the various subjects of the animal and vegetable kingdoms, is an affair of considerable anxiety and labour to the students and professors of natural history. The

representation of flowers, fruits, leaves, and the different portions, sections, positions, and combinations of plants, is so readily effected by the pencil, as to supersede the necessity of any process whatever for the accumulation of actual specimens; or, if any additional illustrations be requisite, they are supplied by the common and inartificial methods of maceration and the *hortus siccus*. The case with respect to the animal creation is far different. Though the general aspect and attitude may be faithfully expressed, yet, there will always remain innumerable circumstances and variations beyond the reach of tints and outline. The under feathers of birds, the difference of colours between the extremity and the origin of the hair of beasts, the folds of skin, with innumerable accidents of this kind, lie out of the range of merely superficial representation. In all these cases, it is absolutely necessary to secure the means of preserving the immediate subject. Different methods of effecting this, have been devised by naturalists. Both the integuments and the viscera of animals are liable after death, not only to the common ravages of decay and dissolution, but to the equally injurious attacks of different species of the insect-tribe. Against these it has been found difficult to obtain an effectual guard, though much labour and ingenuity have been exercised in the search after sufficient preservatives. Reaumur, who, about the middle of the last century, published a memoir on this subject, seems to have relied principally on materials, which, though partially useful, fail in general application. The Germans divided the smaller animals, especially birds, longitudinally, filling the body with plaster, and fixing the inner side to the back of a wooden frame, afterwards furnished with glass in front. Maugé, le Vaillant, Duhamel, took part in this inquiry. The Abbé Manesse employed alkalies, which, from their well-known property of attracting damp, have been found insufficient. Mauduyt and Daubenton used sulphurous fumigations, which, as might have been foreseen, were destructive, not only of injurious insects, but of all brilliancy and delicacy of colour in the subject itself. The Dutch and the English seem to have relied chiefly on the exclusion of the causes of decay by the careful use of glass, wood, and putty. Oil of turpentine, tanning liquids, and unguents of different kinds, have been tried without success; and the only effectual preservative has, at length, been found in the application of the arsenical soap invented by Bécœur, an apothecary at Metz. His preparation is now constantly used in the French museums; and though it certainly requires great caution in the handling, it does not appear that the workmen have as yet sustained any injury in this way.

The present work will be found to contain very ample, intelligible, and interesting details and instructions on all points con-

nected with the preservation of the various subjects of natural history. It is written and compiled by M. Dufresne, chief of the Zoological laboratories of the Paris Museum, and the translation is fairly executed. Though the fact of non-originality is not stated in the title-page, there is no attempt to conceal it in the other parts of the volume. The possessors of this book will have in a convenient size, complete directions for the collection and preservation of the different productions of nature, from the largest specimens to the lowest forms of existence. The instruments of operation, the different preparations and modes of application, the methods of retaining the peculiarities of shape and attitude, are all simply and clearly stated. We have been much interested by some of the details, and in particular by the account of the means employed for preserving and mounting the elephant now in the French Museum. Its dimensions were minutely and carefully taken, the curves being adjusted by bars of lead, and large drawings were made on the wall of the workshop. The dissection was then performed; the skin was saturated with a solution of alum; and the head and legs were modelled in plaster.

'All these measures being taken, Lassaigne constructed a factitious body in linden or chesnut wood. The reader would find the detail too long and too minute if we were to describe the ingenious methods generally invented by Lassaigne, either to cut the wood, or to preserve the form he had given to this great mass. But to avoid all prolixity, it will be sufficient to observe, that he composed this wooden elephant in such a manner that all the parts could be separated. He opened a pannel, (it is immaterial on which side of the body,) and introduced himself into the interior, by means of this opening, either to diminish the thickness of the wood or for any other purpose during its construction: the head, the trunk, all was hollow, so that the body, alarming at first from its supposed weight, might be easily transported from one place to another.' p. 43.

The alum-water was then heated, and poured boiling upon the skin, which, when thus made thoroughly pliant, was stretched upon the wooden shape. Here, however, an unexpected and appalling mischance occurred; the model was somewhat too large, and the minute and general reduction of its outline was not practicable without endangering the coherence of the whole structure. In this dilemma, it was resolved to diminish the thickness of the skin, by paring away the inside. Five persons were employed on this work for four days, and the shreds which they separated from the inner surface, weighed nearly 200 pounds. The skin was again immersed in the cold solution, and, on adjusting it to the model, it fitted with the utmost precision. Other large animals have since been mounted in the same manner.

Art. VII. *Sketches of Manners, Scenery, &c. in the French Provinces, Switzerland, and Italy.* With an Essay on French Literature. By the late John Scott, Esq. Author of the Visit to Paris, &c. 8vo. pp. 520. London. 1821.

THE circumstances under which this volume is presented to the public, are such as must disarm criticism of all asperity. The author was a man of highly respectable talents, and is said to have sustained in private life an amiable character. His "Visit to Paris in 1814," and his "Paris Revisited in 1815," were deservedly popular: they were characterised by sound sense and manly feeling; and so far as their influence extended, contributed to give a salutary direction to public opinion. All that has since been iterated both by tourists and poets, in the forms of narrative, description, and satire, with respect to the state of society in Paris, was early and ably said in these volumes. His next publication was a Monody on the death of his son;† which, though it failed to attract much attention from the public, displayed no small originality of genius. It contains some passages of the purest pathos and of great beauty; and its defects were chargeable on an unpractised, rather than an unskilful hand. Of his anonymous labours as a journalist, we cannot speak from personal knowledge, but have always understood them to be of competent merit. Thus far we accompany him in his career with feelings of respect, but it is due neither to the dead nor to the living, to speak of his last act, by which he shewed his preference of the imaginary obligations of worldly honour to the laws of God, in those terms of sentimental candour and unmixed commiseration with which it would be proper to advert to the mistaken opinions of a conscientious man, or the misfortunes of an innocent one. "Died Abner as a fool dieth"—this must be the epitaph of the duellist.

A small portion only of the present work was left for the press. This contains the narrative of a tour through part of Brittany to Angers in Anjou, and thence by water to Tours. The Author's subsequent travels in Switzerland and Italy, are presented in the form of a journal, being, probably, little more than the memoranda he made on his journey. If more brief on that account, they are not the less interesting or satisfactory. The Essay on French Literature, which occupies one hundred and forty pages, was, in substance, published in a Review;* it is here given with additional matter according to the Author's intention.

* Eclectic Review. N. S. Vol. IV. p. 402.—Vol. V. p. 209.
† Ibid. Vol. vii. p. 609.

In the first chapter, we have a very glowing description of the romantic scenery, genial climate, and economical advantages of the delightful little island of Jersey: it is 'a place,' the Writer states, 'which kindles feelings of the most agreeable and ani-'mated kind.' It is remarkable, how much better acquainted the travelling and reading orders of the public are with the remoter provinces of neighbouring foreign territories, than with these dependencies of their native Island. Mr. Scott's picture of Jersey will probably bring it a little more within notice.

The Author landed at St. Maloes, and proceeded to Dinan by water. The sail up the river Rance is described as remarkably beautiful, this part of Brittany being highly romantic.

'France in general cannot be called picturesque; by far its greatest proportion is tame and uninteresting. The banks of the Loire, of which they boast so much, are very tame to an English eye. But the neighbourhood of Dinan can be rivalled by but few spots in the world. The sides of the Rance, as we advanced up it, became nobly precipitous and rocky. Castellated houses and chateaus were seen on the heights, with old fashioned gardens, and a countless number of windows. There were numerous ruins also, that attested the popular fury of the Revolution...Coming up the river, you first catch sight of the town, perched on high, overhanging the stream with its decayed battlements and mouldering towers, admirably variegated, and presenting a glorious study for a landscape painter. The river here winds excessively, so that you approach and recede from this fine object for a long time before you reach it. The steeps on each side are fringed with wood in some places, in others they present inaccessible projections of bare dark grey stone, and in others they afford a scanty herbage between the rugged cliffs, which is browzed by a few sheep and goats, that are seen hanging in the air.

'We landed at a bridge below the town, to which the ascent is remarkably steep, so much so, that it would seem impossible for carriages to go up and down. The walls of the town became every instant more interesting. They are very ancient, and are falling rapidly into ruin. Several detached hills near the town, have each its top encircled by the walls of a decayed castle. Winding footpaths lead down from the main road to villages amongst the rocks, and in the narrow valley below the river, now above the reach of the tide, runs its quick and reduced stream. At every fresh step, you discover a new feature of picturesque beauty; new hills disclose themselves; new rocks start up; the spires of churches and the cottages of peasants discover themselves, some half way up the mountains, others capping their extremest pinnacle. The numerous footpaths add greatly to the beauty of the scenery, for, on catching their zig-zag lines, a single peasant, or a boy pursuing a goat, was seen, and lost, and recovered again, and finally escaped the eye under some projecting cliff.

'The town, on entering it through an old gateway, seems silent and worn out. The streets are empty, the houses are falling to

pieces, no signs of trade, or any kind of the business of man. It appears to receive one as to a place of other years. In the summer months, however, some strangers resort to it for the sake of its mineral wells, that are situated in a deep valley a mile from the town, where the scenery is even more magnificent than it is in that quarter which I have attempted to describe. Never have I felt the fascinating power of nature so strongly, as on the evening when I first visited these beautiful wells. The sun was setting in splendour behind the lofty rocks, which on all sides enclosed the valley. The path that led down to it was steep in the extreme; the goats were feeding on the shelves of the rocks; children were hunting them from steep to steep with their shrill cries; a single priest, in his sacerdotal robe, was walking slowly, with an umbrella under his arm, along a winding path, through some low wood; a feeble and bent peasant woman, was ascending the hill painfully, with a white sack on her back; a dog barked at the bottom from the door of a cottage, and a black lamb suddenly started off down the rock, playing a thousand fantastic freaks as it ran, pursued by two beautiful children.' pp. 27—29.

Mr. Scott gives a similar account to that furnished by Mrs. Stothard, of the extreme filthiness and wretchedness of the peasants. 'The Bretons,' says the latter in her very entertaining narrative, 'dwell in huts generally built of mud; men, pigs, 'and children live altogether without distinction in these cabins 'of accumulated filth and misery.' 'I could not,' she adds, 'have supposed it possible that human nature endured an ex-'istence so buried in dirt, till I came into this province.' Mr. Scott says:

'In the course of some pretty extensive walks round Dinan, I saw only the most disgusting habitations. Yet these do not always indicate poverty. The peasantry here weave a good deal in their houses. Every room on the ground-floor had one or two looms, three or four beds, and the litter occasioned by the roosting of fowls and ducks. In Dinan, there is not an inn that can afford decent accommodation to travellers. I do not mean accommodation calculated for habits exclusively English, but accommodation addressed to the common wants of our species.'.....'The wretchedness of the cottages is beyond all idea. None of them have glass windows. The inhabitants looked the caricatures of our representation of the French peasants in wooden shoes: yet the girls in Brittany are handsome, and the men, as we passed them working on the road, we found fine, strong, hearty fellows. Meat is never eaten here by the poor people.'

Sometimes, a family will be found inhabiting what has the external appearance of a respectable farm-house; but, on nearer inspection, seven eighths will be found to be in ruin, while the household are huddled together filthily in the small remainder.

'At the inn of a small village called Chaussée, there was a long passage up stairs leading to six apartments. One of these was open to the sky, another was half full of chaff, a third was but half floored,

a fourth was empty, the fifth and sixth held all the beds of the family, all sleeping together, male and female.'

Mrs. Stothard describes Rennes as a large and very agreeable city, the streets being much wider than those of Paris, and 'remarkably clean.' Mr. Scott declares it to be for the most part 'extremely shabby and dirty.' Yet, 'a number of English,' he was informed, 'were settling there.' 'Provisions,' he adds, 'are cheap and the country pleasant; it is, however, 'out of the way, and will never be so attractive to the English 'as Tours.' The people of Brittany are particularly hostile to the English. Mr. Scott assigns a strange, and, in our opinion, a very insufficient reason for it. 'Since the affair of Sir 'Robert Wilson,' he says, 'English travellers have no longer any 'peculiar courtesies shewn them.' Mrs. Stothard represents their dislike of our nation as being attributable in a principal degree to the notion they entertain relative to the affair of Quiberon Bay: they believe that we sent the French emigrants there for the purpose of being murdered.

Vitré, on the road to Lavalle, is described as wearing the appearance of having remained stationary in condition for the last five hundred years. Its situation is romantic; its venerable buildings highly interesting. 'A dead silence pervaded its 'narrow streets: scarcely a living object was to be seen in 'them; not a face at a window.' Its fine castle, which looks down upon the lower town from a great height, is in ruins, but the walls and towers are magnificent.

'The yard of the castle bears the most imposing look of antiquity. It has the profound draw-well, the arched gateway, the watch-tower —all the finest old style. The Prussians had bivouacked here, and occupied the few lower apartments that are still defended from the weather. An old woman resides in a small porter's lodge, close to the draw-bridge, who shews the ruin to strangers. She was moved to tears when she described the place in its pride and splendour, which she had seen. She was on the establishment of the castle in her youth, and recounted the horrors of its fall with strong emotion. The destroyed rooms were converted into a revolutionary prison; and the kitchen was destined for those condemned to die. Some of the unfortunate family to whom it belonged, were here held in captivity; and from hence were taken to the place of death. While our guide was describing these things, she spoke in a solemn whisper, as if surrounded by the state of past days, and overheard by the spirits of her murdered masters. In one strong room, near the outer gate, the police confined a mischievous madman; and his howling execrations, directed against the visiters, whom he heard near him, mingled themselves with the old woman's sad story, delivered in a low tone of voice, thus producing an indescribably awful effect. It brought the contrast between the present and the past with almost overpowering force on our feelings. We left the place, very much struck with what

we had seen and listened to. Among other things, we were told, that some part of the family, now re-established at Paris, was suspected to have lately visited the ruins of the superb possession, *incogniti*. They walked through the decayed *salons*, and stumbled over the fragments of their glory, with looks of melancholy grief; and, on going away, a young man gave a handsome donation to the aged porteress. She has since had good reason to believe, that this was the lord whose infancy she had nursed. She wept bitterly as she told us this; and declared she would have died consoled for all the past if she had but known him, and could have kissed his hand.' pp. 78—80.

Another striking illustration of the remark suggested by a similar instance of affectionate fidelity, related by Mrs. Stothard, that in old countries, where the feudal system still survives in the habits of the people, the tie of servitude often forms the basis of the strongest and purest attachment. This domestic loyalty seems, in the lower stages of civilization, to supply the place, in some measure, of other social virtues. It is often a blind, but still a generous instinct; and it is one of the worst consequences of the advancement of society, that this wholesome bond is relaxed, before the moral principles which should come in its stead, have had time to take root in the habits of the people. It is, we fear, fast disappearing in our own country,—except in the pages of the Novelist. The relation of master and servant is becoming, more and more, a temporary sordid bargain, involving neither sentiment nor sense of moral obligation on either side, and is so slight a connexion as to be terminable on any pretence or caprice. We look upon this as an ominous symptom: it looks as if the frame of society was loosening from its basis by reason of its bulk.

Chateau Gontier, on the banks of the Mayence, presented to the Travellers a novel and most refreshing appearance: its cleanliness gave it the air of a Dutch, rather than a French town. On arriving at the inn, they were introduced into 'a 'tidy and complete' kitchen; the rooms up stairs corresponded to it; and the landlady was handsome, plump, and obliging. Not a beggar, surprising to relate, is to be seen in the streets. The church is kept in a state of order and decency which fairly astounded the visiters, the passages being actually matted; and on Sunday, it presented the extremely unusual appearance of a crowded congregation. The sexton told them, that the town was famous for what they so much admired in its appearance, and that 'the people are as good as they are clean.' Mr. Scott's description really excites a strong curiosity to witness the phenomenon.

Angers, they were forewarned that they should find 'a place 'of very bad sentiment:' its citizens are for the most part *radicals*. Its almost perpendicular streets are dirty, solemn,

dark, and dull. The ponderous and lofty walls, and ancient castle, look frowning down upon the town beneath, which bears the marks of high antiquity and departed grandeur. The remains of the dilapidated churches exhibit some of the finest specimens, Mr. Scott states, of the earliest Gothic; and their desolated appearance kindled, he adds, feelings which in their better days they would probably have failed to inspire. The language in which he describes the effect produced by these stupendous monuments of human labour, is rather above the sobriety of prose, but it is highly descriptive.

'Look at the obscured glory of the high pointed windows of a cathedral; the terrific suspended threat of its arched roof; the rapid loftiness of its slim pillars; the capacity of its aisles; the interminable look of its passages; the mysterious promise of its many doors; the echoing of its vaults; the winding of its staircases; and that grand spaciousness which is every where the characteristic of the place, and which constitutes it the solemn palace of silence:—look at an ancient cathedral with all these features perfect, and it seems the work of the Creator, rather than of man;—look at it in ruins, and it seems the victim of an earthquake, rather than of any human mischief;'

There is, however, somewhat too much of this; and when the Author refers the erection of these edifices to the 'feeling of 'devotion,' and speaks of them as adapted to abate the severity of our condemnation of Popery, he talks in a manner unworthy of his usual good sense.—Every thing, he says, speaking of Italy, 'betokens this to be a more religious country than France;' of which religion, the following article is a striking token.

'It was after advancing a little from Baveno, that, for the first time, I saw a regular friar, such as Chaucer and Boccaccio describe. Monks I had seen at the grand Chartreuse; but this was a downright sturdy friar, a mendicant capuchin one, I suppose, by his appearance; with a rope twisted round his middle, bare dirty legs, and brawny withal; his face expressing cunning, impudence, and another quality, for which, if the Italian story-writers are to be believed, the class is justly renowned. Voltaire also speaks of the various fortunes of a capuchin. Looking at this fellow upon the road, transported one back at least a century. It seemed as if one lived before the French revolution, and as if the adventures which we find in works of fiction, coupled with the appearance of such personages, might take place. Allowing the imagination to please itself in this way, the friar's appearance must interest and please; but, considering the world as it is, and thinking of the newspapers instead of Mrs. Radcliffe's novels, he appeared terribly out of place and time.'

After this, it strikes one as lamentable trifling, to tell us to look with complacency at the immense expenditure, the dauntless determination, the consummate skill displayed in a cathedral, as having any tendency to reconcile the mind to the dreadful superstition which originated it. 'What could have effected

'it,' he asks, 'but the feeling of that devotion which is now so 'ridiculed? It would seem that so efficacious a principle of 'enthusiasm has not been substituted. It seems to surpass all 'modern endeavour: the motive was more powerful than any 'that now exists. Our roads, palaces, and churches, what are 'they, compared with a cathedral?' 'What are they,' he might with equal propriety have asked, compared with the castles of the feudal age, or with the amphitheatre, the cromlech, or the pyramid? All had alike their foundations deep sunk in the barbarism, the oppressed condition, and the intellectual bondage of the great mass of the people. What Mr. Scott himself remarks of the Simplon, is not less applicable to these rival prodigies of human skill and labour: 'The means by which these 'works were effected, are not in the power of other princes, 'and they were produced by the enormity of the despotism.' The cathedral had this peculiar circumstance, indeed, attaching to it, that it was often indebted for its erection to what was but too efficacious a principle; a portion of the means of building was obtained as the price of dispensations and pardons. And thus, as Mr. Foster remarks in one of the most splendid passages of his recent Essay on Popular Ignorance, 'these proud 'piles were in fact raised to celebrate the conquest, and prolong 'the dominion of the Power of Darkness over the souls of the 'people. They were as triumphal arches erected in memorial of 'the extermination of that truth which was given to be the life 'of men.'

Although there is more of the semblance of religion in Italy than in France, yet, Mr. Scott's journal contains abundant evidence that it is only a semblance.

'My Italian Master,' he says, 'told me that, throughout all Italy, people of good society are totally without religion, particularly at Rome. This is the necessary consequence of the Catholic religion, which the author of the (French) work on the Social Institutions of the present day, would have every where exchanged for Protestantism.'

He goes so far, indeed, as to call in question the superior adaptation of the Roman Catholic superstition, with all its tasteful and pompous scenery and ritual, to impress the imagination.

'These grand forms are very striking; when the incense rises, when the host is elevated, as actually the Deity among the people, while all bow the head, and the floating sounds of solemn music roll with the clouds of smoke and perfumes, the effect is prodigious on the heart of him who, without belief in facts, believes the reality of the source from whence such sentiments come. Let us regard such effects as indications of immortality and providence, though clouded and deranged by the weakness of human faculties. But this impression is chiefly made on the heart of a stranger. The repetition of

the same grand forms, is precisely that which surfeits and weakens imagination. The omission of them, if it does not starve it entirely, excites its appetite, and sets it in exercise. There is an invisibility about the tenets of the Methodists and the Scotch Church, which still more forcibly strikes the imagination of the votaries, than the organ and the surplice. Is a Methodist without imagination? Take the Scotch woman in Waverly, and see how her imagination wraps every thing with the noble mantle of religion. A Catholic old woman, telling her beads, has not half the poetry of religion in her soul. Take all the characters of the same class in these novels, and contrast them with any which fiction has exhibited as acting on the tenets of the Romish Church. Surely the little effect of the Catholic religion on conduct, is a proof that it takes no deep hold on the imagination.'

pp. 255, 256.

Mr. Scott found the people of Italy every where violently hostile to the Austrians. 'The Germans,' he says, 'have no 'right to be there.' They and the Italians can never assimilate. He heard repeatedly at Milan the words—*depuis que les Allemands sont venus*, uttered with a strong expression of disgust and hatred. The consciousness of being hated, gives gloom and severity to the character and conduct of their foreign masters.

'It was said to me, that, since the Austrians have been here, the courts of justice are not open to the public, when causes are tried; people are taken to prison, tried, and put to death, and nothing known. It is not pretended to be denied, that these are really malefactors; but as the practice of the French was more liberal, the alteration is much to be condemned.'

Surely, the change is one which no Englishman can deem of slight importance.—Buonaparte and Beauharnois are much regretted. 'What mattered it to us,' they say, 'that he was a 'tyrant? he gave us a name; he gave us bustle, business, live-'lihood.' A real love of liberty does not enterin to their feelings; but affection for the national name, he thinks, does.

'Perhaps the most striking of all the proofs given by Buonaparte, of genius, is, his art of gaining superior minds. His system was one of tyranny, but, after making every thing cede to it, he then honoured all that was honourable. He must have had great talent, to make himself respected, admired, and even liked in all circles, among professors, poets, soldiers, and all.'

'Since our last Number issued from the press, that once dreaded name of the man who weakened the nations, who took, as a nest, the riches of the people, and made the earth to tremble, has utterly passed away; so as to give peculiar emphasis to the exclamation of Mr. Scott in reference to his political demise—'What is Bonaparte in the present day? Abso-'lutely nothing.' There is some truth in the following reflexions, although they require to be qualified.

'The French revolution, wild as it was, has left its marks. Louis XIV. left his character impressed on the age; the Greek and Roman warriors and statesmen did so. But Buonaparte has passed like a meteor; in no respect was he congenial. And this, I think, tells against his genius as well as his heart. Genius always joins itself at some point or other with the great mass of human feeling; but although unpermanent and unkindly, his effects were great when they existed. He put all in rapid circulation, and made a great house on the sand, which, though it did not, and could not stand, and in fact ought not to have stood, yet he employed many hands, and afforded shelter to many inhabitants. Though much mischief was worked up in what he did, yet in Italy we see evident traces, that, with regard to this country, the assertion is true, which appears to me more than problematic in regard to France, namely, that he would have been succeeded by something better, that would have taken advantage of what he had done by power, to turn it to the advantage of principles. He was producing the union of Italy, not intentionally, for he was as jealous of this as any Austrian, Pope, or Bourbon; and in making *French Provinces* of the fairest and most classical part of Italy—in making the French language official at Rome and Florence, he did enough to curse himself for ever; but the name of the kingdom of Italy, the frequency of communication, common service in the army, public improvements—these were all tending to produce the spirit of union: he was training Italians to arms, and rousing them from sloth and enervation to glory and ambition. The fruits of all this would have been seen in their gaining their independence, or at least in their making such a struggle for it, that the Spanish diversion would have been nothing to that in Italy.' pp. 302, 303.

It is not, however, true, that 'he has left nothing behind 'him:' these sweeping propositions are seldom just. He has left traces of his ambition on the judicature, the civil institutions, and the social character of the French, which will not soon be effaced. And, reduced as he now is to nothingness, unfelt and almost unnoticed as has been his silent disappearance from the world, he has erected for himself in the Simplon, a more splendid monument than ever protected the ashes of preceding despot, and he has an island for his cenotaph.

Our limits will not admit of our noticing very particularly the Essay on French Literature. It does great credit to Mr. Scott's taste and information, and forms a valuable appendix to the volume. He charges the French with being 'wanting in 'imagination,' and in support of his opinion adduces the remark of M. Cabaris, a late French writer, that the French tongue 'is poor in words that are necessary to the display of the imagi-'native faculty.' This fact would seem to be almost decisive. Hence, they have themselves no poetry, and their critics run down Shakspeare, because they cannot understand him. Voltaire was, perhaps, equally sincere in regarding the poetry of

the Hebrew Scriptures as made up of *galamatias.* The following remark may be new to some of our readers.

'One of our living poets has noticed the influence of the Old English translation of the Scriptures, committed as it is to every body's hands, on the public taste. It is probably to this, more than to any thing else, that we are indebted for the force of imagination and habit of contemplation discoverable in the body of our people. The sublimities of the original have been, amongst all our ranks and classes, the object of daily thought; and their admiration has been trained to "the height of this great argument." Indeed I know of no more certain proof of a small, vain, egotistic, and shallow spirit, than an insensibility to the magnificence that abides within the clouds and shadows of the Hebrew compositions. I am here alluding to them only as a test of *good taste;* in this respect they try all the higher qualities of perception and feeling.' pp. 451—2.

Art. VIII. *The Character and Reward of the Faithful Minister.* A Sermon occasioned by the Death of the late Rev. John Berry. By J. A. James. 8vo. pp. 44. Birmingham. 1821.

FUNERAL sermons are, perhaps, next to ordination sermons, the most fugitive of this fugitive class of publications. We do not think it worth while to except such compositions as Howe's beautiful sermon on the death of Queen Mary, or the more than rival production of the first pulpit orator of our own day on the death of the Princess Charlotte. But, in general, this description of sermons, even when occurring in the collected works of eminent authors, is found the least attractive part of their contents; and when published singly, they are apt to excite little interest beyond the circle of private friendship. The celebrity of the Preacher in the present instance, will, happily, secure a more extended circulation for the instructive record which this sermon contains, of the rare though not shining virtues of this exemplary minister. The portrait which Mr. James has given us of his deceased friend in the following paragraphs, presents a most pleasing illustration of the Christian character.

'His *conduct* partook much of *the mild and gentle virtues* of christianity. He was a man of *peace* and lover of concord. For peace he would always have sacrificed almost every thing but principle. A lovely disposition this, and the more valuable on account of its rarity. —What a world we should live in if every one were to cultivate, as our deceased friend unquestionably did, that "charity which beareth all things, believeth all things, hopeth all things, endureth all things."

'Next to his inoffensiveness, and nearly allied to it, was his distinguished *prudence.* I know no one who walked through life with more cautious circumspection. He never by rashness or impetuosity plunged himself into difficulties, or involved himself or his friends in vexatious contests. He was never called to make humiliating con-

cessions or disgraceful retreats. Prudence is necessary for all, but as a *ministerial qualification*, it is next in importance to piety itself. For want of it the strongest powers of mind are often useless; by the help of it even the feeblest might do great good. Unfortunately it is looked upon as a low and grovelling virtue by some men; as a mere weight on the wing of genius.

'*Candour* was certainly amongst the excellences of our departed friend. During the sixteen years acquaintance that I have had with him, I know not that in one single instance I ever heard him speak voluntarily to the disadvantage of another, and if he has been obliged to admit a fault, it was in a way that showed him to be most remote from the love of censure.

'How *humble* he was, *you* all know who were in the habit of observing his deportment. With a mind well stored with learning and the various reading of half a century, he possessed the modesty and unobtrusiveness of a child. He delivered his opinion in the company of those who might have sat at his feet to receive instruction, with the diffidence of a youth that had not passed his novitiate.'

Mr. James is too well known as an orator, to render it necessary for us to say any thing respecting the style of the present discourse. Indeed, unless a sermon presents matter for discussion, we consider ourselves as absolved from the invidious task of criticism. As a preacher, there are few to whom, in the present day, the language of the prophet would be more applicable: "And lo! thou art unto them as a very lovely song of one who "hath a pleasant voice, and can play well on an instrument." It is natural, when persons have been so pleased, to wish to have the notes of the melody; but the voice is not there. Judging by the effect which Mr. James knows so well how to produce, we should, in despite of our own judgement, conclude, that his highly florid style was the best adapted to the pulpit; but a written discourse is like an engraving which gives only the outline without the colouring—the colouring of which words are susceptible from a powerful or animated delivery. It is not as a writer that Mr. James's talents can be most advantageously estimated, or that he can be safely followed as a model.

For the same reason that the Spectator gives for looking first at the postscript in a lady's letter, we are apt to glance at an Author's notes. At page 41, after remarking that Mr. Berry always regretted having rendered himself so dependent on the use of notes in preaching, Mr. James adds:

'It would be a matter most deeply to be deplored, if the practice of *reading* their sermons, instead of freely delivering them, should ever again become common, of which there is no small danger, from the example of some eminent preachers in the north. That one exalted mind here and there should be able to convert even this appendage like Saturn his ring, into a part of their splendour, is no reason why minds of less force should attempt the experiment. The slavish

perusal of even a good sermon would, in many cases, surround it with a dense atmosphere through which its beauty would but dimly appear. What would Spencer have been had he read his discourses? I believe the practice, if not confined to England, prevails far less on the Continent than here. Let it not be thought there is no alternative between writing and mere *extemporaneous effusions*, poured forth at random, and without forethought. Many who never take a line with them into the pulpit, study their sermons with as much care as those who read every syllable. Admitting that a sermon can be read with greater verbal accuracy than one delivered without notes, it should at the same time be remembered, that what is gained in accuracy is lost in impression.'

It is with no view of controverting Mr. James's recommendation, or of attempting to decide the point, that we have referred to this note; but we confess that we learn with no small surprise, that there is any danger of such a practice as the one alluded to, becoming common. To read a sermon as Dr. Chalmers reads his, we really believe to be an attainment as rare and as difficult as to preach extemporaneously like Mr. James. And for this reason, as well as on account of the previous labour which it involves, we entertain no apprehension that the Dr.'s example will be very extensively followed. But is it quite fair to speak of 'the slavish perusal' of a good sermon in such a reference? If the eminent preachers referred to never desert their notes, yet, they find themselves by no means so fettered as not to be at liberty for the utmost energy of manner; and the style in which they wield their written discourses, must be allowed to deserve a higher name than mere perusing. In hearing the eminent individual more particularly designated, we conceive that *nothing* 'is lost in impression.'*. We repeat, that to be able to read well, is a very rare attainment, and one which we regret should be apparently so little cultivated in our Dissenting academies. What Spencer would have been had he read his discourses, we will not pretend to say; but we have been informed, on the best authority, that the peculiar charm of his delivery was in nothing more conspicuous than in his impressive and eloquent manner of *reading* the Scriptures,—so much so as to give the most familiar chapters the effect of comparative novelty.

There are many reasons, however, why a preacher of considerable pulpit talents might not succeed as a reader of sermons. In the first place, there is a strong, and, we humbly conceive, an unreasonably strong prejudice in most congregations against the shadow of a note-book. Secondly, it is very

* We might also refer to the late Mr. Toller, of Kettering, as another eminent instance in point.

possible, that a preacher's extemporaneous style should be much better than that of his precomposed discourses, and that his written sermons should, therefore, be positively inferior to his less studied effusions. Thirdly, if even he could write good sermons, he might not be able to read them with freedom or animation; for a good speaker may be a bad reader.

Still, there are some advantages on the side of reading, at least in the earlier stages of the ministerial career. The habit of writing is confessedly favourable to the formation of solid judgement and correct taste.* It is not less conducive to the inestimable habit of industry. The very time which it occupies, imposes a beneficial seclusion from the social circle. The attainment of reading is, as we have already hinted, a most important one, since the public reading of the Scriptures will never, we trust, be looked upon as a subordinate part of the services of the Sabbath. Add to this, that were it considered as lawful for a young man to preach from notes, he would be less exposed to the temptation of sacrificing every consideration to the all important attainment of fluency. We think it very possible that some young men of more than average talent, and real modesty and piety, may have been lost to the Dissenters by the rigid exaction of extemporaneous delivery. Whereas, were a different practice tolerated in the novice or the timid, it by no means follows that the individual would remain for life dependent upon notes. If the instance of the venerable person whose ingenuous confession is mentioned by Mr. James, may be hung up *in terrorem* on the one hand, we may, on the other hand, refer to several living instances of useful, popular, and highly impressive preachers in the Established Church, who, having commenced their public ministrations with delivering written sermons, have gradually rendered themselves independent of any such assistance.

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* In the memoir of the life of Dr. Dwight, we are informed by his Biographer, that after his appointment to the office of Professor of Theology, he began to turn his attention to writing his sermons at length. One of his reasons for adopting this practice is very much to the purpose of the above remarks. He had observed an increasing attachment, in some parts of the country, to 'a florid and highly 'embellished style of composition; in his own view, owing to a 'vitiated taste; involving a substitution of ornament for thought, 'and of sound for sense; and wholly subversive of the very end of 'preaching. This mode of writing was gaining popularity among 'his own pupils; and he felt desirous as far as possible to counteract 'it. Knowing the efficacy of a teacher's example on the conduct of 'those under his care, he determined carefully to avoid every thing 'of this nature in his own Discourses; *and to subject his mind, naturally fond of imagery, to a severer discipline than it would submit to 'in the moment of extemporaneous effort.*'

It appears to us, that no general rule can with safety be laid down respecting the delivery of sermons. 'Whate'er is best 'administered, is best.' Many ministers, we believe, are in the habit of writing out their sermons at length, and delivering them *memoriter*. We scarcely know whether this faculty is an enviable one, since the double labour involved in this mode of delivery, presents an almost irresistible temptation to dispense with the fatigue of original composition. Such persons find it scarcely more difficult to commit to memory a sermon of Saurin's or Cooper's, than their own. And where is the harm, it may be said, of having recourse to the works of others? We know of but two objections to the practice: first, that it may seem to border on deception; and, secondly, that a frequent recurrence to what ought at most to be only an occasional resource, infallibly engenders that most fatal of intellectual diseases—indolence.

This mode of preparation for the pulpit, does not come within Mr. James's description, who opposes '*writing*' absolutely, to 'extemporaneous effusions.' Now, without writing, we concede that it is very possible to study very sedulously, and to bestow much forethought both on the matter and the expression of a discourse. It would indicate a sad deficiency either of information or of candour, to imagine that those who, in the strictest sense, preach extemporaneously, preach without serious premeditation or 'at random.' We concede further, that there are many persons eminently qualified for the work of the Christian ministry, whose natural talents render them, to a more than ordinary degree, independent of all artificial training, and discharge them from the necessity of a laborious attention to the rules of written composition. There is a natural eloquence which may be tamed, but is seldom improved by study. All this we concede. But then, Mr. James well knows, that many young preachers who do not fairly come within this line of exception, do *not* 'study their sermons with as much care as those 'who read every syllable.' And we have heard the plea urged, that the engagements of the Academy did not allow time for such previous study. We have heard this admission made with unaffected regret, by those who found themselves forced to rely on their powers of extemporaneous composition, or of memory. And it is quite certain, that much is often spoken, which the speaker would not have ventured or been satisfied to write. These remarks, we are aware, will go but little way towards determining which is, abstractedly, the best mode of delivery; but this, be it remembered, we disclaimed, at the outset, any intention to attempt to pronounce upon. For our own parts, we set so high a value upon both good reading and good speaking, and yet think good preaching a thing so distinct from both, that our preference for either mode is merged in the superior consideration of the use which is made of it.

Art. IX. *Æsop in Rhyme*, with some Originals. By Jefferys Taylor, Author of Harry's Holiday. With an Engraving to each Fable. 12mo. pp. 127. London. 1820.

WE doubt whether our old friend Esop has hitherto had due honour paid him by our countrymen. Since the Rev. Dr. Samuel Croxall undertook to be his commentator, neither poet nor divine that we recollect, has cared to make his matchless apologues the text of paraphrase or illustration, either in prose or rhyme. La Fontaine is not only still unrivalled, (as, indeed, he is likely to remain,) but stands without competitor. An imitation of the inimitable Frenchman is, we see, advertised, of the merits of which we are unable at present to speak; but Esop, in the mean time, has remained in the humble form of a school edition, with no other adornments than indifferent wood-cuts, and in all the bareness of naked prose.

We very highly commend Mr. Jefferys Taylor for this spirited attempt to do the old Moralist the honours at once of graphical and metrical illustration, in a style which does great credit to the joint efforts of the poet and the artist. The designs are highly *narrative*, if we may so apply the epithet, and some of them have great humour. The versification is easy and ingenious, often exhibiting a considerable degree of epigrammatic point, and laying claim to the undefinable charm of *naïveté*. The 'moral' has sometimes a turn given to it that is quite original. For instance.

'THE ASS IN THE LION'S SKIN.

'An ass, who imagined his virtues neglected,
And saw that his talents were little respected;
Supposing folks judged of his worth by his skin,
Resolv'd the first good one he saw to creep in.

'Soon after, he found the fine coat of a lion;
"O! this," thought the ass, "by all means I will try on."
Which at last he contriv'd to throw over his shoulders;
"Now," said he, "with what awe shall I strike all beholders."

'Then he went to a pond, to survey himself in it,
And when he had stay'd to adjust it a minute,
Had had the last look, and felt sure it would do,
To his neighbours he hasted, to make his *debut*.

'"Dear! now," said the beast, "how provoking it is,
Not a soul's to be seen such a fine day as this!"
—I wish, though, it would not hang over one's eyes;
I must try to procure one that's nearer my size."

'Just after, he met a stray pig in the road,
So he look'd as terrific and fierce as he could:
But instead of his shewing the smallest dismay,
The pig only grunted, and kept on his way.

'He next saw a fox, and, to fright him the more,
He tried, when they met, like a lion to roar:
"Ah!" said Reynard, "think not for a *lion* to pass,
While you act like a donkey, and bray like an *ass*."

'Vulgar people well drest will be sure to be known;
For the moment they *speak*, their vulgarity's shown.'

'The Fox and the Crow.

'Crows feed upon worms; yet an author affirms,
Cheshire cheese they will get if they're able;
"For," said he, "I well know, one unprincipled crow
Once purloined a large piece from my table."

'Then away darted she, to the shade of a tree,
To deposit the booty within her;
But it never occurr'd to the mind of the bird,
That a *fox* was to have it for dinner.

'"How many a slip, 'twixt the cup and the lip,"
(Excuse me, I pray, the digression),
Said a fox to himself, "I can share in the pelf,
If I act with my usual discretion."

'So said he, "Is it you? pray, ma'am, how do you do,
I have long wish'd to pay you a visit;
For a twelvemonth has pass'd, since I heard of you last,
Which is not very neighbourly, is it?"

'"But dear madam," said he, "you are dining, I see;
On that subject I'd ask your advice;
Pray, ma'am, now can you tell, where provisions they sell,
That are not an extravagant price?"

'—"Bread and meat are so dear, and have been for a year,
That poor people can scarcely endure it:
And then *cheese is so high*, that such beggars as I,
Till it falls, cannot hope to procure it."

'But the ill-behaved bird did not utter a word,
Still intent on retaining her plunder;
Thought the fox, "It should seem, this is not a good scheme,
What else can I think of, I wonder?"

'So said Reynard once more, "I ne'er knew it before,
But your feathers are whiter than snow is!"
But thought he, when he'd said it, "she'll ne'er give it credit,
For what bird is so black as a crow is."

'"But I'm told that your voice is a horrible noise,
Which they say of all sounds is the oddest;
But then this is absurd, for it never is heard,
Since you are so excessively modest."'

' " If *that's* all," thought the crow, " I will soon let you know
That all doubt on *that* score may be ended."
Then most laughably piped the poor silly *biped*,
When quickly her dinner descended!

' If this *biped* had not been so vain and conceited,
She would not by the fox quite so soon have been cheated;
But perhaps the term *biped* to some may be new,
'Tis a two-legged creature—perchance it is *you*.'

The story of the Chameleon has often been told, but never with more spirit and conciseness than by the present Author. With this we must take our leave of him, cordially recommending his rhymes to our readers.

' Two friends, B and A, were disputing one day,
On a creature they'd both of them seen;
But who would suppose the debate that arose,
Was whether t'was scarlet or green?

' Said B, " If you're right, I will own black is white,
Or that two, with two added, make eight;"
" And so will I too," replied A, " when you show
That that creature is green as you state."

' " Sir, it was, I maintain; I affirm it again:
Am I not to believe my own eyes?"
" It was not," replied A, " it was scarlet, I say,
Which none but a madman denies."

' Then said C, " My good fellow, you'll find it is yellow,
You surely have never been near it:"
" That cannot be true, for I'm certain 'twas blue,"
Said another who happened to hear it.

' " O! said D, " it's absurd! if you'll credit my word,
The creature was brown as a berry:"
" Not brown, Sir," said Jack, " when I saw it, 'twas black;"
Then the neighbours began to be merry.

' " Come," said E, " hold your tongue, you are all of you wrong,
Or, at least, you are none of you right.
Then a box he display'd, where the creature was laid,
When this marvellous lizard was white!

" Good people," said I, " a chameleon's dye,
He can change any colour to suit;
Now if this had been known, all must candidly own,
You would not have commenced the dispute."

' This great altercation show'd small information,
As such disputes constantly do;
For ignorant minds, one most commonly finds,
Are excessively positive too.'

Art. X. *Select Female Biography;* comprising Memoirs of Eminent British Ladies, derived from original and other authentic Sources. 12mo. pp. 331. Price 6s. 6d. London. 1821.

THIS collection contains the following twenty-four biographical articles: Mrs. Ann Askew. Lady Jane Grey. Mrs. Hutchinson. Lady Elizabeth Brookes. Lady Catharine Courtin. The Countess of Warwick. The Countess of Suffolk. Lady Rachel Russell. Miss Margaret Andrews. Queen Mary II. Mrs. Rowe. Lady Elizabeth Langham. Lady Cutts. Lady Elizabeth Hastings. Mrs. Carter. Miss Talbot. Miss Hamilton. Miss Hurdis. Miss Elizabeth Smith. The Dairyman's Daughter. Miss Caroline Symmons. Miss Maria ————. The Princess Charlotte. Miss Ann Kemp Ward.—Some of these are 'abridged from the un-'polished pages of a valuable old work,'—Gibbons's Memoirs of Pious Women; others from the published memoirs of the individuals. The Memoir of the Princess Charlotte consists chiefly of extracts from the Sermon of the Rev. Robert Hall, on the death of her Royal Highness. Two of the articles are original. On these it would be invidious to pass any critical remark, as they are indebted for insertion to the partial estimate of affection, and occupy no great space. It is a common, and a pardonable illusion, which leads us to mistake what is lovely for something anomalous, and to dwell on what has strongly excited us, as in itself extraordinary. One can scarcely forbear to smile, however, at the details which are thought remarkable enough to be recorded as proofs of rare endowment; details which, had the young person been so unfortunate as to reach maturity, would have been forgotten.

The merits of the present selection as a whole, speak for themselves. The memoirs are neatly drawn up, and the volume will form a useful and acceptable present.

Art. XI. *A Clue for Young Latinists, and Non-Latinists,* to trace the original Forms and Signification of Nouns and Verbs, from their Terminations, alphabetically arranged, with explanatory References to the Grammar. By John Carey, LL.D. 12mo. pp. 68. London. 1821.

DR. CAREY has distinguished himself in the useful and honourable labour of facilitating the progress of beginners, by several judicious expositions of the difficulties of classical composition. His collections on Latin Prosody, of which a third and much improved edition now lies before us, are comprehensive, and are expressed in distinct and intelligible language; a quality not always to be found in treatises on quantity. He has, besides this larger digest, recently published two small works,

admirably suited for prompt reference, and well adapted to the wants of the young student. His illustrations of the Eton Prosody form a most useful *vade-mecum;* and his *Clavis Metrico-Virgiliana* will save the plodding school-boy many a desponding sigh. The present little publication is of the same unpretending but available description, and will assist the beginner in extricating himself from entanglements often exceedingly vexatious, and consuming very unprofitably much valuable time. The title and the following short extract from the prefatory notice, will sufficiently explain the object of the book.

'The plan is simple, and so obvious at first sight, that a single instance will be sufficient to exemplify its application and use.—Suppose, then, the young Latinist, or the Non-Latinist, to meet with the word *Pugnavissemus:* on turning to the termination AVISSEMUS in its alphabetic place, he will at once find that it is the first person plural of the pluperfect subjunctive, from *Pugno*, of the first conjugation. But suppose, on the other hand, that he should mistake the point of division between the radical letters and the grammatical termination—and, instead of looking for AVISSEMUS, should direct his attention to ISSEMUS, EMUS, or even the single syllable, MUS, or US—he will, under any of those heads, find references, to guide him in his search.' pp. iii. iv.

In addition to these terminations, Dr. Carey has inserted (and this we think a valuable enlargement) those antique forms of declension and conjugation which frequently occasion so much bewilderment to inexpert Latinists. He has also appended useful remarks, explanatory of some perplexing peculiarities of the gerunds and supines.

Art. XII. *An Italian and English Grammar;* from Vergani's Italian and French Grammar: with Exercises, Dialogues, &c. Corrected and improved, by M. Piranesi. Arranged, &c. with Notes and Additions. By M. Guicheny. 12mo. pp. 222. London. 1820.

WE have heretofore examined not a few of the best introductions to this beautiful tongue, and have never met with any one for which we should have been willing, all things considered, to part with the old and excellent Grammar of Veneroni. The present little volume, however, appears to us entitled to equal approbation, and, on some accounts, to preference. The Compiler has adapted to English use, the method of grammatical initiation and improvement, which had been originally prepared for the French nation by MM. Vergani and Piranesi. He has shewn his judgement in omitting such definitions and explications as are familiar to every person of respectable education, and which are, therefore, cumbersome and useless in an introduction to a language which scarcely any persons can be supposed to culti-

vate, except those who have a previous knowledge of Latin or French. The order is natural, the expression precise and brief, the display of paradigms clear and striking, and the succession of Exercises is well adapted to familiarize and fix what has been didactically laid down. The classical scholar who studies Italian *proprio marte*, having chiefly or only in view the delight and instruction of reading works in that language, will here have every thing that he wants, presented in a luminous manner, and without the too common load of redundancies: at the same time, this work will be found not the less suitable for the instruction of those who have the additional advantage of a judicious master.

Art. XIII. *Remarks on the Internal Evidence of the Truth of Revealed Religion.* By Thomas Erskine, Esq. Advocate. Third Edition, corrected and enlarged. 12mo. Edinburgh, 1821.

THIS little volume will not disappoint those whom the name of the Author may induce to peruse it. Without the affectation of eloquence, it exhibits the primary evidence in support of Revealed Religion with much force, feeling, and clearness. It ought, perhaps, to be considered as addressed to those whose minds are habituated to continuous thinking, rather than to the wider class of readers; the style, however, is far from being abstruse. But, in fact, argumentative books which are designed to be popular, must differ greatly, both in manner and in matter, from what might be the direct and undisturbed product of a cultivated and comprehensive mind. If such writings aim at brevity, it must be not by terseness and condensation, but by neatness and selection; or if they are more voluminous, the bulk must be furnished not by fulness, but by digression.

'It is evident,' says the Author in his introductory chapter, 'that a man may be a very useful member of this world's society, without ever thinking of the true relation in which he stands to the beings about him. Prudence, honourable feelings, and instinctive good nature, may in sure to any man, in ordinary times, an excellent reputation. But the scene of our present contemplation lies in the spiritual universe of God, and the character that we speak of must be adapted to that society. We cannot but believe that true moral perfection contains the elements of happiness in that higher state; and therefore, we cannot but believe, that that view of our moral relations, and of the beings to whom we are so related, which leads to this moral perfection, must be the true view. But if the attainment of this character be the important object, why lay so much stress upon any particular view? The reason is obvious: we cannot, according to the constitution of our nature, induce upon our minds any particular state of moral feeling, without an adequate cause. We cannot feel anger, or love, or hatred, or fear, by simply endeavouring so to feel. In order

to have the feeling, we must have some object present to our minds, which will naturally excite the feeling. Therefore, as moral perfection consists of a combination of moral feelings (leading to correspondent action), it can only have place in a mind which is under the impression, or has a present view of those objects which naturally produce that combination of feelings.

'The object of this Dissertation is, to analyse the component parts of the Christian scheme of doctrine, with reference to its bearings both on the character of God and on the character of man; and to demonstrate, that its facts not only present an expressive exhibition of all the moral qualities which can be conceived to reside in the Divine mind, but also contain all those objects which have a natural tendency to excite and suggest in the human mind, that combination of moral feelings which has been termed moral perfection.

This passage sufficiently explains the design of the Writer. We think, however, that the subsequent reasoning would have been presented to the reader with much more effect, if the precise ground on which an appeal to the internal evidence is rested, had been more clearly defined at the commencement of the Essay. The following paragraph is liable to cavils or to perversions.

'If the actions ascribed to God by any system of religion, present a view of the Divine character which is at variance with the idea of moral perfection, we have no reason to believe that these are really the actions of God. But if, on the contrary, they have a strong and distinct tendency to elevate and dilate our notions of goodness, and are in perfect harmony with these notions, we have reason to believe that they may be the actions of God; because they are intimately connected with those moral convictions which form the first principles of all our reasoning on this subject.'

The explanation, or limitation, with which this too loosely stated principle should have been accompanied, might easily have been found in the simile which the Author introduces in the commencement of his Essay. In order to shew how a narration of facts may command belief, independently of external evidence, and even in the face of suspicious circumstances attending the external evidence of such a narration, he supposes—

'that the steam-engine, and the application of it to the movement of vessels, was known in China in the days of Archimedes; and that a foolish lying traveller had found his way from Sicily to China, and had there seen an exhibition of a steam-boat, and had been admitted to examine the mechanical apparatus of it,—and, upon his return home, had, amongst many palpable fables, related the true particulars of this exhibition:—what feeling would this relation have probably excited in his audience? The fact itself was a strange one, and different in appearance from any thing with which they were acquainted. It was also associated with other stories that seemed to have falsehood stamped on the very face of them. What means, then, had the hearers of distinguishing the true from the false? Some of the rabble might probably give a stupid and wondering kind of credit to the

whole; whilst the judicious but unscientific hearers would reject the whole. Now, supposing that the relation had come to the ears of Archimedes, and that he had sent for the man, and interrogated him, and, from his unorderly and unscientific, but accurate specification of boilers, and cylinders, and pipes, and furnaces, and wheels, had drawn out the mechanical theory of the steam-boat,—he might have told his friends, The traveller may be a liar; but this is a truth. I have a stronger evidence for it than his testimony, or the testimony of any man: it is a truth in the nature of things. The effect which the man has described, is the legitimate and certain result of the apparatus which he has described. If he has fabricated this account, he must be a great philosopher. At all events, his narration is founded on an unquestionable general truth.'

In order to see the limitations with which the Author's fundamental principle should have been accompanied, nothing more is necessary than, with a change of terms, to make an application of it to the case he here adduces in illustration of his argument. For instance, we may suppose a sceptical philosophist to have said, If the effects ascribed to a mechanical apparatus are at variance with our ideas of the laws of chemical agency, or mathematical relations, we have no reason to believe that such an apparatus has ever actually been in operation. The reply to such an objector would be properly made by asking him, With *whose* ideas of chemical agency, or mathematical relations, is the description of this Chinese machine at variance? With *your* ideas. But this petulant rejection of the traveller's narrative, because it offends your system of philosophy, requires you to make out your pretension to an absolute knowledge of the whole world of nature, and of all possible mathematical relations. When you have done this, if the shadow of uncertainty shall still seem to rest upon a *single point* of the vast circle of your pretended omniscience, this machine may actually exist, although *you* deem it an absurdity. In that case, the real difference between you who reject the narrative, and the vulgar who give it a stupid credence, is this; that their credulous ignorance leaves them at least in passive possession of the truth, while your presumptuous ignorance ensures your continuance in error. The objector, however, would not have been so easily silenced: he would have pursued his jests and his demonstrations, alternately, until he had made the timid and the half-wise ashamed of being seen to listen to the traveller, and until he had barred the possible access of truth to his own mind, by some concise formula of incurable obstinacy, such as this; that, to believe the fable of the steam-boat, would be as absurd as to believe, that three are one, and that one is three.

But, if Archimedes is supposed to have come to a different conclusion on the subject, it would have been attributable, not

so much to his actual knowledge at the moment of commencing the inquiry, as to that habitual modesty which attends an enlightened consciousness of ignorance, and which renders comprehensive minds always accessible to new and strange ideas. In fact, Archimedes would have learned *from the invention itself,** as described to him, those *new principles* of chemical and mechanical science, by which he would afterwards have perceived that the description, whether or not it were true in fact, was true in theory.

Thus, Christianity itself sheds the light by which it is judged. Upon the world at large, it has shed the light by which its more obvious excellencies are perceived and acknowledged; and it has even shed all the light which has gleamed from the weapons of its adversaries. But, to perceive the harmony of the Divine character and conduct, as developed in the 'actions ascribed to 'God' in the Christian system, it is necessary already to have received life and vision from its influence. It is true, that a general assent to the Divine authority of Christianity is ensured by the force and clearness of the appeal which it makes to the dictates of conscience. And, as a matter of fact, it can hardly be doubted, that the assent which is yielded to the truth of Christianity, whether it be more or less sincere and effective, is, in a hundred cases to one, actually produced, not by the external, or historical evidence, but by that internal, or moral evidence which the sacred writings contain within themselves. We imagine that the historical evidence is recurred to, or rested on, by very few persons, except those in whom the sophistications of literary habits, have impaired or destroyed the instinctive perspicacity of the mind, and rendered it little susceptible to the natural and just impression of moral evidence. In such instances, which are of frequent occurrence in the educated classes, even where the separate powers of the mind may be found in the highest state of culture and efficiency, the *integral* power or force of the mind is so far debilitated, that, with a painful appetite, it is perpetually seeking the stimulus of some irresistible proof.

So far, then, as it regards the maintenance of the general authority of Revelation in the world, that internal or moral evidence which is appreciable by the mass of mankind, may safely be left to contend with all the sophisms of infidelity. But, if men are invited to judge of those principles or facts which are beyond the range of natural religion, and if they are called to determine, 'what actions may or may not be ascribed to God,' it must be remembered that both their ignorance of the Divine nature, and the perversion of their minds, render them utterly in-

* In conformity with the acknowledged principle—*artes inveniendi solidae et veras adolescere et incrementa sumere cum ipsis inventis.*

competent to the task. They must first have learned, by a cordial reception of Christianity, the rudiments of the spiritual world, before they are fitted to perceive that harmony between the Divine character and conduct, upon which the force of the argument is here made to rest.

As we recommend this little volume to the perusal of our readers, we need not give a further account of its contents; but only add a single quotation.

'When a man has brought his judgement down to the level of his character, and has trained his reason to call evil good and good evil, he has gained a victory over conscience, and expelled remorse. If he could maintain this advantage through his whole existence, his conduct would admit of a most rational justification. But then, his peace is built solely on the darkness of his moral judgement; and therefore, all that is necessary in order to make him miserable, and to stir up a civil war within his breast, would be to throw such a strong and undubious light on the perfect character of goodness, as might extort from him an acknowledgment of its excellency, and force him to contrast it with his own past history and present condition. Whilst his mental eye is held in fascination by this glorious vision, he cannot but feel the anguish of remorse; he cannot but feel that he is at fearful strife with some mighty and mysterious being, whose power has compelled even his own heart to execute vengeance on him; nor can he hide from himself the loathsomeness and pollution of that spiritual pestilence which has poisoned every organ of his moral constitution. He can hope to escape from this wretchedness, only by withdrawing his gaze from the appalling brightness; and in this world, such an attempt can generally be made with success. But suppose him to be placed in such circumstances that there should be no retreat—no diversity of objects which might divert or divide his attention—and that, wherever he turned, he was met and fairly confronted by this threatening Spirit of Goodness,—it is impossible that he could have any respite from misery, except in a respite from existence. If this should be the state of things in the next world, we may form some conception of the union there between vice and misery. Whilst we stand at a distance from a furnace, the effect of the heat on our bodies gives us little uneasiness; but, as we approach it, the natural opposition manifests itself, and the pain is increased by every step that we advance. The complicated system of this world's business and events, forms, as it were, a veil before our eyes, and interposes a kind of moral distance between us and our God, through which the radiance of his character shines but indistinctly, so that we can withhold our attention from it if we will: the opposition which exists between his perfect holiness and our corrupt propensities, does not force itself upon us at every step. His views and purposes may run contrary to ours; but, as they do not often meet us in the form of a direct and personal encounter, we contrive to ward off the conviction that we are at hostility with the Lord of the Universe, and think that we may enjoy ourselves in the intervals of these much dreaded visitations, without feeling the necessity of bringing our habits into

perfect conformity with his. But when death removes this veil, by dissolving our connexion with this world and its works, we may be brought into a closer and more perceptible contact with Him who is of purer eyes than to behold iniquity. In that spiritual world, we may suppose, that each event, even the minutest part of the whole system of government, will bear such an unequivocal stamp of the Divine character, that an intelligent being of opposite views and feelings, will at every moment feel itself galled, and thwarted, and borne down by the direct and overwhelming encounter of this all-pervading and almighty mind.'

We need hardly add, that the Author's opinions are what are usually termed evangelical.

Art. XIV. *Narrative of a Voyage to the Spanish Main, in the Ship "Two Friends;" the Occupation of Amelia Island, by M'Gregor, &c. Sketches of the Province of East Florida; and Anecdotes illustrative of the Habits and Manners of the Seminole Indians: with an Appendix, containg a Detail of the Seminole War, and the Execution of Arbuthnot and Ambrister.* 8vo, pp. 328. Price 9s. London. 1819.

THE wild speculations which have sent so many high and restless spirits to misery and a grave in the swamps and wastes of South America, seem, at the present time, to be chastised into a temperate estimate of the unprofitable sufferings inevitably attendant on their romantic wanderings. The chain of evidence is too extended and consistent to admit of any plausible doubt respecting the sanguinary dispositions with which the war of liberty, as it is called, is carried on, or the entire absence of moral and military principle in the modes of conducting this predatory and piratical contest. But, previously to the ascertainment of these disgraceful circumstances, there was much in the general aspect of the strife, to excite the ardent feeling of the army of martial adventurers thrown upon society in idleness and poverty by the cessation of hostilities in Europe. Eager to escape from the miseries of half-pay, and, in some instances, actuated by a generous sympathy with a cause apparently pure and glorious, numbers of these gallant, but unthinking men, listened to the attractive delusions held forth by interested and unprincipled individuals, and rushed headlong on a career of privation and disease, terminating in miserable death. Some of the few who have been fortunate enough to escape, have told their melancholy tale; and the salutary effect has been, to put an effectual stop to these infatuated proceedings. The Author of the present volume has added his confirmation to the mass of testimony already before the world; and it must be admitted, that he has given proof of ability in the management of his materials. He should, however, have been aware

that, in a story of desperate enterprise, romantic circumstance and hazardous deliverance, a distinct and direct authentication is indispensably requisite; and that, with every disposition to place confidence in the veracity of the Writer, a feeling of uncertainty will inevitably conneet itself with the concealment of his name.

In 1817, a party of fine young men, deceived by the boundless promises of individuals styling themselves the accredited agents of the Republic of Venezuela, embarked, to the number of eighty, on board the *Two Friends*, with extravagant expectations, splendid uniforms, and a slender sea-stock. Their provisions were of the most unpalatable description; rancid salt meats purchased at the sales of condemned naval stores, mouldy biscuit, and transparent pigs, are enumerated among the delicacies provided for the consumption of these craving warriors. In this condition, they arrived at Madeira, where they succeeded in procuring more substantial fare; but their conduct on shore was so outrageous as to expose them to considerable hazard, and to render the condition of succeeding visiters much more unpleasant, owing to the strict regulations adopted in consequence.

Their arrival at the island of St. Thomas, dissipated all their golden dreams of wealth and aggrandisement, by awakening them to the conviction that they had been made the dupes of a gross and infamous deception. They had been instructed to present themselves before the confidential agent of the Venezuelan Republic, and to await from him their further destination, receiving at the same time a stipulated sum in liquidation of the expenses of their outfit. It was soon found, that no such officer resided on the island, and that the representations of the flourishing state of affairs on the Spanish Main, were equally veracious with the other assurances which had been so liberally advanced in the entire absence of all substantial encouragement. Their situation was now wretched in the extreme: few of them had any pecuniary resources, and the charity of the Danish officers and merchants had been previously pressed upon most heavily by the assistance afforded to a previous debarkation of a similar kind. Their last hope lay in the claim that they had upon the captain of the Two Friends for a further conveyance to Angostura, the seat of the insurgent government; but even this was now taken from them by the clandestine departure of the ship, which sailed in the night without discharging the harbour dues, carrying with her the clothes and equipments of several of those who were left behind. In these disastrous circumstances, it was determined by the Writer of this volume and some of his comrades, to procure a passage to Amelia Island, with the view of enlisting under the banners of M'Gregor. This commander having quitted the service of Bolivar and the Republic of Venezuela, had obtained

ıe assistance of a few American adventurers, and made himself ıaster of Amelia, as a point from which he might advantaeously extend his conquests over the whole of East Florida. 'his project failed, and M'Gregor was happy to escape from his ifficulties by making over his acquisition to Aury, the well nown captain of an insurgent privateer. When the Author of is narration reached Amelia, he found it under the governent of the latter chief, with whom he speedily quarrelled, and trigued very actively against him, for the apparent purpose of ccupying his post. Failing in this scheme, after some further cissitudes, he reached St. Augustine, the capital of the province; id though he had set out from England for the avowed purpose aiding the patriotic cause, we find him accepting a grant of nd from the governor of that fortress for the King of Spain, id offering his assistance in the recovery of Amelia to the panish dominion. After the government of the United States id felt the expediency of driving out the lawless bands who had ken possesion of that important island, he revisited his old iarters, and seems to have enjoyed with much keenness, the opırtunity of triumphing over his crest-fallen enemies. The bsequent details of the proceedings of Aury and M'Gregor, ve been rendered uninteresting by later events; and we all decline following the Writer through his comments on the elancholy transaction connected with the execution of Arbuth- t and Ambrister by the orders of General Jackson. Against e latter, a strong case appears to be made out, but the statents are *ex parte*, and the language in which they are made, extremely violent.

' This *celebrated* General Jackson possesses an extensive influence er the people of Kentucky and Tennessee, who believe him to be inıcible in arms, and unequalled in courage. His defence of New leans against our ill conducted attack upon that city, has fixed in ir opinions, his immovable, and imperishable fame. His conquests er the Creek Indians, and his notable exploit, in enticing ten of se unfortunates from their hiding place, under a promise of protion, and then delivering them up to be butchered by his followers, nother wreath in the chaplet of this hero.

' The passions of this man are of the most violent and barbarous ıracter, despising, under every circumstance, the forms, and reaints of society, outraging decency on every occasion. During the ence of New Orleans, Judge Hall had directed the service of some ocess, which did not please this leader, who, forgetting the respect e to the judgement seat, and the character of the individual who aided, ordered a file of soldiers to remove him, saying he would ar- t the president of the United States, if he should dare to interfere h his command. After the restoration of peace, the judge sumned the general to answer for a contempt of court, and fined him thousand dollars, which was immediately paid by public subscrip-

tion. He is much addicted to gambling, particularly in horses; if he loses his money, and requires a further supply, he sends a cart to his plantation, for a load of negroes, who are thus exposed to the chance of changing masters, upon the hazard of the race. He has been known to challenge the owner because he asserted his horse had greater speed than the general's, in fine his extravagant follies, and his crimes, are without number, and disgusting in the recital.'

pp. 180, 181.

These imputations are possibly correct, but they cannot be implicitly received on the faith of an anonymous writer. The war against the Seminole Indians was pursued in that savage spirit of ferocity which has too uniformly distinguished these conflicts. The Aborigines combated with the unrestrained fierceness of barbarians; the more civilized assailants, with the vindictive and sanguinary feelings of men regardless of the sufferings of a race which they considered in no higher a character than that of wild beasts, fit only to be hunted down and exterminated. But the instances of perfidious cruelty cited in the present volume, cannot be admitted without authority. The following anecdote is so interesting in itself, and so creditable to the parties concerned, that we shall insert it here.

'A straggler from the militia of Georgia, named M'Krimmon, was captured by the Indians, and was about to be sacrificed to Indian vengeance; tied to the stake, the tomahawk raised to terminate his existence, no chance appeared of escape. At that moment Milly Francis, the daughter of Hidlis Hadjo, placed herself between the executioner and his victim, and arrested his uplifted arm; then throwing herself at the feet of her father, she implored the life of his prisoner. It was granted, and he was liberated. To the honour of M'Krimmon, it must be added, that some time after, learning that Milly Francis had given herself up, with others of her unfortunate race, in a state of wretched destitution, to the commander at Fort Clairborne, he immediately set forward to render her assistance, determined to make her his wife, and thus in some sort, repay the noble and disinterested generosity of his saviour. Milly, upon learning the intentions of M'Krimmon, declared she was not influenced by any personal motive, that she should have acted in the same way for any other unfortunate victim; she therefore declined his offer.'

The habits of the Seminoles do not appear to differ from those of other Indian tribes. They are equally addicted to the use of ardent spirits, and are thus in a state of destitution and decay. The balls and bayonets of the American militia are only anticipating that dissolution which would be as surely, though more tardily, effected by other means.

Art. XV. SELECT LITERARY INFORMATION.

*** *Gentlemen and Publishers who have works in the Press, will oblige the Conductors of the* Eclectic Review, *by sending information (post paid) of the subject, extent, and probable price of such works; which they may depend upon being communicated to the public, if consistent with its plan.*

The Rev. John Campbell, of Kingsland, is preparing an account of his late journey in the interior of South Africa, which, like the former, was undertaken at the request of the London Missionary Society. The course of this journey lay through a considerable tract of country which had not been explored by any European. It extended three hundred miles beyond Lattakoo, which was the limit of his first journey, and it confirmed the conjecture which he had formed, that he should find the country better peopled, and more advanced in civilization as he proceeded towards the North. The introduction which his Missionary objects gave him to the chiefs of the several nations he visited, and the confidence with which he was received by them, afforded him the most favourable opportunities of observing their manners and customs, as well in the administration of their public affairs, as in their domestic relations. This was particularly the case with regard to the Mashow and Marootzee nations, whose chief towns, Mashow and Kurreechane, contain several thousand inhabitants. The work will contain a map of the country through which he travelled, and other illustrative engravings.

Dr. Carey has in the press "The Greek Terminations, including the Dialects and Poetic Licenses, in Alphabetic Order, with References to the Grammar," on the same plan as his "Clue for Young Latinists," lately published.

In a few days, will be published, a poetical Essay on the Character of Pope, by Charles Lloyd.

The Rev. Johnson Grant will shortly publish, a course of Lent Lectures on the seven last sentences uttered by our Saviour from the cross.

Mr. Stevenson, oculist to H.R.H. the Duke of York, will shortly publish in 1 vol. 8vo. a practical Treatise on the nature, symptoms, and treatment of Gutta Serena, illustrated by numerous cases.

A member of the late Salter's Hall Congregation has in the press, a work, in one vol. 8vo. addressed to the Old Members of that Society, in which *some* of the Errors of the Rev. Dr. Collyer are stated and corrected.

Church of England Theology. In the course of the ensuing month, a second series of sermons in manuscript character, for the use of young divines and candidates for holy orders, will be published by the Rev. R. Warner, Rector of Great Chalfield, Wilts, and Author of "Sermons on the Epistles and Gospels," &c. and of "Old Church of England Principles, &c." The second series treats of Christian Virtues; and will consist (like the former series on Christian Doctrines) of ten sermons on the following interesting subjects. 1. On Loyalty, or the duty of subjects. 2. The duty of hearers of the word. 3. The duty of children. 4. The duty of parents. 5. The duty of frugality. 6. The duty of industry, honesty, purity and sobriety. 7. The duty of veracity, and the government of the tongue. 8. The duty of compassion. 9. The duty of forgiveness. 10. The duty of preparation for death.

The Rev. Edw. Chichester will soon publish, in three octavo volumes, Deism compared with Christianity.

The Speeches of the Rt. Hon. Henry Grattan, with a Memoir by his Son, are printing in four octavo volumes.

Anthony Todd Thompson, Esq. is preparing for publication, Lectures on Botany.

The Miscellaneous Tracts of the late Dr. Wm. Withering, with a Memoir by Wm. Withering, Esq. in two octavo volumes, are nearly ready for publication.

Mr. Lowe is preparing a volume for the press, On the Situation and Prospects of this Country, in regard to Agriculture, Trade, and Finance.

Dr. Conquest will publish in a few weeks, a second and enlarged edition of his Outlines of Midwifery, &c. with copper-plate, instead of lithographic engravings.

A second edition, with additions, of Mr. Bowring's Specimens of the Russian Poets, will appear in a few days.

In the press, the 5th volume of the Works of the late Andrew Fuller.

*** The 1st, 2nd, 3rd, 4th, 6th, and 7th are already published.

Also, a small work entitled, Incidents of Childhood.

ART. XVI. LIST OF WORKS RECENTLY PUBLISHED.

BIOGRAPHY.

Memoir of Miss Letitia Stapleton of Colchester, who died Dec. 12, 1806, aged 22 years. By Joseph Jefferson, 8d.

Memoirs of William Wallace, Esq. a descendant of the illustrious hero of Scotland, late of the 15th Hussars; containing an explanation and vindication of his conduct and character; with a detailed account of the persecutions he underwent in France, and his unjust imprisonment for almost three years in that country; an exposé of the state of the French police; and an Appendix, comprising the correspondence of the author and others with the British Ambassador, on the subject of his unlawful confinement; and other documents. 8vo. 10s. 6d.

CHEMISTRY.

One Thousand Experiments in Chemistry, accompanied by Practical Observations, and several thousand processes, in the useful arts, dependant on that science. By Colin Mackenzie. Illustrated by twenty-one copper-plates, and upward of one hundred wood-cuts. 8vo. 1l. 1s.

EDUCATION.

The Moralist; or, Essays on the means of moral education. Addressed to parents. By the Rev. John Phillips Potter, M.A. 12mo. 4s.

Cours Elementaire de Literature Generale; ou analyse raisonnée des differens genres de Compositions Littéraires et des Meilleurs Ouvrages Classiques, anciens et modernes, Français et Etrangers: à l'usage de la Jeunesse, &c. tome premier. Par M. de Rouillon. 12mo. 5s.

Scientific Amusements in Philosophy and Mathematics; together with amusing secrets in various branches of science. The whole calculated to form an agreeable and improving exercise for the mind, and particularly recommended as a useful school book. By W. Enfield, M.A. 12mo. 3s. 6d.

The Elements of Astronomy; with methods of determining the longitudes, aspects, &c. of the planets for any future time; and an extensive set of Geographical and Astronomical Problems on the globes. Designed for the use of schools and junior students. By S. Treeby, Teacher of the mathematics, classics, &c. &c. 18mo. 3s. 6d. bound.

HISTORY.

Lacretelle (Ch.), Histoire de France, pendant le dix-huitième Siècle. Vol. 7 and 8. 8vo, 18s.

Lacretelle, Histoire de l'Assemblée Constituante. 2 Vol. 8vo. 18s.

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THE

ECLECTIC REVIEW,

FOR SEPTEMBER, 1821.

Art. I. *Notes on Rio de Janeiro, and the Southern Parts of Brazil*; Taken during a Residence of Ten Years in that Country, from 1808 to 1818. By John Luccock. 4to. pp. xvi., 640. London. 1820.

ALL that is sublime in inanimate nature, in contrast with all that is disgusting in human nature, is comprised in the present aspect of the Southern division of the New World. If beauty and magnificence of scenery had any tendency, as some persons contend, to modify the character, here, where the most luxuriant fertility and the most stupendous phenomena present themselves to the astonished traveller, he might hope to recognise a correspondence in the minds of the intelligent beings who have grown up amid circumstances so felicitous. Should this influence not be very apparent in the inhabitants of ports and cities, where the simplicity of primitive tastes and instincts has been corrupted by the introduction of the manners and vices of the Old World, it must needs, if it exist at all, communicate an enthusiasm, an elevation, or an energy to the unsophisticated tribes who inhabit the central recesses of this wonderful continent. It is astonishing that it should be necessary to refute so wild an hypothesis as that which attributes any moral effect to external scenery, apart from the associations of science or of history. In the striking absence of sympathy and correspondence between the physical features of the landscape and the human produce of the soil and climate, in these regions, there is presented a sufficient illustration of its absurdity. In no part of the world does savage nature assume a more brutalised, a less romantic form. All is here, in a moral respect, desert. That which calls itself the history of Brasil, makes no appeal to the imagination, nor contains any thing which can stamp character or interest on the scenery of its details. Yet, it is only through the medium of the imagination that inanimate objects or localities can acquire any significance, or awaken any sympathy; and

the imagination is fed by the memory. The three most powerfully influential circumstances which contribute to the formation of character in a rude or savage state of society, are, the traditions of the country, its language, and the means of subsistence. To the first and the last of these, the moral power of scenery may be almost entirely referred. 'The pastoral life,' Mr. Southey remarks, 'is necessarily unfavourable to civiliza-'tion; but no where has it been found so completely to debase 'and brutalize man as in the grazing countries of South Ame-'rica.' Agriculture, on the contrary, while it induces a most important change in the domestic habits, and implies a certain advancement in civilization, gives rise to new associations, the elements of poetical feeling, and imparts a specific interest to the landscape. Under the reign of Ceres and of Bacchus, the face of Nature is first taught to smile. If, in the absence of this civilizing art, the natives of some wild mountain territory, have, in any instance, been found susceptible of the local enthusiasm, it has been because tradition has consecrated the soil to their imagination, and they have been possessed of a history and a language. Such associations have, however, only an accidental connexion with all that the geologist, the naturalist, or the artist descries in the beauty and magnificence before him, and they must be put out of the question in estimating the abstract effect of fine scenery upon the human mind. An intelligent perception and a genuine admiration of the beauties or the sublimer phenomena of Nature, are, indeed, among the rarest endowments of civilized and educated men. To suppose them to exist in the savage, is an absurdity. Yet, destitute of these qualifications, it is inconceivable what moral influence he can receive from the scenes through which he passes, any more than the herd he drives before him, or what higher gratification he can receive from external nature than the mere animal sensations produced by air and sunshine. Neither consciously nor unconsciously can he be the better for constantly witnessing material forms of picturesque beauty or grandeur, which neither recal any visions of the past, nor excite in his mind reflections stretching into the unseen and the future. Failing to convey any salutary intimations of the power and design of the Author of Nature, the whole stupendous exhibition is absolutely lost upon the degraded beings whose moral character is in so terrible discrepancy with the scene, and in whom the destitution of religious feeling is attended by a poverty of imagination which renders them insensible to any thing above the wants and sensations of physical existence. Such are the hapless beings who are found scattered over the fairest portions of God's earth—the *aborigines* of the territory. And the Christian intruders with whom they have been brought into contact, how much higher do they rise in the scale of intel-

lectual existence? In too many cases, the savage has seemed the more inoffensive, if not the more rational animal. The colonist is, in general, but an indifferent sample of the nation from which the love of gain, or the spirit of adventure, or stern necessity has detached him. And the mixed race which originate in old colonial settlements, too commonly exhibit a mulish degeneracy, retaining the blended vices of both the indigenous and the foreign breed. Mr. Luccock's picture of the Brazilian character, may be adduced in proof of this statement. 'The cities 'for which Abraham interceded, Cyprus, Carthage, Crete, and 'Sparta, had joined,' he says, 'at the period when my acquaint-'ance with the country began, to form the social order of Rio 'de Janeiro.'

'Depravity, too, was not there redeemed by any national qualities of a solid, nor even of a shewy kind; it was not, in general, thought necessary to maintain that shadow of virtue, hypocrisy. Vices which elsewhere men are the most careful to hide, were seen stalking abroad as publicly and unblushingly as the most abandoned could desire. Not negroes and the populace alone contemplated them with apathy: the moral taste and feeling of persons of a higher cast partook so much of the common taint that, when we mentioned with horror the worst of crimes which we were obliged to witness, they often advanced something by way of defence, and really appeared as much surprised at our mode of thinking as if we had broached a new religion, or foisted into the new one some scrupulous fancies.....The life of an undistinguished individual was not worth two dollars; for a smaller sum, any coward could hire a bravo to take it away.' p. 134.

The most profound ignorance and the extreme of filthiness in the habits of the people, complete the outline. And all these abominations are continually acted in the face of a scene of 'al-'most unequalled magnificence and beauty.' 'The uniformly 'serene, gay, and exhilarating prospect,' says Mr. Luccock, 'seems to shew how happily man might have lived under the in-'fluence of nature's God.' But, that influence being intercepted by superstition and ignorance, the natural advantages of the climate serve only to foster the seeds of depravity. Yet the Author of the present volume maintains, that

'The cold and phlegmatic Northern politician has seldom calculated the effect of fine scenery upon the human mind, or he would not have expected the Court of Portugal to leave its new abode. This is a silent but powerful agent: its operation is universal and perpetual, renewed by every rising sun, and aided by every refulgent moon. It has here often withstood the stimulus of interest, and destroyed the pithiness of argument; and is generally most effectual on minds the least aware of its influence. It has contributed to render the Court of Portugal almost ambitious to change its designation: and foreigners indulge the propensity, by speaking of the Court of Rio, and no longer of that of Lisbon.'

This is an unfortunate passage. Subsequent events have proved that the Court of Portugal preferred Lisbon after all; just as Mr. Luccock has probably, by this time, discovered, that the fine scenery of the Brazils is a poor equivalent for the social advantages of the British metropolis. And yet, he is susceptible of the influence of scenery, which the Court of Rio, we strongly suspect, were not. But this notion respecting the universal operation of a silent but powerful agency that is adequate to counteract the stimulus of interest and so forth, is, indeed, nothing better than a piece of harmless poetical nonsense, which is worth transcribing merely as an admonition against the extravagancies of fine writing.

Mr. Luccock writes, in general, like a highly intelligent and well informed man, and his work contains the most ample as well as the latest account which we possess, of the manners and customs of the Brazilians, the topography of the country, and its commercial and political prospects. It consists of descriptions, anecdotes, and passing remarks, selected from the Author's journal in the order of time; and the information is sufficiently multifarious and interesting. But, although there are but few instances of palpable repetition, this mode of arrangement is fatal to any thing like orderly connexion, and is in no small degree inconvenient to the reader who wishes to obtain a complete view of any one subject. A good index would have been the best remedy for this fault; and we regret that this has been omitted. A volume of such a description and magnitude is materially defective without one. The work is divided into seventeen chapters. The first four are occupied with remarks made during the Author's passage, and with a description of Rio de Janeiro as it was in 1808. The next three describe a voyage to the Plata, and travels in the interior, 1809—1813. The improved appearance of the capital on our Author's return to it in 1813, is described in the eighth chapter. Subsequent excursions into the interior afford materials for the following eight chapters. The last is devoted to general remarks connected with a final survey of the capital in 1818, and forms the most valuable portion of the whole. In an Appendix are given, the Signals by which vessels approaching the port of Rio Grande do Sul, shew to the pilot-boat what water they draw; Tables of Commerce; and a Glossary of Tupi words. The volume contains also a plan of the city, and maps of the Table Land and Southern Lowlands of Brazil.

The subject of most immediate interest is, the present state of the new Brazilian kingdom. Mr. Luccock affirms, that the rapidity with which improvement proceeds in the capital is wonderful. Some of the representations given in the early chapters must, therefore, be understood as relating to a past state of things. In 1813, a very large influx of inhabitants had taken

place both from Europe and the Brazilian provinces, and the city had become greatly enlarged; the old streets were greatly improved in cleanliness, and the houses in neatness; the roads in various directions were cleared and widened; and villas and gardens began to adorn its vicinity.

'An increase of domestic comfort had arisen from the establishment of a market for cattle without the city, and of several markets for vegetables and fruits within it; from a more abundant and regular supply of fish, and the more free use of mutton; from greater care with respect to the quality of meat, and the cleanliness of the places where it was slaughtered and exposed to sale. Craftsmen of different descriptions had made their appearance; among them so many smiths, that it was no longer difficult to get a horse shod. Mills for grinding corn had been much improved, and bread was come more into use. Charcoal was manufactured, and for cooking introduced into the houses. Nuisances were more readily removed, and even Scavengers were now and then seen in the streets.' p. 254.

At court, there was now to be seen some resemblance to European magnificence; and the affability of the Prince Regent, who had on different occasions presented himself with confidence in the midst of his people, had rendered him deservedly popular. There is much truth in the remark, that

'few persons are disposed to be disloyal, who are allowed to witness the ceremonies of a court, who know that they also may present themselves to the Sovereign, complying only with established forms, on appointed evenings of the week, and find the road to honours equally open to merit wherever it appears.'

A highly pleasing portrait is given of this prince, his present Portuguese majesty.

'The Prince Regent has often been accused of apathy: to me he appeared to possess more feeling and energy of character than friends, as well as accusers, usually attributed to him. He was placed in new and singularly trying circumstances, and submitted to them with patience; when roused, he acted with vigour and promptness. Perhaps he was too often guided by the timid and insincere; he was certainly surrounded by such as are always dangerous to rulers, by cowardly sycophants and hypocritical priests: and it is no less certain that they possessed great influence over his mind. Yet the firmness with which he refused to stop at Bahia, in opposition to the wishes of some of his followers, ought not to be forgotten. Without pleading that he displayed any great degree of heroism and devotedness to his country, without denying that he congratulated himself on what has been called his escape, we are surely not obliged to coincide with those who charge him with insensibility and baseness; and it is well remembered, with respect to some who thus charged him, how lively and open their rejoicings were, that they also had placed the Atlantic between themselves and their invaders...He was truly kind and attenti-

to all, and warm in his gratitude to the British nation. His tenderness towards his companions in banishment was unaffected and paternal.' p. 94.

When, in 1817, the tidings reached Rio, of an insurrection in Pernambuco,

'the first exclamation of the king was so impassioned, uttered so openly, and flowed so directly from the heart, as fully to manifest the feeling of a benevolent man and a righteous ruler. "How is it," he said, "that my subjects revolt;—I have always tried to do them good;—I do not know that I have injured any one;—what do they wish for?" Such feelings, however, before the next morning, gave way to vigour; the disaster was met with great firmness, and gave rise to unusual exertion in every department of the State. The King himself forgot his usual character and habits, ordered an expedition to be prepared when there was little hope of fitting out any thing formidable; visited, in his own person, accompanied by the Heir apparent, the Treasury, the Arsenal, and other offices of the State; examined the Stores, the Storekeepers, and their books; saw what was at hand, and what must be procured. By a well timed severity to a few negligent officers, and replacing them by humbler but better men, he created among the people a confidence, an alertness, a devotion which had never been witnessed in Brazil, and perhaps will never be exceeded. The palace soon became crowded with bodies of people, who went to offer either personal services or money for the occasion. The city of Rio alone produced full seven thousand volunteers, and 200,000,000 reis, or 60,000 sterling. The performances at the Theatre were not merely interrupted, but absolutely suspended, by repeated and general bursts of loyalty and patriotism, and by singing in chorus a national hymn, hastily composed for the occasion. I confess that though a foreigner, and interested only in general with domestic politics, this burst of national sentiment thrilled to my very soul. I saw a whole people at once forget the execrable mode in which the administration of the country had been conducted, and the oppression under which almost every man had laboured. I saw them bury it all beneath the love of a Sovereign whom they knew to be benevolent, though inactive; deceived, but not personally cruel.' p. 557.

Mr. Luccock has only to cross the Channel at this moment, in order to witness a similar explosion of national feeling. In this all-absorbing and all forgiving loyalty, our Hibernian fellow-subjects are determined not to be out-done by any other people. And really, so deeply rooted is an instinctive attachment to the persons of their rulers in the minds of the lower classes at all periods of civilization, so easily are their affections conciliated by a little affability set off with a little shew, and accompanied with some decent external homage to virtue, that it is their own fault if Sovereigns are not popular. Some powerful cause of counteraction must exist where the tide of national sentiment sets in an opposite direction. Easily excited and cheaply satisfied, how-

ever, as is this mob loyalty, those must be very foolish or very wicked advisers who would recommend their Master either to treat it with contempt on the one hand, or, on the other hand, to trust to it as an unfailing resource. Those statesmen who begin with despising the people, generally end with fearing them.

The account given in the eighth chapter, of other improvements consequent on the arrival of the royal emigrants, might seem to be tinctured with irony, if the Author was not in general very grave and straight forward in his statements. The beneficial effects of the new ecclesiastical arrangements in promoting the love of dress and shew, in reviving and multiplying ceremonies and festivals in which mixtures of religion and pleasure take place, 'not unlike our village wakes at their earlier periods,' and in replenishing the churches with images and banners, will appear to our readers somewhat doubtful; and they will be at a loss whether to deem the writer a partial or an incompetent judge of the moral effects of what he is pleased to denominate 'the materials of religion.' 'The ear, as well as the eye and the sense 'of smelling,' he says, 'was gratified' by the liberal supply of these toys of Rome; and 'Brazilians hardly knew which to 'admire most, the vestments of the altar, the modulation of the 'orchestra, or the odours of the censer.' What is, however, rather more remarkable, on the re-establishment of religious brotherhoods, even negroes, it is stated, 'were allowed to put on the habit 'of an order, to carry a silver wand, and to appear in processions 'with princes and priests, the nobility of earth and of heaven'!! —Among the minor circumstances influencing public manners, the Author mentions

'a song which obtained a large circulation, satirizing one of the prevailing vices, and into the chorus of which was happily introduced the name of an individual foremost in the ranks of the infamous. It was set to a simple air, which was daily played through the streets as the military marched from the barracks to the palace. The music accorded with the public taste, the negroes and boys were perpetually singing it in merry ridicule, and the song became familiar to all. In consequence the man particularly pointed at, either left the city, or hid himself in it, or was hidden in the grave; for he was seen no more, and his abettors were glad to pass unnoticed. In no other instance did I ever see ridicule so well, so immediately and effectually applied.' p. 240.

In 1818, the number of Portuguese and Brazilian inhabitants had still further increased, and the population both of the capital and the interior, was swelled by emigrants from the Spanish provinces, from the United States of the North, and from France, England, Sweden, and Germany. Conveniences now fell more within the reach of the common people; the markets were better supplied than formerly; 'white servants were more generally

'seen, and slaves for domestic occupations, though less numerous, were more carefully selected, furnished with better clothing and food, looked more cleanly and healthy, and appeared more cheerful and happy.' A still more decided indication of improvement presented itself in the multiplication of schools for all classes.

'In the Gazette of Rio, of July 9th, 1814, is a long advertisement to this effect: 'Whoever may wish to send their daughters, female servants, and *slaves*, to learn to read, write, and account, &c. may speak with a person resident in the Rua do Lavradia.' p. 567.

'The abrogation of the colonial laws, which took place soon after the arrival of the Regent, the introduction of the vine, and the encouragement given to improvements in horticulture, the adoption of vaccination, the better regulation of places of public interment, and some slight melioration of the courts of judicature, are among the important benefits for which the Brazilians are indebted to the residence of their present Sovereign.

'So early as 1814, a judicial decision which had been obtained by a priest in a distant province, against a common soldier, was set aside by the Regent, who thus shewed to the people that the Church should not always prevail in litigation. In criminal cases he brought offenders more speedily to trial, and punished by degradation, public exposure, and transportation; but could not bring himself to sign a sentence of death even for murder. In such cases, his humanity as a man prevailed over his judgement as a sovereign, and prompted him frequently to say, "Surely because the man has killed one person, I am not compelled to kill another." Much, therefore, in this part of jurisprudence remains to be amended, and will do so until the Sovereign, amiable as such a spirit is in a private person, shall surmount his superstitious scruples, and cease to be afraid of sending a soul unprepared into eternity.' p. 567.

Does Mr. Luccock mean to intimate that only superstition can originate such honourable scruples?* If such be, indeed, the sentiment of the Sovereign of Brazil, it bespeaks him to be possessed of something better than superstitious weakness or a humane temper. For our own parts, although not prepared to go the length of objecting to capital punishments in the case of murder, we can scarcely wish for any such *amendment* in the administration of Brazilian jurisprudence, as our Author deems desirable. Where a people have been so long accustomed to a low estimate of human life, and familiarized to assassination, the infliction of death as a punishment is the less likely to make any salutary impression, or to subserve the legitimate purposes of

* The known repugnance of our present Sovereign to signing warrants for the execution of criminals, is generally looked upon as the most honourable trait in his private character.

penal justice. In this case, therefore, it becomes a useless expenditure of life, since inferior punishments would be regarded with much more terror. Besides, were it only for the singularity of the phenomenon, one would be glad to have this instance of royal quakerism, this noble parsimony of the life of his subjects, so rare in European sovereigns.

The most signal benefit, however, which has been conferred upon these transatlantic dependencies of the Portuguese Crown, is, in our Author's view, their incorporation with the mother country as a united kingdom.

'The stimulus most prompt and efficacious in promoting the internal improvement of which we are speaking, and particularly in forming a national character and feeling, of which Brazil was almost destitute, and for want of which the country had nearly fallen, like the Colonies of Spain, into a number of disjointed states, arose out of the measure which gave to this important part of the Portuguese dominions privileges and honours similar to those enjoyed by the mother country. The period for assuming this new distinction under the title of the United kingdom of Portugal, Brazil, and Algarva, was judiciously fixed for the anniversary of the Queen's birth-day in Dec. 1815. In order fully to understand the extent and importance of this change, it will be necessary to recollect, that, in old times, the Provinces were almost wholly unconnected with each other,—that they had scarcely any stronger common bond than the similarity of language, the circumstance of receiving their respective triennial governors from the same court, and the commercial one, which led their views and their interests to the same European city;—that, between some of those provinces there existed an opposition of interests, and between others open and avowed jealousies.* Hence it was that when the Court arrived in Rio, the Colonies were found to consist of portions so disjointed as to be ready, on the slightest agitation, to fall in pieces, and render the situation of the Royal emigrants very precarious. There were required all the address of government, and all the powerful support which it received from Britain, to preserve the administration from positive disrespect,—to keep the whole of Brazil within one common bond,—to turn the people's attention from

* This statement is in flat opposition to an assertion of Mr. Southey's, whose opportunities of information were likely to guard him against error. He says: 'When the seat of Government was removed thither from Lisbon, the manners and condition of its inhabitants differed widely, according to the latitude and altitude of the different provinces and other local circumstances: but the people were every where Portuguese in language and feeling; and *there existed no provincial animosities.*' Hist. of Brazil. Vol. III. p. 696. Mr. S. does not, however, cite any authority for this representation, and we must therefore give the preference to information collected on the spot, and strengthened by the fact of the disunion of the Spanish provinces.

Lisbon to Rio,—to make them feel that the latter city had become the centre of their union, the Capital of their widely diffused people, the source of their security, the focus and fountain of their wealth and their honour. The first effort toward accomplishing this important work was made when the ports of Brazil were opened to foreign commerce, and a wonderful alteration it produced in the people's views and modes of thinking; yet it left them without any strong bias to one particular country, and served rather to incline each province, without regard to the general interest, to the side where its commercial advantage was most considerable. But no sooner was the country declared a kingdom, than it displayed an individuality of sentiment, and joined in one common act of homage to the throne. Addresses of exultation and gratitude to the Sovereign poured in, by one simultaneous movement, from every part of the country, and the most remote and obscure township felt proud of the privilege which admitted it to address its own Sovereign under a Brazilian title, on Brazilian ground; it perceived itself to be, however humble, an integral part of the extended whole. All the blessings of a Revolution, which the people had formerly wished for, had fallen upon the country, almost without their being sensible of their change.' pp. 568, 9.

'The erection of Brazil into a kingdom, was attended by a circumstance more beneficial than any which has yet been stated. When the merchants of Rio met to congratulate their Sovereign, they subscribed a considerable sum of money, to form a fund whose proceeds should be appropriated to the purposes of general education; and he passed a decree to render it secure and effective.....Some years before, the Regent had made inquiries respecting the freedom of the press, and seemed disposed to favour it; he was then prevented from following his inclination by the conduct of an ignorant and injudicious magistrate, and now many ignorant and injudicious people exult in its continued restrictions. The Licensed press, however, has produced some useful works.' pp. 573—4.

Of the King's sincerity on this head, his conduct since his return to his native dominions must be admitted as a proof. A law for protecting the freedom of the press received the royal sanction on the 12th of July last, the nineteenth article of which is highly important: it enacts, that truth may be pleaded, under specified circumstances, in justification of libel, and that the defendant may adduce proof in support of his statements. These are most important concessions to the cause of knowledge and freedom.

The stimulus to improvement which has been afforded by the temporary transfer of the seat of government to Rio, and the positive advantages which have accrued from the new organization of that part of the Portuguese kingdom, will continue to operate whatever changes may ultimately take place. Sooner or later, Brazil will, in all probability, become an independent sovereignty; but the circumstances which have for the present warded off that event, and strengthened the bonds of allegiance

to the mother country, will have allowed time for the consolidation of the jarring provinces into one people and kingdom, without their undergoing the horrors of an intermediate anarchy. Possibly, had a similar policy been pursued by the English cabinet towards our American colonies, the style of our Sovereigns might to this day have run in this way—'Of the united Kingdom of Great 'Britain, Ireland, and North America.' If they became independent rather prematurely, before the state of society there was quite ripe for the change, and if, with their independence, they received a hostile bias against the nation from which they detached themselves, whom has England, whom has America to thank for it?

Mr. Luccock closes his general observations on the commercial and political relations and prospects of Brazil with the following sensible remarks:

'The destinies of South America cannot be uninteresting to either the statesman or the philanthropist. Without going into the regions of conjecture, it is easy to perceive, that new and powerful empires are rising into existence; that Brazil has already acquired the preponderance among them, and possesses peculiar means of consolidating her power. The line which she ought to pursue is remarkably plain, and unembarrassed;—her road to security and even dominion, if she chose it, is direct and open. A little attention will place her perfectly above dictation, and render her free from control. Her great want is people,—an effective population; and to collect it, the Government should restore the Portuguese Constitution to its purity, and demonstrate to the world that it will steadily maintain the rigid administration of justice, and the free exercise of religion. By such measures, this new kingdom may easily direct the current of emigration to her own shores, and may make herself the point where the surplus population of half the world may centre and rest. I am aware that some of her men of influence are afraid of these new comers, and dislike the principles which many of them bring. Yet let them recollect, that every emigrant which Brazil refuses, she sends to a state which will ultimately become her rival;—that it is impossible that the old system should long continue;—that, in extended countries, thinly inhabited, when they cease to be colonies, people must and will be free;—and that the principles whose influence these statesmen dread, are already implanted deeply in the breast of every native. The country has already endured, in the mildest form, its share of those revolutions which are at present disturbing both the Old World, and the New. The Government should be solicitous to prevent any thing more violent; should shew to the people that they want nothing, in civil affairs, fundamentally new; that their institutions at present existing are sufficient, and shall be made effectual, to render them happy, secure, and great.'

pp. 601, 2.

We must now contract into as small a space as possible, our notice of the miscellaneous contents of the volume, which come under the general heads of natural history and topography.

Little is known of the interior of the provinces of Paraná and Uruguay, so named from the mighty rivers by which they are bounded. The maps in the present volume, in which they are laid down, are stated to be constructed from materials collected in different parts of the country, compared with what Casal has written upon Brazilian geography; but they do not pretend to absolute correctness. The Paraná rises in the heart of Brazil, and after draining an immense tract of country, joins the Paraguay, and their united streams form the fine estuary known as the Rio de la Plata. We are unable to reconcile, in some instances, the text with the maps. The Tibiquary, stated by Mr. L. to contribute, as well as the Acarahy, to the Paraná, appears in the map to fall into the Paraguay; and we suspect that what is there distinguished by the latter name, is what the Author refers to under the former appellation. Surely, whatever may be the etymology of the words, it behoved the Writer to ascertain to which stream the denomination Paraná is conventionally applied, and to make his text square with the decisions of geographers. Not far from Corrientes, where these rivers meet at right angles, is one of the most considerable lakes of the country; the Ibéra or Yby'ra (the lower place), which, in the dry season, covers an extent of about a hundred and fifty square leagues, but, about a month after the rains have commenced in the upper country, that is in December, extends over no less than two thousand square leagues. It is formed by the waters of the upper part of the Paraná, but is said to communicate at the rainy period with both the Paraguay and the Uruguay, which latter flows in a transverse direction from the North-east to the South-west of the lake, and then finds its way more directly South to the Plata. The lake of Xarays, which is still larger, lies more to the northward, and is an expansion of the Paraguay, being manifestly formed by the channel being too narrow to carry off the waters as they come down. These rivers have, in the course of ages, produced some of the most extensive alluvial plains which exist on the face of the globe. At the time of our Author's visit, these newly ceded provinces had not yet come into the actual possession of the Brazilian government, the whole country being in a state of insurrection under Artigas.

Mr. Luccock paid several visits to the town of Maldonado on the coast of Uruguay. On one of these occasions, their hostess at the inn favoured the party on their return from a ride, with a dish of beef steaks, of which she had learned the name, and which she supposed to be the favourite food of Englishmen. A number of persons were, it seems, attracted, so that they had a great deal of company during dinner.

'The conversation was lively, and turned on a most unexpected subject.' A few days before I left Rio, the Spanish frigate Zwoa had

touched there in her way from Plymouth to the Plata. In England the crew had been furnished by the British and Foreign Bible Society with copies of the New Testament in Spanish, two of which I had bought in the streets for six hundred and forty reis, that is six shillings and sixpence each; intending to improve my knowledge of the language during the voyage. In this object I was disappointed, the translation proving to be an impure dialect of the Spanish which none of our crew well understood. The people belonging to the frigate had sold other copies at Maldonado before we arrived there, one of which appeared at the inn. Several persons were poring over it, and endeavoured to turn a narrative on which they lighted, in one of the Evangelists, into intelligible Spanish. The matter was evidently new to them, and excited a very lively interest. On this subject the conversation turned, and led by their inquiries, we were induced to become lecturers in Christian divinity, while we ate our dinner; the office chiefly devolving on one of our party who spake the language of the listeners with fluency. The scene appeared to us most extraordinary at the time, occurring as it did among subjects of the most bigoted of Catholic powers in Christendom; nor can I, at this distant period, cease to contemplate it in something of the same light.' p. 163.

It would not have been amiss, had Mr. Luccock, before he printed this statement, implicating the conduct of the Committee of the British and Foreign Bible Society, taken the trouble of obtaining some explanation of the circumstance referred to. It would have obviated on his part what we believe to be an undesigned misrepresentation of the fact, and prevented his being chargeable with a want of candour. That the copies of the Spanish Testament he met with, were printed and issued by that Society, we have no doubt; but as it is no part of the business of the Committee, nor their practice, to furnish the crews of vessels with copies of the Scriptures, the Author is not, we apprehend, quite correct in stating that the Spanish frigate was furnished by the Society with the books in question. The crew were probably indebted for them to the benevolence of private individuals, who might not think of inquiring whether the dialect of the Spanish was precisely that best understood by common seamen. Still, this explanation would not vindicate the Society from the imputation of having ignorantly adopted a translation of the Testament in impure Spanish. The fact is, that the edition followed is that of Amsterdam, 1708, in which the translation, possibly an old one, was revised and corrected by Don Sebastian de la Enzina, who is styled 'ministro de la 'Yglesia Anglicana y predicador a la illustre congregacion de 'los honorables señores tratantes en Espana.' That the translation might be somewhat antiquated, is possible; that it should be impure, we think so utterly improbable, that, without pretending to be ourselves judges of the niceties of the language, we have

no hesitation in imputing Mr. Luccock's assertion to his defective acquaintance with it. Whether in the course of the eighteenth century, the Spanish language underwent so marvellous a change that what was in 1708 a received version, would now be obsolete, we cannot say; only, so sudden a revolution does not seem to accord with the history of other languages, and still less with the Spanish character. Suffice it to say, that the edition recommended to the British and Foreign Bible Society for their adoption, was the best Protestant version which at that time was known to be extant; but it has for many years been discarded by them, (though not as an impure translation,) in favour of the one in present use, which, we trust, has been found easily intelligible even by Spanish soldiers and sailors.

Mr. Luccock made several excursions into the province of Rio Grande, which, together with Paraná and Uruguay, forms what he denominates the lowlands of Southern Brazil, of which he gives the following general description.

'The declivity of the table towards the East, is very abrupt, for the river Uruguay rises within fifty miles of the Atlantic shore, and its sources are nearly six thousand feet above the level of the sea; nevertheless it runs Westward nearly a thousand miles, and falls into the great drains of the central waters. The Southern declivity which forms a considerable part of these three provinces, is much more gentle; along the sea-shore is a broad tract of comparatively level country; while the Northern and Central parts, a great buttress of the table, are broken and stony. All the more elevated and rougher portions of this district are yet in the hands of the natives, who probably will long retain them.....In the low grounds there is little stone of any kind; in the upper, grey granite and gneiss abound.....On a careful examination of the coast, it will convincingly appear, I think, that it has formerly proceeded from the Castilhos Grandes, by the West of the Lake Mirim, the River Gonzales, and the Lagoa dos Patos, to the Maro of Sta. Maria, near Laguna; and if so, all to the East of this line is made ground, formed by sand driven up from the ocean.'

pp. 233–5.

On approaching the coast of Rio Grande do Sul, little round hillocks of sand, without the slightest degree of vegetation, seemed to rise out of the water, which proved to be only inequalities of a sandy shore. Long before they perceived any marks by which to guide their course, they found themselves in shoal water and encompassed with sand-banks. The distance from the bar of the river which gives its name to the province, to the entrance of the Lagoa dos Patos, is about thirty miles, through the whole length of which the channel is hardly any where more than twelve feet deep, the water declining on the sides of it, in some places, to six inches. Here, a barren desert meets the eye on all sides. Loose sand-hills, their height from a hundred and

twenty to a hundred and forty feet, are seen in a South-easterly direction, from which, when the wind blows strongly from that quarter, it brings with it so much sand, that it is not safe to look towards it. On turning the back to the wind, the sand is seen travelling onward like a vast fall of snow. The town of St. Pedro do Sul stands in the midst of this desert, the plain being not many inches above high-water mark; and here, accumulations of sand frequently take place, by which the houses are almost overwhelmed: sometimes the sand piles up, and crushes the roofs. From the ground to the ridge of the Cathedral is fifty feet; and the sand has risen in front of it to the same height; 'but the 'wind striking against the building, has caused it to recoil from 'the walls, and formed a sort of deep and gloomy dell, leading 'to the door.' It is said to have been fifty years in accumulating; and if so, it must have risen about a foot every year. The mass has acquired so much adhesion as to exhibit an appearance corresponding to the micaceous laminated sand-stone of our own country, a variety of tints being observable in the laminæ, as in common sand-stone. The sand evidently comes from the ocean; and the desert which it covers, though three hundred miles in length, forms a belt along the coast of not more than fifteen miles in average breadth. Here and there are scattered rich oases, the sites of pleasant farms. Further Westward, the plain of St. Gonzales presents a level tract of rich alluvial meadow land; but the low country is still a sandy soil with little vegetation besides a rank, sedgy grass, and between the Passo dos Negros and the Lagoa dos Patos, is a broad patch of swampy land, the accumulated sediment of ages. Here a Brazilian proprietor owns a farm said to occupy ten square leagues. This, however, is a moderate establishment for the graziers of Rio Grande. The smallest farms are stated at four square leagues, or more than twenty thousand acres; the largest are said to reach to a hundred square leagues, or near six hundred thousand acres.

'To each three square leagues are allotted four or five thousand head of cattle, six men, and a hundred horses, though, according to circumstances, (such as the distance from navigable waters, or from church,) there must be a variety in the number of oxen kept for the business of a farm. The proportion of horses will appear a large one; but it is to be remembered, that they cost nothing in keeping, as they are turned out on the plains; that no one about the farm, not even a slave, ever goes the shortest distance on foot; and that each manager will change his horse two or three times in a day. About a hundred cows are allowed for the supply of milk, butter, cheese, and veal, to a farm of the average size. Hogs are usually found near the houses, but little care is taken of them. There are few sheep, and they are remarkably light, and ill-made, with a short ordinary wool, which, however, might easily be improved. The wool is, at present, used partly unstripped from

the skins, as saddle-covers and the like, partly for the stuffing of beds and mattresses. The country is so thinly peopled, its inhabitants have so little liking to mutton, and the wild dogs and other beasts and birds of prey are so numerous, that there can be little inducement to increase the flocks.' p. 216.

In other parts of this province, the country is of a gently varied surface and rich loamy soil, but bare of forest trees, except on the borders of rivers, stretching into interminable downs, much more rich than picturesque. St. Pedro do Norte, where is shipped the greater part of the produce of the country, and from which all outward-bound vessels must take their clearances, stands on the sandy track, and consists of about a hundred miserable huts, placed irregularly among loose and lofty hills of sand. Even in what are called the streets, the passengers are up to the ancles; and to the East of the village, the wind has piled up hills to the height of two hundred feet. On digging through the sandy soil, in some parts, excellent clay is found in patches, which the Author considers as an indication that the spot was once the bed of a lake which has been partially filled up by sand blown into it from the coast. Remnants of such lakes, he states, exist along both the peninsulas, forming a long line of pools which will probably share the same fate. He suggests, that the African deserts may have been formed by a similar process.

'The Zaara, perhaps the most extensive desert on the globe, consists of inadhesive sands, driven about by the winds, chiefly the North-east, by which it is carried in the form of red dust to a most surprising distance. I once saw the sails and deck of a vessel covered with it when four hundred miles from the coast, and have heard of the same phenomenon being remarked at a far greater distance. This moving expanse of sand was probably, at some anterior period, a large inland shallow sea, communicating with the Mediterranean by the Syrtes, and with the Indian Ocean by the Arabian Gulf.' p. 8.

Mr. Luccock journeyed Northward as far as St. John d'el Rey. His route led him through much exquisite scenery, with which the provinces of Rio de Janeiro and Minas Geraes peculiarly abound. At Pirasenunga, the Traveller enters upon what Mr. L. terms the Piedmont of Janeiro.

'Towards the North is a row of detached hills, about two hundred feet high, which rise backward to six or seven hundred; immediately behind them is another elevation, which hardly comes short of two thousand; and this is backed by the ridge of the Serro, whose pinnacles are of various heights, some of them full six thousand feet.' p. 350.

Not far from this spot, the Author was fortunate enough to be the spectator of a picturesque scene which not unfrequently occurs on a grander scale.

'. Fire had seized upon an adjoining forest, and devoured about half a league square of it. Being to the windward, and not incommoded by the smoke, I approached as near as the heat would allow me, or the embers suffer a well broken horse to advance. It is not in my power, however, to communicate more than a very faint idea of the sublime picture. I was in the midst of several hundred stems, as large as the middle-sized British oak, all black and smoking, from whose smouldering remnants continually fell half-consumed branches, and smaller pieces of charred wood, which, broken and breaking others in their fall, formed a shower of sparks, rendered vivid by their passage through the air. The ground was covered with these charred arms, with embers, and with ashes, whence arose small spiracles of grey smoke, as if escaping through crevices from an immense furnace hidden and burning beneath. At some little distance in front, the fire raged in all its fury: from the burning underwood the flames rushed upwards in large sheets, which expired in the air, or seizing the dried leaves of those monarchs of the forest which had defied all former storms, instantly set the whole head in a blaze, and the crackling twigs formed a harsh counter to the surf-like roar of the flame below. While the fire spread itself, eating the forest all around, and became more active by every breeze, the remaining stumps in its immediate rear, stood like piles of living coal, and seemed to writhe as under the influence of a liquid poison creeping through their veins. The wintry appearance of those naked branches which preserved their station, and of the ground thickly strewed with ruins and black ashes, while flames surrounded me, and the heat of the atmosphere was almost intolerably oppressive, formed a contrast which connot be described.' pp. 357, 8.

In 1796, a conflagration took place on the summit of the Tenguá, which burned for nine months, and was by some persons mistaken for a volcanic eruption. The succeeding rains quenched it.—The effect of passing through the immense forest tracts, is sometimes sensibly prejudicial. Our Traveller had become almost impatient of the thick forests and narrow swampy roads through which his route lay for nearly two leagues, when suddenly, on the guide's making a short turn to the right, the Downs, called the Campo, lay before him.

'We were at the foot of a short and steep hill, the morning was advanced and sultry, and among the woods not a breath of air was stirring. At once we were saluted by a fine bracing breeze in our faces; and hailed it with a burst of joy. We dismounted, and in the shade, at the very verge of the forest, refreshed ourselves and the horses. This was indeed a luxurious hour; I breathed ambrosial gales, and felt my nerves new strung. I had often heard of invalids who left the city in the last stages of debility, and on arriving at these salubrious regions, were so much recovered that, according to their own phrase, they "could buffet with and subdue a sturdy mule;" and though healthy, experienced myself a wonderful renovation both of power and spirits. From the summit of the hill we looked backward over

the tops of the trees, and before us upon an open country quite destitute of wood to an almost unbounded horizon.' p. 437.

After riding about six miles over these level downs, their road began to ascend till they reached the highest point between the capital and St. John d'el Rey, and stood on the Southern verge of the vast basin of the Rio Grande. Here a noble scene opened before them.

'The distant horizon did not, as is usual in such cases, melt away into air; it consisted of a strongly undulated outline, with the intermediate space filled up by bold masses of detached mountains, on one side struck by the full glow of an afternoon tropical sun, while the other was involved in deep blue shade. Toward the North, the lofty serros about Villa Rica, a hundred miles distant in a right line, were pointed out. Toward the South East appeared the cones near Padre Correio's, from which we had travelled at least a hundred and sixty miles; and had not a slight haze rested in that quarter, we should have beheld the Organ mountains, not far from the capital. To the West were clearly seen the serros of St. Joze and Lenheiro, a ridge of mountains above St. John d'el Rey. In the North East, the nameless bluff heads of the Mantequeira rose one beyond another in distinguishable shades; yet, the longest line of all was toward the South West, where the remotest visible mountains were thought to be near the frontiers of St. Pauls.' p. 439.

The inclined plane which the Travellers overlooked, extends about sixty miles in a straight line, and the angle of its ascent is nearly one degree fifteen minutes.

'The lower region of it is a broken country, where the naked cones stand thickly, and rise nearly to the height of our present station. On the upper part of the buttress is a covering of red clay mingled with mica and quartz; and the core of the extended plains towards the North, appears to be composed in the same manner of granitic rocks in a conical shape, which seem, from their occasional appearance on the surface of the plain, to be as thickly strewed and as sharply pointed as those below us. The spaces between them are filled up with various substances of later formation; but by far the greater proportion consists of red clay mingled with mica. The Campo, or table land of Brazil, resting upon this granitic core, is composed of great masses of mountains, which appear to be detached from each other, having between them broad basins, where the ground is cut into deep ravines, and formed into strong undulations of from three to six hundred feet in height. The sides of these ravines are exceedingly steep, and their bottoms contain beds of torrents, so broken and generally so difficult as to require bridges; but the country has not yet advanced far enough for the construction of many artificial roads. Hence the course of travellers lies along the heads of ravines, the ridge of the hill between them, even though it deviate to every point of the compass. Here people meet with solid ground, and an uninterrupted course, though the ridge is sometimes almost as narrow

as the road which passes along it, and the descent on either hand is rapid, though not precipitous.

'As to the general soil of the country, it is little different from that which has been already said to fill up the intervals between the granitic ponos, but in many places it has upon its surface a stratum of yellowish brown clay, mixed with sand. This covering lies in patches of various dimensions, from nine to fifteen inches thick, and its edges are so worn as plainly to indicate that it was once much more extensive, perhaps formed a superstratum to the whole present surface, that it is in a course of wasting from rains, and will shortly disappear. Hence it is that in some bottoms, and at the sides of gentle declivities, are sometimes found spots of yellow sand almost as barren as the sea beach, collected there by the waters, while the other component part of the superstratum, being more intimately miscible, has been separated and carried by the stream to a lower station. These sandy spots sometimes contained rounded pebbles, but were more commonly seen without them, and, in one instance, where the stream had cut deeply into the earth, confused strata of vegetable soil, clay, sand of different kinds and colours, and even of peat, were exposed to view.'

pp. 439—441.

Gold is the production of almost every part of this province. Platina, copper, tin, lead, cobalt, and bismuth have long been known to exist there; and quicksilver and cinnabar have been recently discovered. A hill beyond the town of Queluz on the road to Villa Rica,

'presented a wonderful object: it was one entire mass of iron, so perfectly free from any mixture of common soil as to produce no vegetable whatever, but was covered with a complete coating of rust, or oxyde of iron. The hill is so lofty and steep that its top was not discernible; but, from its more elevated parts, nodules of corroded metal had rolled down, and greatly embarrassed the road. At the foot of the mountain, the soil is red clay mixed with ponderous brown dust. As we advanced, the metal seemed to become less pure, until, after an extent of two leagues and a half, it altogether vanished, and was succeeded by the common clayey land. I had often heard of this immense mass of metal, but none of the reports had presented an adequate picture of it to the imagination. The very core of the hill, as far as we could judge, appeared to consist of vast blocks of iron in tables; and it is so singularly free from alloy as to produce, when smelted, ninety-five per cent. of pure metal.' p. 401.

Ten miles from Villa Rica, there is a very high point of land, from which the view towards the West and North-west is very magnificent.

'Its principal feature is a high, distant, finely shaped, conical mountain; on the right is the aspiring Itacolumi. On this ridge, the minerals lie scattered in the most singular confusion; with forms and attributes essentially differing from whatever I had previously seen. Copper is said to be abundant; Iron-stone and Schist alternate frequently, the latter gradually prevailing as we advanced, and ex-

hibiting great variety of colour and appearance, being blue, black, brown, and sometimes brilliant. Near Chapon we passed over a mass of rock, laminated, ponderous, and with metallic splendour; a specimen of which I still possess, retaining its brilliancy even in our moist climate. It is said, however, to contain no metal of any kind, although Mawe calls it rich iron ore.' p. 497.

Gold is here literally "the root of all evil:" the 'precious 'bane' is the source of indolence, vice, and the most abject wretchedness. The search after it is a perfect mania; it appears an incurable one; and to this object, every other concern is without hesitation sacrificed. The character of the inhabitants of Villa Rica, the capital of the auriferous district, is peculiarly bad, and the traveller looks in vain for the permanent effects of the wealth it has yielded. In little more than a hundred years, this place alone has sent into circulation more than two millions of pounds, troy weight, of gold. 'What is become of it all? 'Where are the fortunate proprietors?' exclaims our Author.

'The only answer was, They are gone, and nothing remains. The grandfather began the work, and seemed to flourish; in the hands of the son it declined; the grandchildren are sunk into poverty; the estate has been offered for sale, and no one will buy. In the name of common sense, then, I replied, what have these people been doing? They have washed into yonder river, all that was most valuable of their ground, and left it a bare rock.' p. 511.

No where does the truth of the axiom, that gold is not wealth, receive a more striking illustration. Long after the mine has ceased to yield an adequate compensation for working it, the 'grubbing for gold' is carried on with insane eagerness and pertinacity, to the prejudice of the State and the ruin of individuals. In the neighbourhood of Queluz, it was once successfully sought; but it has at length failed, leaving the people with debased minds and idle habits, their very countenances, says Mr. Luccock, being of an expression uncommonly villanous. At Chapon, there are gold and topaz mines, the possessors of which are reported to be wealthy; but if they are so, 'it is in the midst 'of such a want of comforts as would make a Briton, not over 'delicate, completely miserable.' When Villa Rica becomes dangerously full of vice and wretchedness, a curious expedient is said to be resorted to for throwing off the scum of the population.

'A report is circulated that a remote spot has been discovered in the woods which is rich in the precious metal. The restless and adventurous soon become clamorous to resort to it; they assemble in crowds, and, under a leader of their own choice, proceed towards these new and unequalled mines. Some of them, tired of what seems useless travelling, halt by the way, and settle in different places. Others advance to the spot, or that which is supposed to be so, find its riches greatly exaggerated, yet remain there, and, ere long, call

the country their own. Thus Villa Rica is relieved, and new colonies established. A scheme of this sort was set on foot in 1812, when about a thousand people departed in search of a "golden league," which some unknown traveller had seen two months' journey to the Westward.' p. 508.

'On the whole,' says Mr. Luccock, 'whether gold or precious stones be sought in streams or rocks, in masses of clay or schist, the indications of their presence are so precarious, and the hopes built upon them so often delusive, that multitudes are led on to absolute ruin.' Much expense might, however, be saved by the application of philosophical knowledge; but of this the Brazilians are utterly destitute, and they are too well satisfied with themselves, to be willing to be set right or instructed by foreigners.—'How like you the gold from my fire,' we may well imagine the Demon of the country sarcastically exclaiming to those whom this execrable thirst *(auri sacra fames)* has led to violate the solitude of his mountain recesses. The fatal gift has entailed poverty on the most successful adventurers, and its very abundance as poured into Europe from the Western mines, has, by its operation on the currency, been the remote cause of still more extensive pauperism and wretchedness. If ever Brazil attains a rank among civilized nations corresponding to her natural advantages, it will be by other means than her subterranean treasures; by cultivating the riches which lie on her surface, by the formation of habits of industry in her population, and by the diffusion of religious knowledge in connexion with political freedom.

Mr. Luccock's volume contains some interesting contributions to Ornithology and Ichthyology, which we have not now room to notice. Some interesting information, also, occurs relative to the state of the slave population, and the laws respecting slavery, which are peculiarly humane. On these subjects, his representations are in general accordance with those of Mr. Koster*; but, though deprecating the slave-trade, he seems to think that the means of voluntary emigration might be afforded to the Africans, with advantage to both countries. He states, that the more industrious well know slavery in Brazil to be preferable to their former condition in Africa, and that he has known the son of a native prince refuse to return. Where they are so fortunate as to fall into good hands, this is highly probable. One thing, however, is pretty certain, and is becoming every day more evident; that the Slave Trade can be effectually extirpated only by the civilization of Africa: the evil can be cured only by attacking the seat of the mischief.

* Vide Eclectic Review. N.S. Vol. vii. p. 133.

Art. II. *Memoirs of the Life of Nicholas Poussin.* By Maria Graham, Author of a Tour in India, &c. 8vo. pp. 236. London. 1820.

THIS is an interesting piece of biography; and as the life of an artist is frequently no imperfect commentary upon the style and character of his works, we shall present our readers with a short abstract of it.

Nicholas Poussin was born at Andelys, in Normandy, in 1594. He shewed a love for drawing in early life, and received lessons from Parin, who then resided there. At the age of eighteen, he journeyed, friendless and without money, to Paris, where he became the pupil of Ferdinand Elle. But the greatest benefit he derived from the connexion, was his introduction to Courtois, the king's mathematician, who gave him free access to a large collection of prints after Raffaelle and Giulio Romano. He also cultivated the friendship of a young nobleman, who took him to his country seat for the purpose of employing his talents in the embellishment of his mansion. The mother of his patron, however, having no very exalted idea of the arts, was more inclined to make him useful in the management of her domestic affairs. The independent mind of Poussin revolted from an employment so little consonant to his powers, and foregoing the friendship of the son, rather than submit to the vulgar insolence of the mother, he returned on foot to Paris. Here he earned a scanty subsistence by painting in distemper at a low price. To this practice, much of the predominating character of his maturer style may be traced; particularly, the hardness and coldness of manner, which never deserted him; but he is also indebted to it for much of its freedom and grandeur. Sickness obliged him to return to his native town, where he remained a year, at the expiration of which, being seized, like other artists, with an ardent desire to visit Rome, he proceeded as far as Florence on his pilgrimage to that seat of the arts. It does not appear why he returned to Paris. There, however, his friend Philippe de Champagne procured employment for him in the ornamental paintings of the Luxembourg palace.

In 1628, he painted for the Jesuits' College at Paris, a series of pictures representing the miracles of Ignatius Loyola and St. Francis Xavier. About this time, he was honoured with the countenance and friendship of Marini, the Italian poet, who took him into his house. It was from the style of Marini's poetry, in all probability, that he imbibed his predilection for the ideal personages of his pictures,—nymphs, fairies, and bacchanals. In 1623, he painted one of his finest pictures, the Death of the Virgin, for the Goldsmiths' company. The next year, he joined his patron at Rome, through whose kindness he was introduced to the rich museum and the personal acquaintance of the Cardinal

Barberini. But so destitute was he, at this period, of pecuniary resources, that he painted and sold three pictures for sixteen crowns. In the house where he resided, was Quesnay the sculptor, who introduced him to Algarde and other persons eminent in the art; an important era in the life of Poussin, for it was by these means that he acquired his taste for sculpture and his passion for the antique. At this period, moreover, he addicted himself to the study of architecture, and made plans and drawings of the ruins that were every where scattered around him.

In the sublime and simple grandeur of the Doric style, Rome is indeed deficient; but no where, not even in Greece itself, is there a collection of ruins so varied and so rich, or so well fitted to fill the mind of the painter or the poet. The contemplation of these monuments fed the growing genius of our artist with many of its choicest subjects. They who are conversant with his paintings, know how much the introduction of architecture, both in perfection and in decay, has contributed to throw grace, and beauty, and meaning over parts which would have been otherwise insipid or disagreeable. He devoted himself also to the study of anatomy, and studied the living model in the schools of Domenichino and Andrea Sacchi. To acquire a better knowledge of forms, he modelled from celebrated pictures, copying from few, but examining them, making them the subject of reiterated reflection, and selecting studies from parts; a practice strongly recommended by Sir Joshua Reynolds. He made a perfect copy of the ancient painting found in the baths of Titus, vulgarly called the Aldobrandini marriage.

His fame had been established at Rome by his Ark of God among the Philistines. It brought him, however, only sixty crowns, although the purchaser immediately sold it to the Duke of Richelieu for one thousand. A short time after, we find him applying, in a humble letter, to the Commander del Pozzo, for pecuniary aid in a severe fit of illness. His recovery was owing chiefly to the good offices of John Dughet, cook to the Roman senator, a Frenchman by birth. It was the daughter of this kind-hearted man, whom Poussin afterwards married. He must have received with her a competent portion, for with part of it he bought his house on the Pincian hill. Gaspar Dughet, her brother, the great landscape painter, soon after the marriage, took the name of Poussin.

Among other pieces which our Artist executed about this time, he painted for the Cardinal Barberini, the noble picture of the Death of Germanicus. Mrs. Graham thinks, that there is too much of sickness and bodily suffering depicted in the dying Roman. We are inclined to agree with her in this opinion: there is obviously a want of heroism and dignity in the figure. But she has not noticed the most remarkable incident of the piece;

that the face of Agrippina is turned away, and covered with a veil. This elliptical mode of representing unutterable sorrow, which powerfully affects the spectator, did not, indeed, originate with Poussin: the hint was taken from Æschylus, and is said to have been also adopted by Parrhasius. But it has an admirable effect as it is introduced by Poussin.

The year 1639 formed an important era in the life of this industrious Artist. In January of this year, he received from Louis XIII., through M. de Noyers, Secretary of State, an invitation to Paris and the appointment of one of the king's painters. He was highly delighted at his reception by the court, and began his labours with some cartoons for tapestry, which have been most unaccountably lost. His two next pictures were, The Last Supper, and The Miracle of St. Francis Zavier, both of which are now in the gallery of the Louvre. He was, however, dissatisfied; he was hurried, he said, in his studies, had none to second him, was employed in trifles, and put off with fine speeches. He had to struggle also against the mean jealousies of other artists; for no sooner had he produced his plan for the decoration of the Thuilleries, than Vouet, Le Mercier, and Fouquieres combined to attack him. Disgusted with these cabals, he obtained leave to return to Rome. But before he left Paris, he bequeathed his enemies a memorable specimen of his satirical powers, in the allegorical picture of Time bringing to light Truth, and delivering her from Malice and Envy. He also painted another, in which the satire is much more marked and obvious: the subject is Hercules engaged in a thirteenth labour,—a combat with Folly, Ignorance, and Envy, which allegorical personages are caricatures of Vouet, Le Mercier, and Fouquieres.

By the disgrace of M. de Noyers, the death of Cardinal de Richelieu, and that of Louis XIII, events which happened shortly after his departure, Poussin was released from the promise he had given to return to Paris; and though overtures were made to him by Louis XIV., he steadily refused to accede to them. The king, however, offered, and our Artist accepted, the continuance of his pension, 3000 livres per annum.

Now commenced (1643) the happiest period of his life. He had arrived at the summit of his hopes; was possessed of a competent income; was actively employed in the art which he loved; resided in a city, and among men the most congenial to his tastes and occupations; and was not more honoured and revered as an artist, than respected and beloved as a man. His mode of life is thus pleasingly delineated by Mrs. Graham.

'He spent most of his time in his painting room, and seldom admitted any visitors there. His friends, however, used to wait for him on the terrace of the Trinità de' Monti, where his house was situated, and where he took his morning and evening walk; and his biographers have

represented him as an ancient philosopher surrounded by his disciples. In fact his hours of exercise were rendered more delightful by intimate conversation with the learned and the polite, who crowded round him, from all parts of Rome, to admire that dignified simplicity of manner and conversation, which was a part of the antique purity of taste which inspires his works, and regulated his whole life. Some of his sayings have been preserved. They are remarkable for good sense, and that kind of philosophy which is of most value in the conduct of life. He was asked one day, what was the chief benefit he had derived from his extensive reading, and what he regarded as his best knowledge? "How to live well with all the world," was his answer.

'One evening Cardinal Massimi having paid him a visit, staid with him till dark. Poussin, who had no footman, took a lamp himself to light his guest to his carriage, who said to him, "I am sorry for you, M. Poussin; you have no footman!" "and I," said Poussin, "am still more sorry for your Eminency, because you have so many!" A person of quality having shewn him a picture of his own painting, Poussin said to him, "Ah, my lord, you only want a little poverty, to become a good painter." But these sentences and repartees, though they showed the readiness of his mind, were not, at least to many of his hearers, the most valuable parts of his conversation. His brother-in-law Gaspar, Claude Lorraine, Charles Le Brun, and other painters, of eminence, attended his walks, in order to gather from him just maxims of art, and to hear his counsels on the true method of seeing nature.' pp. 104—6.

He never took pupils, but directed and assisted the studies of Charles Le Brun. It is matter of regret, and, considering the ample leisure he enjoyed, of astonishment, that Poussin did not execute some grand and comprehensive work upon art; for that he was in the habit of thinking much and deeply upon the subject, and had the power of expressing himself strongly and clearly, is evinced by the following passage.

'Stella having communicated to him some criticisms on this picture, (Moses striking the rock,) particularly on the depth of the basin into which the water falls, Poussin wrote him the following answer:—"There is no difficulty here; I am not sorry it should be known that I do nothing by chance, and that I understand perfectly what a painter is permitted to do with the subjects he has to represent, which may be taken and understood, either as they have been, as they are, or as they will be. The local disposition of the miracle must have been such as I have represented; because, otherwise the water could neither have been collected, nor used to supply the wants of so great a multitude of people, but would have been dispersed on all sides. If, at the creation of the world, the earth had received one uniform figure, and the water had found neither channels nor hollows, the surface would have been covered with it, and useless to the animals; but, from the beginning, God disposed all things in order, and with relation to the end for which he formed his work. Therefore at such a remarkable event as that of striking the rock, we may,

well believe that a corresponding miracle in the disposition of the ground took place. However, as it is not easy for every one to judge of works of art, one should be very careful not to decide hastily."'

pp. 120—122.

Poussin seems to have been most happy and most laborious as he approached the evening of his life. 'As I grow older,' he remarks in a letter to a friend, 'I feel myself more than ever 'inflamed with the desire of surpassing myself, and of reaching 'to the highest degree of perfection.' In 1660, (he was now sixty-six years of age,) he executed for the Duke of Richelieu, the four pictures allegorical of the seasons. Of these, the most celebrated is Winter, or, as it is called, the Deluge.* We subjoin our fair Biographer's description of this piece.

'A narrow space and a very few persons have sufficed him for this powerful representation of that great catastrophe. The sun's disk is darkened with clouds; the lightning sheets in forked flashes through the air; nothing but the roofs of the highest houses are visible above the distant water upon which the Ark floats, on a level with the highest mountains. Nearer, where the waters, pent in by rocks, form a cataract, a boat is forced down the fall, and the wretches who had sought safety in it are perishing: but the most pathetic incident is brought close to the spectator. A mother in a boat is holding up her infant to its father, who, though upon a high rock, is evidently not out of reach of the water, and it is only protracting life a very little. One or two figures are seen above the surface of the water, endeavouring to escape; the domestic animals are mingled with their owners; and an enormous serpent, which seems to seek shelter on the highest mountains, has been considered as emblematical of the wickedness that drew down the fierce chastisement upon man.

'The dark and lurid colour of this picture seems to correspond with the scene; and the misty air has a troublous grandeur.' p. 123, 4.

This is, upon the whole, a correct description, but Mrs. Graham has omitted the most pathetic circumstance; namely, the distance which the Artist seems studiously to have interposed between the father and the mother, and which, in spite of their utmost efforts, precludes all possibility of his reaching the infant. Her criticisms upon this picture are thus expressed.

'Nevertheless, although the conception be grand, and the two principal incidents not unworthy of Poussin, the effect of the whole picture is unpleasant. The usual objection to any representation of the deluge is not overcome in this. It is only the inundation of a valley, terrible indeed, but without the assistance of the Ark in the background, it might pass for an ordinary accident; the rocks in the foreground are such as we daily see at no great elevation, and the very circumstance of the cataract, though fine in itself, shuts out the idea of

* It is now in the Louvre. A copy of it is also in Cardinal Fesche's collection. Rev.

the deluge, where all the waters must have been level. Nevertheless, the picture has great power, and the defect is in the subject, not in the painter. Some subjects cannot be painted. Not even Michael Angelo could express,—"And God said, let there be light, and there was light." And though the figure of the Christ, in his Last Judgement, be one before which it seems as if no guilty man could stand erect, yet that great picture, on the whole, must, as the visible day of account to all, be considered a failure, notwithstanding that the groupes of which it is composed, are individually of almost superhuman grandeur.' pp. 125, 6.

We do not see the force of what Mrs. Graham terms, 'the 'usual objection to any representation of the Deluge.' The picture, she remarks, represents only the inundation of a valley. Granted. But what more could the actual view of the Deluge have presented to our eyes? The visible horison could not have been extended further in the painting than in real nature, without a glaring violation of truth and propriety. Supposing ourselves witnesses of that terrible desolation, we could not have seen a greater portion of it than the Painter has represented. Our aggregate idea of its horrors could have been formed only by extending the ideas awakened by a contemplation of its parts; as universality can be comprehended by the mind, though not perceived by the vision. True it is, that the most felicitous execution of such a subject must fall infinitely short of its prototype. It is well for the art that it does so; for the pleasure derived from the imitative arts in general, is altogether distinct from the emotions with which we contemplate the objects which they imitate. The whole unbroken expanse of the Deluge as it actually existed, could it be transferred to canvas, would revolt and disgust us. And were Mrs. Graham's aphorism authoritative as a rule of art, all that class of subjects to the *exact* greatness of which its sublimest efforts are inadequate, would be excluded from its province. Art, speaking by a law different from that with which real objects produce awe and terror, (because it is the effect of Art, that a secret pleasure should lurk in the contemplation of that which is most terrific,) is intended, by a variety of associations, and through the medium of many reflections, to excite feelings which bear little resemblance to those excited by the reality. Among these are, the pleasure derived from the imitation itself; (the tribute we pay the artist for having triumphed over the difficulties of his task;) the consciousness of being, according to the philosophy of Lucretius, ourselves free from the calamity of which we are the spectators; and the gratification of having a scene surpassing the grasp and dimensions of our minds, brought nearer to us by a palpable and obvious representation.

Unquestionably, there are subjects after which the imagination

of the greatest painters and the greatest poets must toil in vain. There are limits, beyond which Art cannot venture without at once profaning the subject, and betraying the narrowness and imbecility of its powers. But the Deluge is clearly within our conceptions; and if the great tragical emotions of pity and terror are excited by the picture of Poussin, (to those who deny it we recommend an instant journey to the Louvre,) we perceive a lamentable want of right judgement and right feeling in the critic who flippantly pronounces the effect of the whole to be unpleasant. There is some want of gallantry in dealing thus sincerely with our Author. It became a writer, however, untinctured, as she confesses herself to be, even with that small knowledge of the art which is called connoiseurship, to steer her course with more circumspection in so dangerous a navigation, and not to meddle with topics which it requires no mean portion of practical, as well as theoretic experience, to handle with skill or success;—

Interfusa nitentes
Vitare æquora Cyclades.

Had she been sufficiently observant of a timid and safe forbearance, she would not have remarked, that the idea of the Deluge is shut out by the circumstance of the cataract, because, in the Deluge, all the waters must have been on a level. When must they have been on a level? When the Deluge was complete; not during its accomplishment. But surely, Mrs. Graham does not mean to affirm, that the moment best fitted for the painter's choice, was, when the whole earth was a vast and undiversified sheet of water, without one visible object save the Ark, on which the eye could repose. Poussin was too conversant with the rules of the art, as well as with the principles of the sublime, to overlook the only point of its progress when it could be rendered interesting. He therefore arrested, as it were, that precise moment of the mighty march of the waters, when they were yet foaming over the lower mountains, and before all human objects were covered with its waves. In this mode of treating the subject, we are far from discerning the defect pointed out by Mrs. Graham; and are disposed to acquiesce in the unmeasured praises which have been lavished upon this grand work of Poussin's, rather than in the minute and slender criticism of his Biographer.

She is, however, still more unlucky in adducing the instance of Michael Angelo as a parallel instance of failure. We have already remarked, that there are subjects too high and hallowed for the aspirings of art. When Michael Angelo, and Raffaelle after him, failed in their successive attempts to represent the Creator in the act of Creation, it was because they transcended the legitimate boundaries of Art. The wild ambition of clo-

thing in visible images, so impalpable and inconceivable an energy as that of the Creation, was deservedly punished with failure. But the Last Judgement does not lie out of the regions of human thought. It is a scene which is familiar to the contemplations of the pious, and which not unfrequently presents itself to the terrified conscience of the guilty. The idea has assumed a definite shape, contracted, indeed, and limited to the narrow circle of our imaginings, but capable of being elevated and expanded by the sublime delineations of poetry or painting. It is puerility itself to say, that the picture gives us no satisfactory idea of the Last Day. Try it by another test. Ask him who has visited the Sestine chapel, and approached the picture, not with that thoughtless expectation which, being founded in ignorance, must infallibly end in disappointment, but with a full conviction of its difficulty and its grandeur,—ask him whether, making due abatements for the weakness of human genius exerted on so sublime a subject, he surveyed it without feeling his soul expanded and raised for awhile above every temporal concern to the momentous events of that dreadful day; whether he beheld the countenances of the wicked, whose eternal miseries seem already begun, without a sacred fear; or whether he did not feel a refreshing hope while he contemplated the calm and dignified aspects of the saints who surround the Redeemer, and who have already been called to their immortal inheritance? To those who can behold the picture without some such emotions, we would recommend a little diffidence in their own sensibility, and a becoming degree of distrust in their own judgement. For ourselves, we have always ranked it amongst the most memorable triumphs of the art, and the proudest monuments of human genius.

Surely, Michael Angelo, when he chose that 'great argument,' was not trespassing beyond the legitimate province of his art in attempting (for Art in her most triumphant efforts upon such themes is weak and limited) to represent the tremendous day on which the last destinies of man are to be awarded. Too awful, we admit, is such a subject for the puny and shrivelled conceptions of common minds. But the painter who thus ventured beyond

> '—the flaming bounds of place and time,'

assumed not a licence bolder than that which was assumed by the Poet of Paradise, who employed human language to express human ideas of a scene equally remote from our comprehensions, and embodied in the prophetic discourse of the Angel, his grand and lofty imagings of the final consummation.

> 'The earth shall burn, and from her ashes spring
> New heaven and earth wherein the just shall dwell.'

True it is, that such a scene would be debased and dishonoured by a Flemish painter, and probably to the same degree as it has been disfigured and travestied in Mr. Southey's hexameters for if Fancy, in her highest aspirations, toils and pants in vain after such sublimities, it is clear how much they must suffer from the handling of a vulgar artist.

We maintain, however, that it is within the legitimate province of Art. The mind of man must necessarily carry human notions into its loftiest speculations, and our most elevated musings on celestial things will be invested with the colours and attributes of sensible objects. It is thus only, that he who meditates on those high concernments,—the wreck and dissolution of all things, judgement, and eternal justice, can bring them down to the level of his thoughts. After all, indeed, such portraitures will be merely forms of external nature, thrown into a more ethereal mould, and animated by a more celestial inspiration. But who will say, that when he contemplates the Saviour's countenance depicted by a Raffaelle or a Rubens, mute and awe-struck as by a present divinity,—who will say that *his* soul is not elevated beyond the chains and impediments of human things, and set at large from the narrowness, and timidity, and impotence of his own imaginations? With regard to representations of 'the Eternal Father,' even an elegant Roman Catholic writer deprecates the attempt as equally injudicious and unpardonable.* A sensible writer of the Platonic school offers for it the only apology of which it is susceptible. Ο μεν γαρ Θεος, την ουσιαν πυτερ-ναι δημουργος, ο πριοζωτερος μεν ηλιου, πρεσβυτερος δε ιρακος, κρειττων δε χρονου και αιωνος, και πασης ρυσεως φυσεως, ανωνυμος νομοθετης, και αρρητος φυσις, και αιρατος οφθαλμοις· ουκ εχοντες δε αυτο λαβειν την ουσιαν, τευτι. δομεθα φυσεως και ονομασι και τυποις χρυσου και ελεφαντος και αργυρου, τευθυμειτκι αυτου της ουσιας.†

But the Last Judgement of Michael Angelo, with this important exception, (and for this the anthropomorphism of the Catholic worship is some faint apology,) is a sublime piece, and sufficiently redeemed from the minute criticism of Mrs. Graham, whose view of its scheme and execution is about as comprehensive as that which the fly would take of them as he crawls along its canvas.

In 1665, Poussin was slightly affected by the palsy. The only picture of figures that he painted afterwards, was the Samaritan Woman at the Well, which he sent to Mr. Chantelou with a note saying, 'This is my last work: I have already one foot in 'the grave.' The last letter he ever wrote, is deeply affecting: it shews 'the ruling passion strong in death.'

* Eustace's Italy, Vol. II. 4to. p. 289.

† Maxim. Tyr. Dissert. 38.

' " I must, at length, endeavour to awake after my long silence. I must raise my voice while my pulse still faintly beats. I have had full leisure to read and to weigh your book upon the perfect idea of painting, which has been a sweet solace to my afflicted mind. I rejoice that you are the first Frenchman to open the eyes of those who see only through the medium of others, and suffer themselves to be led astray after the crowd. Now you have warmed and softened a metal, hitherto stiff and difficult to handle, so that henceforth others may be found, who, by imitating you, will give us something useful upon painting." ' pp. 181, 182.

Poussin expired on the 19th of November 1665, in the seventy-second year of his age. His grave was attended by all the artists and friends of art in Rome. A monument in the church of San Lorenzo in Lucina, was erected to his memory, with two not very good Latin inscriptions. As Mrs. Graham has not inserted it, we transcribe the following epitaph, written by Bellori, his Italian biographer.

' Parce piis lachrymis, vivit Pussinus in urnâ,
Vivere qui dederat, nescius ipse mori.
Hîc tamen ipse silet, si vis audire loquentem,
Mirum est, in tabulis vivit, et eloquitur.'

His merits as a painter have been so correctly estimated by Sir Joshua Reynolds, that we make no apology for citing a great part of his criticism. ' Opposed to this florid, careless, ' loose, and inaccurate style,' (he had been characterizing the style of Rubens,) the simple, careful, pure, and correct style ' of Poussin seems to be a complete contrast. Yet, how- ' ever opposite their characters, in one thing they agreed; both ' of them always preserving a perfect correspondence between ' all the parts of their respective manners; insomuch that it ' may be doubted whether any alteration of what is considered ' defective in either would not destroy the effect of the whole.— ' Poussin lived and conversed with the ancient statues so long, ' that he may be said to have been better acquainted with them ' than with the people about him. No works of any modern ' have so much the air of antique painting, as those of Poussin. ' His best performances have a remarkable dryness of manner, ' which, though by no means to be recommended for imitation, ' yet seems perfectly correspondent to that ancient simplicity ' which distinguishes his style. Like Polidoro, he studied the ' ancients so much, that he acquired a habit of thinking in their ' way, and seemed to know perfectly the actions and gestures ' they would use on every occasion.

' Poussin, in the latter part of his life, changed from his dry ' manner to one much softer and richer, where there is a greater ' union between the figures and the ground, as in The Seven

'Sacraments in the Duke of Orleans's collection;* but neither 'these nor any of his other pictures in this manner, are at all 'comparable to many in his dry manner, which we have in 'England.'

'Poussin,' says Mrs. Graham, 'is, in the strict sense of the 'word, an historical painter;' an expression which she appears anxious to explain by comparing him with Michael Angelo and Raffaelle. We do not, however, exactly comprehend the propriety of the classification. Michael Angelo and Raffaelle, indeed, compared with each other, have been called the one an epic, the other a dramatic painter. By these terms, however, it was intended to denote only their relative superiority; the grandeur and sublimity of the one, and the skill and propriety of the other, particularly in composition, and in the art of telling a story. Generically, both painters are historical; and Poussin belongs to the same class. But if Mrs. Graham means, that he is neither so epic as Michael Angelo, nor so dramatic as Raffaelle, this is merely saying in circuitous phrase, what is self-evident, and might have been less obscurely and paraphrastically expressed.

She remarks more correctly, that Poussin's women are neither soft, easy, nor attractive, but stern, austere, and dignified, and that his Holy Families are much inferior to his other pieces,—for this reason chiefly; and also, because in such subjects the defective colouring, (a branch of his art which Poussin in his later works seems to have disdained,) and the neglect of chiaroscuro, are more apparent. In his historical pieces, his figures are frequently arranged as in the ancient bas-relievos, in which the light and shadow would naturally fall as he has placed it; and so sparing was he of figures, that he is in this respect diametrically opposite to Paul Veronese. It was a saying of Poussin's, that 'one figure too much spoils a picture.' No man ever equalled him in the choice of subjects, or seized more happily the precise moment of history for his picture. He never overloads our attention, or tasks it too severely; nor does he waste and dissipate our curiosity, which is, for the most part, fixed and concentrated to one cardinal point. In many of his paintings, he has spoken volumes in a single word; a power strikingly exemplified in his Shepherds of Arcadia, Diogenes throwing away his shell, the Slaughter of the Innocents, and, above all, in the Deluge. Of this last work, the very defect of colouring which is characteristic of Poussin, becomes one of its greatest excellencies. It has neither black nor white, neither blue, nor red, nor yellow. The whole mass is without any variation of a sombre gray; the true resemblance of a dark

* Now in the Stafford Collection. Rev.

and humid atmosphere, by which every object is rendered indistinct and almost colourless,—at once a faithful and a poetical conception of the subject. Nature seems faint, half dissolved, and verging on annihilation, and the pathetic solemnity, grandeur, and simplicity of the effect are entirely derived from this peculiar practice of the Artist.

His learning, though not always correct, is very extensive: he uniformly strove to represent the appropriate customs, manners, actions, and dress of the people he was concerned with. His landscapes have not, perhaps, had their due share of praise. They are, in some instances, perhaps, inferior to those of Gaspar, of Claude Lorraine, and of Salvator Rosa, but they are of a higher character of composition, and, as works of genius, infinitely superior. We would particularly instance the Death of Eurydice, in the Louvre. The composition of this piece is admirable. The tale is told in the most perspicuous manner, embellished with those mythological aids which Poussin knew so well how to introduce with effect. The landscape is composed of a wild meadow on the banks of a river. On the opposite side, are architectural groupings, consisting entirely of views of Rome, and the hills behind impart a peculiar depth to the whole scene. The figures in the back-ground bespeak the animation of a flourishing city. In the fore-ground, he has introduced the beautifully pathetic incident which gives a name to the piece. Orpheus is seated under the shade of a majestic tree, playing on his lyre; Eurydice has just started, and thrown down her basket, on being bitten by a serpent, while gathering flowers.

Another of his landscapes is called The Effects of Fear. From the Dialogues of the Dead by M. Fenelon, Mrs. Graham has annexed two between Poussin and Parrhasius, and Poussin and Leonardo da Vinci. We extract from the latter, a description (put into the mouth of Poussin himself) of that beautiful and pathetic picture.

'*Leo.* I should like to examine one of your pictures by the rules of painting, which I explained in my books. One might find as many faults as strokes.

'*Pouss.* I consent:—I will display the whole composition of one of my pictures: if you see faults in it, I will frankly avow them; if you approve what I have done, I shall oblige you to esteem me a little more than you do.

'*Leo.* Well, let us see. But remember I am a severe critic.

'*Pouss.* So much the better.—Imagine a rock on the left side of the picture: from this rock falls a pure bright spring, which, after sparkling a little in its fall, runs off across the country. A man, coming to draw water at the spring, is seized by a large serpent. The serpent winds round his body, and twines several times round his arms and legs, presses him, poisons and strangles him. The man

is dead; he is stretched out. The weight and stiffness of his limbs is seen. His flesh is already livid. His face of horror expresses a cruel death. Another man advances towards the fountain; he perceives the serpent round the dead man. He stops suddenly. One of his feet remains suspended. He raises one arm, the other falls. But the two hands are spread, they mark surprise and horror.

'*Leo.* This second object, although melancholy, fails not to animate the picture, and to give a certain pleasure, like that felt by the spectators of those ancient tragedies, where every thing inspired terror and pity: but we shall soon see if you ——

'*Pouss.* Ah, ha! you begin to be a little softened: but wait for the rest, if you please. Close by there is a high road, on the side of which there is a woman, who sees the terrified man, but who cannot see the dead man, because she is in a hollow, and the ground makes a sort of a skreen between her and the spring. The sight of the frightened man causes in her a counter-stroke of fear. These two expressions of alarm are, as one may say, what griefs ought to be; the greater are silent, the lesser complain. The terror of the man makes him motionless. That of the woman, which is less, is more marked by the distortion of her face. In her you see a woman's fear, who can contain nothing; who expresses all her alarm, and gives way to all she feels: she falls, and lets fall, and forgets what she was carrying. She extends her arms, and seems to cry out. Do not these various degrees of fear and surprise make a kind of play that touches and gives pleasure? It is a caprice. This kind of composition succeeds very well, provided the fancy be regulated, and that it does not depart from the truth of nature. On the left side there are some large trees, which appear old, and such as those venerable oaks which formerly served as the divinities of a country. Their ancient trunks have a rough and rugged bark, which sends to a distance a young and tender grove, placed behind. This grove has a delicious freshness. One longs to be within it. One imagines a burning sunshine would respect the sacred wood. It is planted along a clear stream, and seems to admire itself therein. On one side is a deep green, on the other the dark blue of a serene sky. In this stream several objects present themselves, which amuse the eye, and relieve it after the terrible objects it first beheld. In the fore-ground all the figures are tragic. But behind all is peaceful, soft, and gay: here are boys bathing, and sporting as they swim. There, fishers in a boat; one is leaning forward, almost falling: they are hauling a net. Two others, leaning back, are rowing vigorously. Others are on the bank, playing at morra. By their faces you see that one is thinking of a number to take in his companion, who seems attentive not to be so taken. Others are walking beyond the water on a fresh green-sward. At a good distance a woman on an ass is seen, going to the neighbouring town; she is followed by two men. One instantly imagines these good people, in their rustic simplicity, going to carry to the town the abundance of the fields they have cultivated. On the same left side, above the grove, there is a sharp mountain, on which there is a castle. There is a little hill, sloping down insensibly to the river. On the slope shrubs and bushes are seen in confusion,

on uncultivated ground. Before the hill great trees are planted, through which one sees the country, the water and the sky.

'*Leo.* But that sky,—how have you managed it?

'*Pouss.* It is a fine blue, mixed with bright clouds, that look like gold and silver.

'*Leo.* What is there in the middle of the picture, beyond the river?

'*Pouss.* A town, which I have already mentioned. It is in a hollow, which conceals part of it. There are old towers, battlements, large buildings, and a confusion of houses in strong shadow; which relieves certain parts, lighted by a soft bright light from above. Above the town appears what one almost always sees above great cities in fine weather—the rising smoke, sending off the mountains, which form the back-ground: these mountains, of irregular shapes, vary the horizon, so that the eye is satisfied.' pp. 170—176.

We must now take our leave of Mrs. Graham's work, which is evidently borrowed from foreign sources, and betrays an idiom far remote from the purity and the force of our language. We shall only attempt to sum up our own notions concerning the style and character of this great Artist.

Poussin seems to have had a great contempt for the mere art of pleasing. Hence, he disdained the vulgar limits of imitation and colouring, so bewitching is the Dutch, and so dazzling in the Venetian school, and advanced intrepidly into the regions of the imagination. He marched with the might and confidence of a conqueror conscious of his powers, and soon established his dominion over our fancies and sympathies by the transcendent grandeur and energy of his conceptions, the thrilling expression of passionate feeling, and that elevated and beautiful character of natural and artificial scenery, which are combined in his principal pieces. Less soft and graceful than Guido, his figures extort, rather than win our admiration. Less wild and terrible than Salvator Rosa, less glowing and voluptuous than Claude, he seems to occupy an intermediate rank between these great masters, by the chaste simplicity of his grouping, and the dignified repose of his landscape.

But his peculiar and distinctive characteristic was, the antique and poetical air of his compositions. This resulted naturally from his familiarity with the ancients,—their mythology, their fables, their ceremonies and customs. He worshipped all the relics of Grecian art which were accessible to him, and dedicated his genius so entirely to the spirit of antiquity, that his creations seem to have but little affinity with earthly things, but rather to spring from a glowing, a refined, and a poetical fancy, gifted with that elasticity of genius which extends its grasp to the utmost confines of the ideal world. Human ambition cannot, however, transcend human powers. The soul, essentially infinite and immaterial, must, by the condition of mortality, depend

on the agency of our grosser organs; and these are so feeble, so insufficient to her great purposes, that the pursuit of one excellence necessarily involves the abandonment of another. Hence it arises, that, in the schools of painting, every perfection is shadowed, as it were, with its neighbouring defect. The defects of Poussin were, hardness of delineation, and neglect of colouring and chiaroscuro; or, in the plain English of this term, the artificial distribution of light and shade; very serious defects, and deserving of critical condemnation, if we were not disarmed of judicial severity by the difficulties of the task, and our admiration of the achievements of this singular genius.

Art. III. *History of the Indian Archipelago.* Containing an Account of the Manners, Arts, Languages, Religions, Institutions, and Commerce of its Inhabitants. By John Crawfurd, F.R.S. late British Resident at the Court of the Sultan of Java. With Maps and Engravings. In 3 Vols. 8vo. pp. 1637. Price 2l. 12s. 6d. London. 1820.

THE position of the magnificent assemblage of islands which is most usually known by the somewhat unhappily chosen name of the Indian Archipelago, is singularly advantageous and commanding. Lying directly athwart the grand opening through which the intervavigation of the most civilized and commercial nations of Asia must necessarily pass, the sheltering coasts, and the various and valuable productions of these regions, have, from a very early period, secured to them a large share of Eastern commerce. Extensive settlements have been made by different nations for mercantile purposes; Arabians, Indians, Chinese, as well as Europeans, having mingled with the native tribes in their well frequented sea-ports. If ever the moral and political condition of the Malayan states should be so far advanced as to secure the advantages of a fixed and united government, a maritime dominion may be established in this quarter, which shall control the traffic of the East. Including the long and narrow Malay Peninsula, which seems fairly entitled to take its station in the groupe, a chain of islands extends from the mouths of the Irawaddy as far as several degrees beyond the Eastern capes of the Gulf of Carpentaria, ranging Northward to the furthest limit of the Philippines. The minute geographical features of this important portion of the globe, will be best ascertained by a glance at the chart; but there are some peculiarities connected with their population and production, which we shall take this opportunity of pointing out.

Since the whole of this immense groupe lies within the Tropics, and by far the greater portion within ten degrees on either side of the Equator, there must of necessity prevail much similarity

in climate, produce, and inhabitants. To this general uniformity there exist, however, decided exceptions. Mr. Crawfurd has marked out 'five natural and well-grounded divisions,' each exhibiting important varieties, without adverting to the grand distinction between the more civilized races and the merely savage tribes. The *first* of these, comprehending the Peninsula, Sumatra, Java, Bali, Sombok, and the larger part of the Western section of Borneo, is inhabited by a race of much higher civilization than can be found in the remaining islands. The productions of this portion are peculiar, springing from a more fertile soil, and nurtured by a more enlightened husbandry. Rice is abundant, and the staple article of food. The *second* division including Celebes, part of Borneo, with some smaller islands, is, in all respects, inferior to the preceding: the inhabitants are less civilized, the soil is more sterile, and as rice is procured with greater difficulty, the deficiency is supplied by the occasional use of sago. The *third* division, lying between the parallels 124°. 130°. East long., and 10°. South to 2°. North lat., differs from all the remainder in many remarkable particulars. The character and effects of the monsoons are completely reversed.

'The Eastern monsoon, which is dry and moderate to the West, is here rainy and boisterous; the Westerly monsoon, rough and wet in the first two divisions, is here dry and temperate. The greater number of the plants and animals of the first two divisions disappear in the third, where we have strange productions in both kingdoms, unknown to any other parts of the world. This is the native country of the clove and nutmeg, and the only country in the world which produces them in perfection. For raising the higher classes of vegetable food, the soil is of inferior fertility. Rice is scarcely produced at all, and the staple food of the people is sago. In language, manners, and political institutions, the people of this quarter agree among themselves, and differ essentially from all their neighbours. They are far inferior to the inhabitants of the first two divisions in civilization, in power, and in knowledge of useful arts. They never acquired of themselves the use of letters.'

The *fourth* division takes in Mindanao, the Northern extremity of Borneo, and the Sooloo groupe. This quarter partakes in some degree of the different qualities of the former three; but the language, habits, and institutions of the inhabitants are peculiar to themselves. The Philippine Islands form the *fifth* section, and, from their higher latitude, present considerable variations of climate and produce from all the other portions of the Archipelago. They lie within the region of hurricanes; their soil is of remarkable fertility; and though they do not produce either the spiceries or the rich fruits of some of the other islands, they have an ample equivalent in the aptitude of their mould for the growth of the sugar-cane and the tobacco plant.

A glowing sun and redundant vegetation are the general characters of this wide-spread range. It is mountainous and volcanic, Forests of mighty shade cover a large portion of its surface, leaving few openings for pasture, and no expanses of sandy desert. It is within the limits of the monsoon, and besides being the only country of Asia that lies on the Equator, is, of all the equinoctial regions, that which can boast of the most remarkable and varied produce, and the 'highest indigenous population.' The extraordinary safety and facility of intercourse by sea, and the peculiar character of some of the articles of traffic, have made all their powerful tribes navigators and fishermen. To this system of communication, with its connected circumstances, are to be traced the different stages of civilization so strongly marked in the various divisions of these insular ranges. The interior families are hunters; for pastoral occupations require grassy plains, and extensive tracts cleared from the deep and impassable jungles and forests which so unprofitably occupy immense portions of valuable surface.

'In discussing the general features of the topography of the Archipelago, there are two prominent and important facts regarding the condition of the different races of inhabitants, which are of great interest and importance. The first of these refers to an original and innate distinction of the inhabitants into two separate races. In the Indian Archipelago there are, an aboriginal *fair* or *brown* complexioned race,—and an aboriginal *negro* race; and, the southern promontory of Africa excepted, it is the only country of the globe which exhibits this singular phenomenon. The second fact is not of less importance, and relates to the influence of food in forming the character of the different races. We may judge of the physical character of each country by the moral character of its inhabitants, or of the latter by the former. No country has produced a great or civilized race, but a country which, by its fertility, is capable of yielding a supply of *farinaceous* grain of the first quality. Man seems never to have made progress in improvement, when feeding on inferior grains, farinaceous roots, or fruits, or on the pith of trees. The existence of fine spices, odoriferous gums, and it may be added, gold, gems, and the rarer productions of the animal and vegetable kingdoms, has no tendency, in the state of society in which the Indian islanders are, to promote civilization. One might be almost tempted to think they were prejudicial to it, for the very countries in which they are most abundant, are among the least civilized of the Archipelago. It is the country of the cannibals of Sumatra which chiefly produces gold and frankincence; that of those of Borneo which produces gold, frankincense, camphor, and diamonds. The inhabitants of the Spice islands never acquired the use of letters, and were wandering almost naked in their spicy forests, until the Hindus, the Javanese, Malays, and Arabs, in times comparatively very recent, taught them to clothe themselves with some decency. The savages of New Guinea, surrounded at this day by the most splendid, beautiful, and rare objects of animal and vegetable nature, live naked

and uncultivated. Civilization originated in the West, where are situated the countries capable of producing corn. Man is there most improved, and his improvement decreases, in a geographical ratio, as we go Eastward, until, at New Guinea, the termination of the Archipelago, we find the whole inhabitants an undistinguished race of savages.'

Happily for the interests of knowledge, these regions, though as yet but partially explored, have attracted the attention of individuals well qualified for the difficult task of investigating their antiquities and their distinguishing peculiarities. Dampier, Stavorinus, and other voyagers have communicated information of considerable value; but the collections of Marsden and Raffles on Sumatra and Java, leave but little to be effected by future inquirers. The work of Mr. Marsden, in particular, has very high claims to our admiration. It was the first to break up untried and difficult ground; and while it opened the sources, and pointed out the proper objects of inquiry, it skilfully and comprehensively filled up the outline which its accomplished Author had been the first to trace. It is impossible to speak of the elaborate volumes of Sir Stamford Raffles in any other language than that of decided praise; but our recent notice of them supersedes the necessity of any attempt at the present time to specify their peculiar merits.

With these materials, and with the additional advantages derived from substantial local knowledge, Mr. Crawfurd has succeeded in the compilation of a very meritorious work, written in a rather slovenly style, but full of interesting and valuable details, distinctly, if not unexceptionably arranged. It should, however, be observed, that although Mr. C.'s title-page announces the history of the entire Archipelago, his book does not strictly fulfil his promise. So much yet remains to be acquired respecting the character and habits of many of the Indian Islanders, that, with the exception of those with whom the European colonists are accustomed to hold intercourse, they are the subjects of imperfect and restricted knowledge. Mr. Crawfurd's official situation, while it afforded favourable opportunities for the acquisition of information, limited his means of personal inquiry chiefly to the Javanese; of them, therefore, he writes with the greater confidence, though he seems to have neglected no medium of more extensive investigation. There are, notwithstanding the comprehensive nature of this work, some deficiencies which might, we should have supposed, have been readily supplied. Of the geography and hydrography of these islands, we have little more than a few brief and unsatisfactory illustrations. The different tribes and mixtures are not discriminated with distinctness, nor is sufficient space allowed for their enumeration and description; and we have frequently had occa-

sion to lament the absence of that philosophical discussion and induction, which, when restrained within discreet limits, often give light and coherence to obscure and scattered materials.

The native history of the Archipelago is involved in impenetrable obscurity; nor would it be likely, even if it could be disengaged from the mass of fable and exaggeration under which it lies buried, to exhibit much interesting detail. The more civilized tribes of the continent seem to have gradually subdued the savage natives of the islands, and to have introduced with their colonies, their systems of faith and of ceremonial observance. The wild fictions of Hindoo mythology became the dominant creed of these regions, and the antique structures, of which the magnificent and richly ornamented remains are still visible in certain districts, prove that its votaries were once wealthy, zealous, and powerful. The introduction of Mohammedanism is a point of history more accurately defined; it took place in Java about the year 1478.

'All that is important in the history of the introduction of Mahommedanism, is told in a few words. The Mahommedans, in the course of several ages, had accumulated in considerable numbers. Many of them were persons who had seen the manners of other nations: all were superior in intelligence to the natives, and were capable of acting in combination for a great end;—they were actuated by a religious zeal, and, at length, found an ambitious, persevering, and able leader. The aboriginal barbarians of Java, less active and civilized, with a religion which never laid a strong hold of the imagination, and which had been for a long time on the decline, or unsupported by an active priesthood, were no match, notwithstanding their numbers, for the zeal and energy of their adversaries. The throne and government being subverted, and the leaders adopting the new religion, the progress of conversion among a people who, at this moment, would almost adopt a new religion on the authority of a royal mandate or proclamation, was necessarily rapid. The political state of the island, previous to the subversion of Hinduism, may be described as follows. The eastern and central provinces, the richest and most populous districts of the island, were subject to the king of Mojopahit, some in a vassal state, and others under his direct sway. *Cheribon*, and the districts around it, were under petty independent princes. The rest of the island, comprehending all the other Sunda districts, and Bantam, were subject to the king of *Pājajaran*. In the western districts, the work of conversion went on as rapidly as in the eastern, and at the same time. The most active and distinguished of the leaders in the work of conversion throughout the island, are known by the name of *the nine Susuhunans* or apostles, of whom as many fabulous and puerile tales are related, as if in Europe they had been the worthies of three thousand years ago. The truth is, that such of them as were foreigners, or rather the descendants of foreigners, were a set of adventurers, who, as usual, traded as well in religion as in merchandise, and who were more remarkably characterized by

ve cunning of petty traders, than by that high and chivalrous enthusiasm which distinguished the hardy and high-born chiefs of Arabia, that spread the religion of *the Prophet* over the countries of Western Asia, in the early ages of Moslem history.'

The Javanese history, as might be expected from the savage rivalry of small and neighbouring states, presents a series of transactions altogether disgusting from their treacherous and sanguinary character. Nor were their conflicts rendered of a milder and more civilized kind by the interference of Europeans, who seem, when emancipated from the restraints imposed by the laws and by public opinion in their native land, to have emulated in ferocity and perfidy the barbarians whom they had subjected to their dominion. The bold achievement of De Gama, who first doubled the Cape of Good Hope, opened to his countrymen the road to the different regions of the East. In 1511, the celebrated Albuquerque, after some desperate fighting, gained possession of Malacca, and ten years later, effected an establishment in the Spice islands. The power thus obtained, was exercised by the Portuguese with despotic and rapacious cruelty; and its gross abuse awakened a spirit of hostility in the natives, which repeatedly menaced their establishments with ruin, and, in the end, materially contributed to the success of the Dutch, who, in 1642, besieged and took Malacca. These new masters were not, however, less oppressive than those whom they had dispossessed. The history of their establishments in this quarter, is an almost continued narrative of treachery and slaughter. It is hardly credible, that a series of individuals should be found so completely regardless of humanity and good faith, as were those who directed the commercial and territorial government of the Indian colonies of Holland. The details are terrific and disgusting: mutilation, torture, and extensive massacre repeatedly occur, and the selfish and unrelenting spirit of monopoly revelled in blood and rapine. On one occasion, the increasing numbers of the Chinese resident in Batavia, having alarmed the irritable jealousy of the Dutch, no fewer than ten thousand of that industrious and unoffending race were put to the sword without resistance. The decline of the Eastern establishments of Holland, happily deprived their governors of the power to continue similar excesses. For many years, the settlements on Java were tranquil and prosperous; and when, in 1811, the English took possession of the island, a number of beneficial changes were introduced into the system of administration, and the government of Sir Stamford Raffles was exercised in a spirit of enlightened liberality.

The wars in which the invading Europeans were incessantly engaged, were not always successful. Several men of great

energy and commanding talents appeared from time to time among the natives, and made up for the inferiority of their means by their courage and conduct. The celebrated Laksimana held, during his life, the balance of victory in suspense between himself and the Portuguese; and Surapati, Mangkubumi, and other chiefs, repeatedly foiled the aggressions of the Dutch. In fact, there does not seem at any time to have existed the smallest reason for questioning the courage of the Malay troops, or the ability of their officers: the deficiency was only in their weapons, and in the state of military science. The story of Surapati is sketched in the following extract.

'This person was a slave, who rose by the force of his natural talents, to the rank of a sovereign prince. He was brought from Bali when seven years of age, among the crowd of slaves who were annually imported into Batavia from that island, was purchased by a Dutchman of the name of Hese, whose favour and confidence he gained, and abused by an intrigue with his natural daughter by a native woman. The slave was detected, corporally punished, and placed in the public stocks, from whence, with sixty of his countrymen in a similar state of durance, he effected his escape, massacring the centinels and guards of the prison. After a series of extraordinary adventures, in the vicinity of Batavia, in the Prayangan mountains, and at Cheribon, he proceeded eastward, and, trusting to the secret hatred of the Susuhunan to the Dutch, threw himself upon his generosity. (A.D. 1684.) The Susuhunan, disgusted at the ignominious thraldom in which he was himself held, countenanced Surapati in secret, and when his person was demanded, evaded giving him up, upon the plea of respecting the laws of hospitality, but pretended to give leave to seize him in any part of his dominions. The Dutch, to effect this latter object, sent to Cartasura a force of a thousand men, in addition to the troops already there. Surapati had ingratiated himself with the first minister, and obtained this chief's daughter in marriage. The Susuhunan directed the minister openly to espouse his cause, and, in the event of their being overpowered, ordered his brother, the Pangeran Pugar, to render farther assistance. An action commenced in front of the palace, in the great square, where the Dutch force was overpowered, and nearly the whole, with their commander, Tak, destroyed, for the greater part of the native inhabitants of the city fell upon them. Surapati, after the battle, retired, by the advice of the Susuhunan, to the eastward, and seizing upon the district of Pasuruhan, he in time added to it those of Bangil, Probolingo, Japan, Wirosobo, and others, which he continued to govern well for more than twenty years, when he lost his life in a drawn battle fought between him and the Dutch. (A.D. 1707.) He was unquestionably the greatest and most extraordinary person that the history and revolutions of Java present to our observation; one, in short, of those hardy and intrepid geniuses which are of rare occurrence in any age or state of society.'

Ordinarily, however, the character of the Indian islanders is

ot distinguished by energy and activity, although the estimate iven by Mr. Crawfurd of their intellectual and moral qualities, s not, on the whole, unfavourable. They display, in many instances, much anxiety for the attainment of knowledge. A very striking example of the influence of this principle is cited n the case of Adimanggolo, chief of the province of Samarang. He is described as far above his countrymen in sagacity and iberalmindedness. His wife, whom he married extremely young, ne qualified, by enriching her mind, for rational and equal companionship, and, with his three daughters, she made considerable acquisitions both in native and Arabian literature. After giving his sons the best possible local education, he sent two of them to Calcutta, where they were remarkable for their assiduity and readiness. The eldest, not more than sixteen, was master of the English language, which he wrote with ease and purity, and spoke with remarkable correctness of pronunciation.

Europeans have been accustomed, on the credit of instances of ferocity in war, and of deeds perpetrated under the impulse of unrestrained passion, to consider the natives of this region as fierce, treacherous, and inhuman; but it appears from the testimony of Mr. C., that they are good-humoured, not unfeeling, and that while the continentals of India would witness with perfect apathy, the extreme danger of a fellow-creature, a Malay or a Javanese would exert himself to the utmost for his rescue. The practice of constantly carrying offensive weapons, must, inevitably, sometimes lead to fatal effects; but though, in this respect, the use of the Kris is injurious, it has, on the other hand, a beneficial influence at least on the manners of the islanders. Among the more punctilious, a threatening look is a mortal offence, and by none would a blow be tolerated, without an immediate recurrence to the Kris. Hence, a general and guarded courtesy, a dignified and polished demeanour pervades nearly all classes; and as every man is the avenger of his own insulted honour, he is cautious not to offer that to others which would by himself be visited with death. Those strange bursts of desperate rage which are, in Europe, commonly termed *mucks*, are not common, and vary considerably in their object. Sometimes, the furious anger of the demoniac is levelled only against an individual; at other times, it assumes a wilder character, and attacks indiscriminately every one who may cross its path. In 1812, the slave of a Creole Dutchwoman at Surabaya, having been, with his family, ill treated by his mistress, first killed his wife and three of his children; then, seizing his youngest child, rushed into the street, and struck off its head in the presence of two English gentlemen, to whom he surrendered himself, intreating them to put him to death.

'One of the most singular circumstances attending these acts of

criminal desperation, is the apparently unpremeditated, and always the sudden and unexpected manner in which they are undertaken. The desperado discovers his intention neither by his gestures, his speech, nor his features, and the first warning is the drawing of the kris, the wild shout which accompanies it, and the commencement of the work of death. In 1814, a chief of Celebes surrendered himself to the British and a party of their allies headed by a chief. He was disarmed and placed under a guard, in a comfortable habitation, and the hostile chief kept him company during the night. His kris was lying on a table at a little distance from him. About 12 o'clock at night, while engaged in conversation, he suddenly started from his seat, ran to his kris, and having possessed himself of it, attempted to assassinate his companion, who, having superior strength, returned a mortal stab. The retainers of the prisoner, who were without, hearing what was going on within, attacked those of the friendly chief and the European centinels with great courage, and would have mastered them, had not the officer of the guard rushed out with his drawn sword, and overpowered those who were engaged with them. When he entered the apartment where the chiefs were, he found the captive chief expiring, leaning on the arm, and supported by the knee, of his opponent, who, with his drawn dagger over him, waited to give him, if necessary, an additional stab.——In the year 1812, the very day on which the fortified palace of the Sultan of Java was stormed, a certain petty chief, a favorite of the dethroned Sultan, was one of the first to come over to the conquerors, and was active, in the course of the day, in carrying into effect the successful measures pursued for the pacification of the country. At night he was, with many other Javanese, hospitably received into the spacious house of the chief of the Chinese, and appeared to be perfectly satisfied with the new order of things. The house was protected by a strong guard of Sepoys. At night, without any warning, but starting from his sleep, he commenced havock, and, before he had lost his own life, killed and wounded a great number of persons, chiefly his countrymen, who were sleeping in the same apartment with him. I arrived at the spot a few seconds after this tragical affair.'

Credulity and superstition, the scourges of all savage and half-civilized nations, are, accordingly, prevalent among the inhabitants of this Archipelago. In some of their forms, they present a formidable aspect, and lead to insurrection and acts of fierceness and violence; but, in others, they are nothing more than ridiculous and annoying. The Javanese house-breaker provides himself with a quantity of earth from a new-made grave, which he throws into the house, and, if possible, into the bed of the person whom he seeks to plunder, under the notion that it infallibly produces deep and death-like sleep. Mr. Crawfurd, in his judicial capacity, had frequent occasion to observe the prevalence of this strange belief; and when he interrogated the robbers on this point, the fact was invariably affirmed. Some years ago, it was accidentally discovered that the *scull of a buffalo* had

been charmed for some unknown purpose, and that under the terror of a tremendous spell, the inhabitants of Java were bound to keep it in continual progress without rest or pause. Like the *Cross of fire*, as soon as the bearer of it had completed his course, it was snatched up by another, who hurried forward with his mysterious burden. At length, after a journey of many hundred miles through the different provinces, it reached Samarang, where the Dutch governor broke the charm by taking it from the basket in which it was carried, and very unceremoniously throwing it into the sea. No anger was avowed by the natives, nor could any one point out the originator of this whimsical business. In May 1814, occurred another instance of the readiness with which the natives submit to the grossest impositions, when their superstitious feelings are appealed to. In a populous district of the Island of Java, it was accidentally discovered, that the people had been busily employed during two months in the construction of a road twenty feet wide and nearly sixty miles in length. It was to have terminated at the summit of one of the highest mountains in the Island, and although private property, even buildings, had been levelled before it, yet, as it was expressly forbidden to carry it across rivers, it had been led through innumerable windings in compliance with the prohibition. No fewer than five thousand labourers had been employed on this useless work. On inquiry, the whole was ascertained to have originated in the dreams of an old woman, who had thus received an intimation that a deity would shortly make his appearance on the mountain in question. Magic inscriptions on palm leaves had been given by her to the labourers, as preservatives against injuries or disease, and numbers had been thus induced to join in this pious attempt to facilitate the descent of the celestial visitant. The native authorities, as soon as they were apprised of the matter, interfered; and the people desisted without a murmur.

The arts, dress, and amusements of these islanders have been so repeatedly described, and form so large a mass of various, but uninteresting detail, that we shall pass them over with the general observation, that they seem to have attained, in these particulars, to no very high pitch of refinement. Their fillagree work in gold is indeed highly celebrated, but its excellence is merely mechanical. Their manufactures are confined to coarse fabrics, and their devices for producing a coloured pattern on their cotton cloths, are of the clumsiest kind imaginable. Their amusements of the dramatic sort, consist of a very simple dialogue, and of two or three different species of puppet-show. The universal rage for gaming prevalent among the Malays, is proverbial. The military science of the Indian islanders still remains in a rude state, though it is probably somewhat improved by their

commerce with Europeans. Their wars are characterized by shameless perfidy and extreme barbarity.

'Among the more warlike tribes of Celebes, every individual capable of bearing arms must appear in the field if summoned. War is there determined in the council of the state, when the assembled chiefs take a solemn oath binding themselves to the prosecution of it. This is one of the most imposing ceremonies of these semi-barbarians. The banner of the state is then unfurled before them, and sprinkled with blood. Each chief, in succession, dipping his kris in a vessel of water, drinks of the consecrated liquid, and rising from his seat, dances round the bloody banner, with wild, fantastic motions, brandishing all the while his bare weapon, as if about to plunge it into the breast of his enemy. In this attitude he repeats the oath in an enthusiastic tone, pronouncing some dreadful imprecation against himself should he violate it, such as—that his favourite weapon may prove more injurious to himself than to his foe,—or that his head may be cut off when he is left on the field,—or that his heart, should he fall in battle, may be devoured by his enemy. I was present during a ceremony of this nature, at Macassar, in 1814, when the native allies of the European authority took an oath to prosecute a war against the state of Boni. I was particularly struck by the ingenious flattery with which some of the chiefs expressed their devotion to their new ally. 'Observe me, 'you English,' said one, 'prepared to live and die with you. I am 'as a spear in your hands, ready to do execution in whatever quarter 'directed.' 'I shall be in your hands,' said another, 'like a skene 'of white thread, ready to assume whatever colour the skill of the 'dyer may please to give it.' Some of the most refined of these flatterers, I afterwards learnt, were remarkable for their want of good faith.'

The art of navigation is in a very imperfect state of improvement among the maritime people of these regions. Their craft, in general, creep along the shore, ready to avail themselves of every inlet and creek, in the event of encountering rough weather. Their *praus*, however, not unfrequently undertake bolder voyages, and stretch across the wider channels of their seas, thus carrying on a considerable traffic in the various articles of native produce.

Of the Fine Arts, they seem, at present, entirely ignorant: the noble specimens of ancient skill and enterprise in statuary and architecture, which still exist in Java, have had no effect whatever in exciting emulation, or in preserving knowledge; and with respect to painting, there is no evidence that it was ever practised in this quarter of the world. In the construction of their musical instruments, they display considerable ingenuity. Dr. Crotch, after inspecting a large collection formed by Sir S. Raffles, expressed his admiration of their rich sounds and skilful fabrication. Their medical science is purely empirical; spells, simples, and accidental applications, supply the place of reason-

ing and experience. They have, however, in some of their remedies, adopted a more rational and salutary practice; as, for instance, in fevers, where the use of the cold affusion is invariable, and in small pox, to which the refrigerating treatment is fearlessly applied.

The husbandry of the islands is, of course, various, in adaptation to the difference of soil, climate, and civilization, but, in its most improved state, it is still rude. Rice, yams, sago, are the principal productions; considerable attention is also paid to the culture of fruits, spices, the Areca nut, and the Betel.

Copious vocabularies of the languages of the Archipelago are inserted in the work, together with some not altogether uninteresting illustrations of their literature, which is strongly tainted with the common defects of Asiatic taste. Their languages are remarkable at once for wordiness and for poverty. Synonymes without end present themselves for choice, and there is no deficiency of those inflections which express minute variations of the same thing; but, on the other hand, there is no distinction between such words as *mind* and *heart*; to express *friendship* and *understanding*, the Arabic must be borrowed; *merit* is without a syllabic representative; and *integrity*, *right*, *reason*, *argument*, have neither vocal nor literal expression.

The antiquities of Java are uncommonly interesting. They consist of the remains of temples, evidently dedicated to the objects of Hindoo worship, and displaying great beauty of design, and power of execution. There is, however, considerable variety both in their materials and architecture; some being built of hewn stone, and either combining groupes of small temples, or consisting of single ones, while others are constructed of brick. A confused and ill-managed engraving of the temple of Boro Budur, is given as a frontispiece to the second volume, and, although it can afford but a very imperfect idea of the character and impression of the structure, either as a whole or in its details, we can, nevertheless, easily suppose that its effect upon the spot must be rich and striking. There is, however, apparently, a great defect of unity and harmony in the general design. Some of the smaller temples, of which picturesque views are inserted in the second volume of Sir Stamford Raffles's History of Java, exhibit examples of much beauty. Although we suspect that they are indebted for some of their attractions to the skilful drawing and disposition of Mr. Daniel, it is quite clear, that these magnificent relics of ancient days, were the work of a very different race from the present inhabitants; since they are evidences of wealth, power, and civilization, far beyond the actual scale of Javanese improvement. The most considerable mass of these architectural remains, is found in the extensive ruins of Brambanan.

'Among the many groups of temples here to be traced, the most perfect and considerable is that vaguely termed by the natives of the country 'the thousand temples.' The following short account of this group may serve for all others. The whole group occupies an area which is an oblong square, of 600 English feet long, and 550 broad. It consists of four rows of small temples, inclosing in the centre a greater one, whose height is 60 feet. The temples are pyramidal buildings, all of the same character, covered by a profusion of sculpture, and consisting of large blocks of hewn stone. Each of the smaller temples had contained a figure of Buddha, and the great central one, consisting of several apartments, figures of the principal objects of worship which, in every case that I have had an opportunity of examining, have consisted of the destroying power of the Hindu triad, or of some of his family. To the whole group of temples there are four entrances, facing the cardinal points of the compass, and each guarded by two gigantic statues representing warders, measuring, in a kneeling posture, not less than nine feet and a half high, and being, in girth, full eleven feet. This, with very little variety, is a description of all temples of this class.'

The third volume contains, together with other matter, a large and valuable collection of details on the subject of the commerce of these regions. As these would not easily admit of abridgement, and besides, would not be very interesting to general readers, we shall content ourselves with this simple reference to them. The decorations of the work, though we cannot speak very highly of their execution, are sufficiently distinct and illustrative for general purposes. The map is an excellent compilation, and does great credit to Mr. Walker, by whom it was prepared.

Art. IV. *A New Translation of the Nichomachean Ethics of Aristotle.* 8vo. pp. 272. Price 8s. Oxford. 1819.

THE vicissitudes to which the reputation of men of genius is liable, and the various fortunes through which their names are actually doomed to pass, were never perhaps more completely illustrated than in the history of the founder of the Peripatetic school of philosophy. In his life-time, Aristotle rose to the possession of honours which distinguished him above all his contemporaries; and in succeeding times, his fame obtained the proudest elevation. During the reign of the school-men, the authority of his name was despotic. From the beginning of the fifteenth century, his celebrity, already much diminished, experienced a rapid and striking decline; and, such is the contrast between the former and the present honours of the Stagyrite, that scarcely any ancient author is now less read or so little valued. In this age of classical studies, which has been, and which still is, so peculiarly distinguished for the cultivation of the language and literature of the Greeks, Aristotle finds but few

eaders; and those of his works which were once held in the ighest estimation, are almost sunk into oblivion. In the vo-umes of modern authors, expressions of a most depreciating ind are constantly applied to the writings of this once acknow-ledged master of philosophy. To his genius, indeed, they will-ngly pay homage; his extraordinary talents and accomplish-ients are confessed; but the character which they attribute to is writings, is not adapted to invite to the study of them any ersons who are disposed to devote their time and labour only to orks of an intelligible and useful description. That the Ethics f Aristotle have risen in the public estimation in the same pro-ortion in which his Dialectics have lost their credit, is, we appre-end, not quite so indisputable as the Author of the Elements of he Philosophy of the Human Mind, asserts it to be. The Ethics, owever, are still read; and more than one translation of the Books inscribed to Nichomachus, have lately been offered to the ublic.

The Translation before us is anonymous; but it has been ex-cuted by persons fully competent to the task. It is the joint roduction of two scholars, one of whom has furnished the ver-ion of the first six books; the other, that of the last four. The anslation is perspicuous and faithful, and the work is entitled o praise both for the excellence of the execution, and the unos-entatious style of publication in which it appears. Explanatory otes are occasionally inserted at the bottom of the pages, and, descriptive title is prefixed to the several chapters of the ork. As a specimen of the version, we transcribe the con-luding section of Chapter 3rd, Book IV., concerning magna-imity, and its extremes, pusillanimity in defect, vanity in ex-ess, commencing with ὁ δ' ἐλλείπων, μικρόψυχος, of the original.

'But he who is deficient, is pusillanimous, and he who exceeds, is ain. Neither indeed do these appear to be wicked; for they are not njurious to others, but they are under an error; for the pusillanimous, eing worthy of good things, deprives himself of what he is worthy of, nd he appears to have a kind of depravity from his not thinking him-elf worthy of good things; and he appears also to be ignorant of him-elf; for otherwise he would aspire after those things of which he is orthy, especially if they are goods. Not that such men appear to e fools, but rather sluggish. Moreover such an opinion seems to ender them still worse; for every man desires those things which are ccording to his desert; and they also withdraw themselves from no-le actions and professions, as if they were unworthy of them; and n like manner, from external goods. But the vain are foolish and ig-orant of themselves, and that openly; for they make an attempt at ings honourable, as if they were deserving, then they are exploded; ey also adorn themselves with fine clothes, and by a dignified appear-nce, and such things; and wish that their successes should be public, nd speak of themselves as if they were to be honoured on this ac-

count. But pusillanimity rather than vanity is opposed to magnanimity: because it more frequently exists, and is worse. Magnanimity therefore, as we have said, is engaged in those honours which are great.'

Art. V. *The Christian Temper; or* Lectures on the Beatitudes. By the Rev. John Leifchild. 8vo. pp. 308. London. 1821.

THE design and the merits of this volume alike entitle it to our warmest recommendation. The Author has been led to publish these lectures, by a conviction that the sentiments they contain, require particularly at this time to be pressed upon the religious world. Many persons who give decisive evidence of an attachment to the Gospel, are yet, he remarks, so deficient in practical religion, in the government of the temper and the discharge of the social duties, as to shew that they are very imperfectly acquainted with the grounds of their obligation in these respects: while others are so morbidly tender on the subject of Christian Morality, that they are ready to call in question the orthodoxy of the preacher who expatiates on the topics which it comprises. 'Persons who have been rescued by the doctrines 'of grace from pharisaic pride and prejudice, are in danger, if 'care be not taken, of becoming so attached to those doctrines 'in their bare and abstract forms, as to be unwilling to hear of 'their just tendencies and consequences.' A very slight acquaintance with the religious world, will sufficiently convince any person of the justness of this remark. A reply, however, is sometimes at hand, which, while it admits its truth, is intended to turn off its application: 'It is the best extreme of the two— 'there are moral preachers enough; surely, it may be permitted, 'therefore, to some few, to dwell somewhat exclusively on the 'topics which the majority of Christian teachers rarely or 'slightly touch upon.' This apology might have some validity in it, if the hearers of the doctrinalist were occasionally found willing and candid auditors of the Christian moralist. But if the two parties stand aloof, if an exclusive taste is the result of the favourite style of preaching, the consideration alluded to becomes wholly irrelevant. Nor needs it be determined which is the more dangerous fault, to teach the doctrines, or to enforce the precepts of the Gospel superficially, since the only question which is worth the discussion, is, what style of preaching is best adapted to make "the man of God *perfect*, thoroughly furnished unto "all good works."

The great mistake of ethical preachers, is, that they address their exhortations and dehortations to the *irreligious*, to whom the only Apostolic address would be, Repent and be converted; they address the drunkard, the licentious, and the dishonest, in terms which exclude the Christian motive,

as much as they conceal the Christian doctrines relative to the nature both of the evil and the remedy. The mistake of many doctrinal preachers consists in this, that, in addressing real Christians, (and to them the style of preaching alluded to is, for the most part, specifically, if not entirely addressed,) they dwell too exclusively on the matter of belief, making but little use of those doctrines as motives to social virtue. Between the two, practical Christianity is almost put out of sight, and the most efficient motives to a holy life, are suffered to lie in disuse; in the one case, as wholly foreign from dry ethical systems, and unintelligible by those who are strangers to scriptural religion; in the other case, for want of an explicitness on those practical points on which they have an especial bearing. The unconverted are, if we may say so, out of the reach of these motives; the believer is suffered to escape from them. The moral preacher is so intent on reforming the world, that he forgets that Christ came to save it. The doctrinal preacher is often so fully occupied with the message of salvation, that he is apt to neglect a great part of his commission, which relates to the interval of trial and obedience. But "this also we wish," said an Apostle, "even your "perfection."

What is familiarly styled the Sermon on the Mount, has not unfrequently been considered as the vantage-ground of those who insist on the importance of practical preaching, in *opposition* to the exhibition of Scripture doctrines. It is utterly impossible that any preaching can be really practical in its effects, which is not substantially and fundamentally evangelical in its spirit. But it is possible, that there may have been sometimes manifested by evangelical preachers, a shyness of these simpler parts of Gospel instruction, which have consequently been, to a certain extent, tacitly surrendered to a class of expositors and public instructors in whose hands they have failed to be developed in all their genuine force. Persons whose temper and character are far enough from exhibiting any correspondence to our Lord's instructions, may be heard expatiating on the beauty and intelligibleness of the moral lessons contained in the gospel. Were these subjects more frequently dwelt upon, the practice might have at least the good effect of convincing these Pharisees, how little reason they have to refer with complacency to a test of character so fatal to their own. But this is not the only end to be answered by rescuing such parts of Scripture from neglect or misapplication. Religious persons are too much disposed to take the precepts of the New Testament *in the gross*, and to consider many emphatic characteristics of a true faith, as *generally* descriptive of real Christians, instead of distinct criteria of personal religion, and to appropriate the description to themselves, because they believe themselves Christians, rather than to ascer-

tain by the genuine meaning of the expreſſions, whether they are ſo. 'How unlike,' exclaims John Howe, 'are the Chriſtian 'world, and the Chriſtian doctrine! The ſeal is fair and excel-'lent, but the impreſſion is languid or not viſible.' There has at all times been too much ground for this complaint; but it ſupplies a ſtrong argument for the practice which Mr. Leifchild advocates, that the main deficiency in moſt Chriſtians of the preſent day, muſt, we think, be admitted to reſpect thoſe very virtues and diſpoſitions which are moſt rarely the ſubject of exhortations from the pulpit,—the paſſive graces, ſelf-denial, ſpirituality of mind, and the leading features of the Chriſtian temper.

The volume contains nine diſcourſes, the firſt of which is introductory, each of the others being devoted to one of the beatitudes. In the firſt, the Author illuſtrates the prophetic character of Chriſt, and points out the immediate deſign of the ſeries of inſtructions delivered on this occaſion, as being intended, at the outſet of his miniſtry, to undeceive the expectants of a temporal Meſſiah with regard to his own character and the nature of the kingdom he was come to eſtabliſh. Mr. Leifchild very properly abſtains from touching on any points of criticiſm, his object being wholly practical. He adopts the common notion, that our Lord led the multitude to the ſummit of a mountain, 'where, free from the diſturbing noiſe and diſtracting ſcenes of 'human purſuits, and capable of being heard by the liſtening 'throng who ſurrounded him, he might unfold to them at length, 'the nature, genius, and character of the religion which it was 'the object of his embaſſy to eſtabliſh upon earth.' We have already given our reaſons for believing, that our Lord *retired* from the multitude into the mountain, inſtead of leading them thither; founded both on the context, and, on the conſideration, that a mountain or a hill, though an advantageous poſition for the purpoſe of being ſeen by multitudes at a diſtance, would be preciſely the reverſe for that of being heard by a great number, unleſs the ſpeaker ſtood at the bottom of the declivity, and his audience were ranged above him.* A ſolitary plain would have afforded equal advantages in reſpect of retirement from the diſtracting ſcenes of human purſuits, had it not been our Lord's object to eſcape for a while from the importunities of the multitudes who followed him. To the queſtion, therefore, 'Why 'did our Lord go up into a mountain, but that his voice might 'be heard by the whole multitude?' we ſhould reply, For the ſame reaſon that, on many other occaſions, he retired into a mountain—to hold converſe apart with his Heavenly Father; and there his diſciples "came to him." Had this not been his object, it is more rational to ſuppoſe that, on ſeeing the multi-

* Eclectic for May, 1821. p. 449.

tudes, he would have remained in the midst of them, till he thought proper to dismiss them, or that, at least, he would not have retired unaccompanied. The term "disciples," we are certainly disposed to take in a general sense; and though in verses 13, 14, there appears to be something like a restricted application to a particular class of persons, we fully agree with Mr. L. in opinion, that 'the discourse belongs to all who would be real 'Christians, and to all such in every age.' The following remarks on its peculiar bearings on the disciples of Christ in the present day, will shew how correct and judicious are the Author's views of the only basis of Christian morals.

'To the Jews then, as we have seen, the exhibition of these Christian virtues, at the time it was made, could have for its leading object, only to render them acquainted with the true and spiritual nature of Christ's religion, and to rectify their carnal and worldly conceptions of his character. But to us, before whom the whole plan of salvation is fully developed, it is designed to answer a very different and a much higher purpose. It becomes to us, what, in fact, it would become to these Jews, when further informed, and grounded in the fundamental truths of the Gospel;—a clear and a striking representation of the nature, necessity, and advantages, of *Christian sanctification.*

'It is of the utmost consequence to attend to this circumstance, while considering what our Saviour has said;—for want of it, many have fatally mistaken the path that leads to life and salvation. They have *begun* with the Beatitudes; and, finding themselves totally unable to come up to their standard, have either been deterred from making any further attempt, or have contented themselves with supposing that a very defective and scarcely perceptible approach to them was all that would be expected, and all that was necessary to obtain for them an unimpeachable title to heaven. But none who have been taught of God, have so learned Christ. They have found that they must be first justified by his grace, and regenerated by his Spirit, before they can apply to this standard of morals, with any hope of being conformed to its requisitions, or of deriving comfort from its assurances. Such is the order which God has established, and which our condition renders absolutely necessary. Were our situation such, that a perfect rule of life was all that was requisite for our salvation, then might we apply, in the first instance, to that particular aspect of the Gospel in which this rule is presented to us, with joy and confidence. But alas! who sees not that a burden of guilt upon the conscience, and a most degrading subjection of our minds to the law of sin in the members, render something further necessary for our salvation than the fullest statement of our duty, and the clearest apprehensions of its extent and obligation? It is not, therefore, in its affording us a perfect rule of life, that the power of the Gospel to save us consists, but in the disclosure it makes to us of a sure and effectual method for our recovery by the mediation of Christ. It was not by proposing its comprehensive and elevated system of morals, that the Apostles *converted* men,

but by preaching the doctrine of the Cross, of free justification for sinners, through the blood of the Lamb, and of the gift of the Divine Spirit to help our infirmities, and to purify our polluted natures. It is thus that the Gospel becomes the power of God, to the salvation of men, in every age; and, not till the foundation be laid of our conversion to God, and of our acceptance in his sight, through the merit and grace of his Son, shall we be prepared to avail ourselves of the aid supplied us, by this perfect representation of our duty, in raising the superstructure of a holy character, and an unblamable conversation. pp. 23—25.

It is a most important remark, that our Lord, in this passage, is not describing various characters, but the various features of one character.

'This,' remarks the Author, 'is apparent from the very nature of sanctification, which is the communication not of one Christian grace only, but of all. For, though the miraculous gifts of the Spirit might be divided among several persons, having no necessary relation to each other, this cannot be the case with his sanctifying operations, which have for their object in every case to produce a complete and perfect character. A sinner who indulges in iniquity, may indeed be even averse to some vices, while he is closely wedded to others; but the possession of one grace of the Holy Spirit brings with it a desire after the possession of all the rest, and a sincere and earnest endeavour at their attainment. It is impossible to suppose, that he who is poor in spirit, will not mourn on account of sin, and manifest a meekness of disposition under injuries and provocations. The same may be said of all the other principles specified in the Beatitudes.' pp. 27—28.

Mr. Leifchild seldom indulges in figure: his style is chaste and unaffected. In the following passage, we meet with a happy and striking metaphor.

'The poor in spirit are, in the first place, "blessed," on account of the moral worth and excellence which their Christian principles stamp upon them. Of all the principles that can ennoble and enrich the mind, there are none to be compared with those of Christianity; such as, ardent devotion; a supreme regard to the Most High, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ; a faith that carries out the mind in the sublimest excursions, finding scope for its exercise in the illimitable expansion of invisible and spiritual objects; and a filial fear, that subjects the will to that of the Divine Being, and conforms the mind to his character, making it to obey his commands, to submit to his decisions, to choose what he chooses, and to hate what he hates. These are principles which, in their operations, bind the subjects of them to another and far more glorious world, and assimilate the soul to its Creator. Shall we then undervalue those in whose minds these principles are planted, because they present themselves to us under the garb of poverty, or in a situation upon which the men of this world look down with contempt and scorn? Shall we prefer the men of affluence and rank, merely because they are encompassed with the glittering forms of human distinction and grandeur? Their minds, it should be

recollected, may be the receptacles of only common notions, or at best of sentiments confined to this mortal state. We may admire the temples of Egypt for their magnificent structure and polished exterior, though inhabited by a mere reptile; but what comparison can be instituted between them and the tabernacle of Moses, which, though covered with goat-skins, and on the outside, of a mean and insignificant appearance, was dignified within by the altar of pure gold, the miraculous fire that was kindled by the breath of heaven, and the luminous cloud that was the symbol of the present Deity.' pp. 50—52.

We cannot withhold from our readers the concluding paragraph of this second discourse: it contains a most seasonable admonition.

'Finally, let us learn as Christians, from the tenor of the Beatitude which has now engaged our attention, to be less influenced than we have been, in our judgement and conduct, by outward appearance. We seem to have much to learn in this respect; for is there no danger of our being scandalized at the meanness of the external figure which the church of Christ presents, and of being led away by what the world calls *respectability?* Is there no backwardness to acknowledge a fellowship with the poor members of our Lord's family; no partiality in our attachment to some professing Christians who are superior to others only in the abundance of their worldly possessions? Has the faith of our Lord Jesus Christ with respect to persons, which the Apostle James condemned in his days, vanished in ours; and do we betray no unworthy fears respecting the advancement of the cause of Christ, when its advocates seem confined to the class of those who are "small and despised?" But is God less able to work by weak means now than formerly; or is the world less in danger of confounding the instrument with the Almighty Agent? Why then do we wish the Divine plan altered; or why are our hopes so much more encouraged when the rich are added to the church than when accessions are made from the poor? Are we not in all these respects carnal, and do we not judge as men? O let us beware, lest, with all our boasted confidence, we be found relying on an arm of flesh, and so provoking the Lord to depart from us. Work, Lord, by whom thou wilt work,—save by many or by few, by weak or by strong: all thy instruments, next to thyself, shall have my confidence, and my regard. "Now unto him that is able to do exceeding abundantly above all that we ask or think, according to the power that worketh in us; unto him be glory in the Church by Christ Jesus, throughout all ages, world without end, Amen."'

The remarks 'on the obligations of Christians to cultivate 'the grace of meekness,' afford an admirable illustration of that Apostolic style of practical exhortation, which grounds the injunctions to virtuous conduct, on considerations implying the peculiarity of the Christian's character, and arising out of the doctrines he professes to believe.

'Nor must we forget, that pride, vexation, and resentment, present an aspect exceedingly offensive to the Holy Spirit. His chosen em-

blem is the gentle dove that seeks the regions of peace and stillness. What wonder then at his absence from the breast, if meekness be wanting; and at a suspension of all those gracious operations, and all those delightful sensations, which are the result of his residence! Were we more attentive to the causes that impede our Christian growth, and debar us of the choicest consolations of religion, would it not often be found, that the insubordination of our tempers, and the want of habitual meekness and composure, are the chief? It is not some secret decree, some act of awful sovereignty, that places us under a sentence of spiritual decline, and robs the means of grace of their efficacy: it is our want of self government,—it is the pride, the passion, the frequent tumult of the soul.

'Again, we are called upon to abound in meekness, by a concern for the honour and recommendation of our religion. It is by those virtues which we possess in common with mankind, and which the gospel, rooting in a new soil, raises to a beauty and perfection, nature could never reach, that we must hope to impress the unconverted in its favour. There are virtues peculiar to the Christian: virtues which constitute the chief glory of his character, as estimated by his fellow Christians and his God: but these are hidden from the world's eye, which has no standard by which to appreciate them, no corresponding emotions by which to judge of their value. They are reserved for the approving notice of conscience and of Heaven. But meekness is a grace which all can understand and admire. The influence of religion in producing it, is easily discerned and readily acknowledged: and, when religion shines in our tempers, it shines most for the benefit of mankind. The meekness of the martyrs, under taunts and tortures, won over many to their cause; and the meekness of a Christian, under the ordinary ills of life, exhibits a spectacle to those round him, which says more in favour of his religion than all his discourses about the raptures of devotion or the delights of fellowship with God. On the contrary, how often is the influence of the real excellencies of his character counteracted by the low state of this grace? His severity of rebuke, his gusts of passion, his sourness or moroseness under disappointment, are all treasured up by his domestics and acquaintance, as so many justifications of their neglect of religion, and so many refutations of the arguments in its favour. If our own peace and progress therefore are not sufficient to make us long for the spirit of meekness, the honour of our religion ought surely not to leave us indifferent to it. Nor let us despair of the aid necessary for its attainment. Whatever have been our previous habits; whatever are our provocations, or the elements of our constitution; the gospel of Christ and the grace of the Spirit are sufficient to overcome them. These can subdue the roughest asperities, and allay the most violent tempest: they can expel the foulest demon from the breast, and substitute a benignant angel.

'The meekness that has been described, is, in all its branches, urged upon us, as Christians, most powerfully, by the example of the Saviour. In him all virtues found a resting-place and a home. They were not the virtues of occasion merely, but fixed and permanent habits. His human nature was adorned with all Divine graces, in

their perfection, continually putting forth themselves in their holy and legitimate operations. How conspicuous was his lowliness of heart, his freedom from pride and ambition, when he made his entry into Jerusalem; pouring contempt, by its circumstances, on all the pageantry and grandeur of a Roman Triumph? No tapestry covers his road but such as nature furnishes; no captives follow him but such as are bound to him by the ties of gratitude; no largesses are scattered by him but the gifts of healing; and the only music floating in the air, is the grateful Hosannas of the populace and children. Instead of a splendid car, he rides on the dullest of beasts, and even this is borrowed. It is thus, O Jerusalem, that thy King, thine Eternal King, cometh unto thee, "meek and lowly, sitting upon an ass, and upon a colt, the foal of an ass." But this was indeed a triumph,—the triumph of real greatness, dispensing with external pomp, and, in the total absence of it, commanding admiration and homage. And as pride and ambition were strangers to his soul, so anger, impatience, and revenge, had there no place. In every scene of his life this is apparent. You see him enduring the contradiction of sinners against himself; bearing with the cavils of the Scribes, the dulness of his disciples, the obduracy of the multitude, the perfidy of Judas; never suffering himself to be irritated or ruffled. On one occasion, indeed, he is said to have looked round upon his audience with anger; but the holy indignation that lightened in his eye, was mingled with an air of tenderness and compassion:—"he was *grieved* for the hardness of their hearts." Behold him in the hall of Caiaphas. To the entangling questions of that unjust judge he returns an answer which shows that he saw through his wicked policy, and would not be made its dupe. Enraged at the disappointment, one of the creatures of office, emboldened by what he knew of the temper of the court, advanced towards the Saviour, and struck him on the cheek. A blow is the last insult that can be borne by nature: but when did reason appear with such calmness and dignity as in the conduct of the Saviour? "If I have spoken ill, bear witness; but if well, why smitest thou me?" It is, however, in his last moments that the meek and forgiving spirit of Jesus most illustriously displays itself. It triumphs over all the barbarities of his enemies, and breaks forth with a grandeur never to be equalled. The hills about Jerusalem still seem to echo back the cry, "crucify him, crucify him;" he hangs upon the tree, he looks upon the multitude before him, and he beholds, in their countenances, the expression, not of pity, but of malicious exultation; and now he looks up to Heaven, not as an appellant or accuser, but as an intercessor:—"Father, forgive them," is his prayer, "for they know not what they do!" Martyrs, it was here that you learnt your lesson. Stephen, here it was that you imbibed the spirit which you afterwards so illustriously displayed, when, kneeling down in the midst of your persecutors and destroyers, you said, "Lord, lay not this sin to their charge!"

'The example of Christ should be of paramount weight and authority with all his disciples. To exhibit it was one great end of his coming into the world; by himself and his Apostles we are most solemnly charged to make it our model; and for this purpose his conduct

is traced with so much care and minuteness in the gospels. To effect our conformity to him, was one design of his death; he reconciles us by it to God, in order that we may become holy as he was holy. To be deficient in meekness then is to sin against all these obligations, for it is to be deficient in that which formed a prominent feature in the character of the Saviour, and which is particularly pointed out to our attention in him as our model. "Learn of me; for I am *meek* and *lowly in heart*, and ye shall find rest to your souls." "Christ also suffered for us, leaving us an example, that ye should follow his steps. Who did no sin, neither was guile found in his mouth: who, when he was reviled, reviled not again: when he suffered, he threatened not, but committed himself to him that judgeth righteously. Who his own self bare our sins in his own body, on the tree; by whose stripes ye are healed. For ye were as sheep going astray, but are now returned to the Shepherd and Bishop of your souls."

'Not with the same ease, however, with which we can imbibe the ideas and sentiments of another, can we copy his virtues. Here must be long inspection, patient imitation, frequent comparison, earnest prayer. What is the result? Every virtue formed in the character now, will shine in eternity: our prominent graces here, will there be prominent glories: and to have imitated Christ in his meekness, will give us more pleasure, than to have known all mysteries, or to have numbered the host of heaven.' pp. 126—132.

These extracts will be more than sufficient to bear out the high opinion we have expressed of the excellence of the volume. It is one of the most pleasing parts of our office, to contribute, by our recommendation, to the wider circulation of works like the present, which is so well adapted efficiently to promote the genuine influence of religious truth on the mind and character.

Art. VI. *The Expedition of Orsua; and the Crimes of Aguirre.* By Robert Southey, Esq. LL.D. Poet Laureate, &c. &c. f.cap 8vo. pp. 226. London. 1821.

THIS expedition and mutiny has been termed by Humboldt, 'the most dramatic episode in the history of the Spanish 'conquests'—we know not why. It has every advantage in the hands of Mr. Southey, who is incomparably the best story-teller of the age, and yet, it appears to us destitute of plot, barren of incidents, and absolutely devoid of dramatic interest. If murders constitute a tragedy, as in common language they are said to do, this tale is the deepest of tragedies; but then it is naked murder, with nothing heroic, nothing sentimental to give éclat to the atrocity. The *dramatis personæ* are such as could not be tolerated in fiction, and they inspire only painful disgust as contemplated in fact. Mr. Southey has in a word aptly characterised it: it is 'a frightful story.' But he qualifies the remark by adding, 'it is a salutary one, exemplifying that power, 'which intoxicates weak men, makes wicked ones mad.'

'This is an important truth, and has not been sufficiently observed; but as the first part of the maxim is proved by Rienzi and Masseniello, so is the second by the fanatics of Cromwell's age, and the monsters of the French Revolution, as well as by the history of Eastern despots and Roman emperors. The pressure of the atmosphere is not more necessary for the animal life of man, than the restraints of law and order are for his moral being.'

Mr. Southey is a man of lively imagination, and it is the province of this faculty, to detect likenesses rather than differences, to combine rather than to compare. Passing by for the present the fanciful juxta-position of names and things in this paragraph, we shall proceed to give the substance of the tale in as few words as possible, in order that our readers may be able to judge of its beneficial tendency as a moral lesson.

Pedro de Orsua was a knight of Navarre who, in the year 1543, came out from Spain with his uncle, Miguel Dias de Armendariz, *colegial mayor* of St. Bartholomew at Salamanca. He had acquired great reputation as a soldier in several wars against the Indians, when his highest desire was gratified by an appointment to the command of an expedition for the discovery and conquest of the imaginary kingdom of El Dorado. The force raised for this service consisted of three hundred Spaniards, about forty of whom were men of rank, and a hundred mestizos.

'So many of these adventurers had borne a part in the late rebellions that the government began to fear the consequences of its own policy, seeing them thus collected; and there were not wanting malicious men who endeavoured to render Orsua himself suspected. Orsua's own friends were with more reason alarmed for his safety; and one of them wrote to him, beseeching him that he would not wilfully shut his eyes to the danger, but that he would dismiss a few of those adventurers from whom there was most reason to apprehend mischief, naming, in particular, a certain Don Martin, Lorenzo de Zalduendo, Lope de Aguirre, Juan Alonso de la Vandera, Christoval de Chaves, and a few others. This true friend also besought him not to take with him his mistress, D. Ines de Atienza, a beautiful widow. The thing itself, he said, was wrong; it was an ill example for his people, and might draw after it worse consequences than he could apprehend. His advice was given in vain: Orsua indeed sent back Don Martin, but he retained the others in his company, persevered in his intention of taking Ines with him, and returned no answer to Linasco's letter.' p. 18.

Warned by the miserable fate of Gonzalo Pizarro's army, against attempting to proceed by land, they embarked in two brigantines and nine flat-bottomed barks, and ascended the rivers, touching at several Indian settlements, and occasionally exploring the country, till they had advanced, according to their computation, more than seven hundred leagues.

'The length of way which they had voyaged without hearing any tidings of El Dorado, had, by this time, deadened the hopes of the most ardent, and murmurs went abroad that it was better to return, and make their way back to Peru, lest they should all perish. These murmurs were instigated by a party, whose object in first joining the expedition was to turn back, under Orsua or any other leader, and attempt the conquest of Peru, like Gonzalo Pizarro, and Francisco Hernandez Giron, that the old days of anarchy and the sword might be renewed. Zalduendo, Aguirre, Vandera, and Chaves, the men of whom Orsua had been especially warned by his friend Linasco, were among the foremost of this party. Concealing their own views, they laboured to indispose others to the service; and Orsua, perceiving the growing disaffection, thought it advisable to call together those who seemed most averse to proceeding, and set before them the disgrace and ignominy of thus lightly abandoning the enterprize in which they had embarked. "What province "of the Indies," said he, "has ever been conquered without labour, and difficulty, and long patience? Even if the youngest of us were to grow grey upon this adventure before it be completed, the immense riches which we shall obtain would be an ample recompense for all." His fearless confidence persuaded those who had no other purposes in view, and the agitators, therefore, now resolved upon his murder.

'Zalduendo and Vandera had both set their eyes upon Orsua's mistress, a mischief which Linasco had foreseen, and against which he had prophetically warned his ill-fated friend. One of the complaints urged with most effect against him was, that he doated upon this woman as though she had bewitched him; that she, not Orsua, commanded the army; that the men were condemned to the oar for the slightest offences like galley-slaves, only that they might row her canoe; that Orsua was dallying with her when he ought to be providing for the weal of the expedition; and that, instead of lodging in the midst of the army as behoved him, he always took up his quarters apart, that he might not be disturbed in his dalliance. A strong party of conspirators was formed; they were all of low birth and station, and a leader was wanting respectable enough in both to give some show of authority to their proceedings; but the men of rank were personally attached to the general.' pp. 39—42.

The conspirators, however, soon found the means of effecting their purpose. Orsua had sent a detachment to explore the country, consisting of chosen and trusty men under the command of one of his friends, and it was resolved not to let slip the opportunity. At night, Montoya and Chaves murdered their chief in his hammock; Vargas, his lieutenant, was met and stabbed by another conspirator. The chiefs of the mutiny then nominated Gusman to be their general, and Aguirre to be his master of the camp. Guzman proposed that they should prosecute the discovery of El Dorado, arguing that, if they succeeded, the King would readily pardon what they had done; but Aguirre, the more desperate villain, ridiculed the idea of keeping terms with the King of Spain, and boldly avowed himself a traitor. At his

suggestion, Guzman was elected their prince and liege lord; and this weak young man became the easy dupe of his further designs.

'The new king immediately appointed his household; he had his chamberlain, his high steward, his carver, his pages, and his gentlemen, to all of whom he assigned salaries upon the treasury of Peru. He was served at table with all the puppetry of a real court, and his orders were now issued in the name of D. Fernando de Guzman, by the grace of God, King of Terra Firma and Peru, and heard, hat-in-hand. The plan of their campaign was now arranged; they proposed to make for the island of Margarita, where they knew no resistance could be made, and where they could stock themselves with provisions. There they would remain not more than four days, and, taking as many adventurers as might choose to join them, proceed towards Nombre de Dios, land during the night in the river Saor, seize the passes of the Sierra de Capira, and thus cut off all communication with Panama; then turn upon the city, and destroy it. Their next business was to get possession of Panama and all the ships in its harbour; there they expected to be joined by many volunteers from Veragua and Nicaragua, and by the negroes who were then in insurrection; and from thence, taking with them the artillery of these two cities, they would proceed to Peru, where, even if the alarm should have arrived before them, there were no troops capable of resisting such a force. So great was their confidence of success, that grants of land were solicited and given; and these ruffians agreed among themselves what women they would take from their husbands and fathers, settling all beforehand, that there might be no disputes upon that subject.

Short was the reign of this mock-sovereign. Aguirre had already involved him in the guilt of numerous murders. Arze, a friend of Orsua's, had been strangled by Aguirre's orders, because it was 'for the good of the army.' Two of the foremost instigators of Orsua's murder were put to death by him, on a mere report that they were conspiring against Gusman. Vandera, who had provoked his resentment by being promoted above him, was treacherously assassinated. Casto, who had been Orsua's *alguazil*, was the next victim. Zalduendo, who had been a party in Vandera's murder, for the base purpose of obtaining undisturbed possession of Donna Ines as his mistress, met with the fate he merited. Having offended Aguirre by some hasty expressions, the wretch murdered him in cold blood before the face of Gusman, who sought to protect him, and in spite of his commands and supplications. The murderer then despatched two of his creatures to kill D. Ines, that no further mischief might arise on her account; and they divided her effects, which were of considerable value, as their wages. Gusman, panic-struck, had neither sense nor courage left to take any measures against the undisguised insolence and tyranny of this sanguinary ruffian, or to make one struggle to avert his own impending fate. It had been proposed at a secret council to rid him of this dangerous subject; but the execu-

tion of the plan was timidly delayed, and in the mean time, the secret was betrayed to Aguirre, who had hitherto despised Guzman too much to fear him, but now resolved on his destruction. He was murdered in his bed by two of Aguirre's emissaries, while the arch-conspirator himself, having bidden his Excellency fear nothing, passed on to an inner apartment, to despatch with his own hands three victims, besides a priest and two captains who were stabbed by his orders.

The power which Aguirre had thus usurped, he maintained by similar measures of sanguinary violence. The remainder of his career consists of little more than a string of murders, which become almost as tedious as they are disgusting in the bare recapitulation. His first achievement as the now undisputed leader, was, to seize by stratagem the Island of Margarita, and murder the governor and chief magistrates. Here he remained for forty days, venting his frenzy or insane caprice on the persons and possessions of the inhabitants, slaughtering their flocks and herds, and burning their plantations, till he had reduced the island almost to a desert. One of the most amusing things in the volume is, the remark of the historian Pedro Simon, given in a note: 'How infinitely thankful we ought to be to God,' says the good Catholic, 'that these tyrants did not take it in 'their heads to introduce any *heretical* opinions!'

On the approach of some forces hastily collected from Caraccas, Aguirre reimbarked with his troops, now reduced by his own cruelty and by desertion to a hundred and fifty men, and landing at Burburata, set fire to his own vessels to cut off from them the hope of retreat, and advanced to Valencia. They found that city deserted by all its inhabitants, who had fled at his approach to some islands in a neighbouring lake. He then proceeded to Baraquicemeto, and on finding that also deserted, set fire to the town, leaving nothing but the fortress, of which he took possession. Here, at length, he received a check from the forces which the Governor of Venezuela had with difficulty collected, and whom, so miserably were they equipped, it would have been easy for Aguirre with his handful of men to disperse, had not his soldiers now begun to desert him. The Spanish commander had the good sense to avoid an engagement with the rebels, contenting himself with intercepting all supplies, and receiving all deserters. The tyrant was at length left in the fort with one only of his creatures, who resolved to die with him, his daughter, and a female attendant. As the King's troops were entering, he committed his last murder by stabbing his child. The first shot aimed at him made only a slant wound. 'That's 'badly done,' he said. On receiving the second in his breast, he exclaimed, 'This will do;' fell, and died immediately.

'Aguirre is still spoken of, says Mr. Southey, 'in those countries

by the name of *El Tyrano*, the tyrant; and it is the belief of the people, that his spirit, as restless now as when it animated his body, still wanders over the scenes of his guilt, in the form of that fiery vapour which is frequently seen in the Island of Margarita, and in the *Llanos*, or plains of New Andalusia. And this visible but intangible phenomenon is called in those countries, at this day, the soul of the Tyrant.'

His head was for some time exposed at Tocuyo in an iron cage: we should like Gall or Spurzheim to have examined it for the organ of *destructiveness*. Such is the tale! It was originally intended to form a chapter in the History of Brazil by Mr. Southey, but was omitted as not strictly coming within the compass of the Author's plan. Whether it was deserving of separate publication, our readers will judge for themselves. As to the moral, it certainly furnishes a dreadful illustration of the extreme of malignity to which human depravity may be wrought up; but Mr. Southey does not appear to us to be by any means happy in the lesson he would more particularly deduce from it. Aguirre was certainly not made either wicked or mad by power. His appetite for blood, his remorseless and desperate character, was fully displayed before he had tasted of it. He had been originally a breaker-in of horses in Peru, had forfeited his life by his crimes more than once, and was commonly called for his eccentric villanies, 'the madman.' It is possible that he might have a touch of insanity in his composition, though not sufficient to discharge him from the responsibility attaching to a man who knows right from wrong, and prefers the wrong. There appears to have been in his mind, that compound of shrewdness and folly which sometimes presents itself in low life, in that form of unaccountable and incurable mischievousness which gives occasion for the saying, 'more knave than fool.' Had he been born a Cæsar, he would have been a Domitian. At a later period, he might have found fitting employment, and acquired honourable distinction in France, under Robespierre. In England, he would perhaps have been nothing more illustrious than a poacher, a smuggler, or a footpad; or his ambition might have raised him into political notoriety as a Thistlewood or an Oliver. In South America, he had scope for the utmost capabilities of his evil nature; and from being a rebel and an assassin, he rose to be a tyrant.

If Aguirre does not present an exemplification of Mr. Southey's maxim, we know not any other of the *dramatis personæ* of this tragedy, to whose conduct it is really more applicable. They were all weak men and wicked men; but the possession of power had no share in the formation of their characters: they were already as wicked as they could be. Still, Mr. Southey's axiom may be a very just one, though a little out of place. But our

readers may perhaps be thinking all this while, By what curious association of ideas in the Poet Laureate's mind, are the Crimes of Aguirre linked with 'the fanatics of Cromwell's age?' What conceivable similarity or analogy is there between the expedition in search of El Dorado and the mad proceedings in which it terminated, and the civil war between Charles and his Parliament? Or to what fanatics does our Author discern a moral resemblance in Aguirre and Robespierre? Oh Robert, Robert, thou art a naughty wag. There are other things which intoxicate men besides power, and which, though a man be neither weak nor wicked, may sadly pervert his judgement and his feelings. Cromwell has just as much business in this preface, as some of thy 'Georgian worthies' have in the company and the place which thou hast assigned them. Go to, thou oughtest to know better.

Art. VII. *Theology explained and defended,* in a Series of Sermons. By Timothy Dwight, S.T.D. L.L.D. 5 vols. 8vo. London. 1819.

(Concluded from page 120.*)*

THE Sermons on the Divinity of Christ and the Unitarian controversy, form a very valuable part of the Series. These commence the second grand division of the work. The preceding investigation has been, for the most part, confined to 'what is commonly called the Religion of Nature;' that is, according to Dr. Dwight's correcter definition, not natural religion as opposed to revealed religion, (for the truths of which it consists, are found no where clearly explained except in the Scriptures,) but, 'the religion of beings placed under law only.' 'By Christianity I intend,' he adds, 'the religion of fallen 'beings.' The cardinal proposition which forms the basis of this religion, that Jesus Christ is truly and perfectly God, is supported by four distinct arguments. 1. Christ is spoken of in the Scriptures as the true God; the names, the attributes, the actions, and the relations of Deity, and Divine worship, being ascribed to him. 2. The Deity of Christ is the only ground of consistency in the scheme of Redemption. 3. The Jews, according to the opposite doctrine, are unjustly charged with guilt in putting Christ to death. 4. The Prophets and Apostles, according to the same doctrine, cannot be vindicated from the sin of leading mankind into idolatry. In the exposition of the direct argument from Scripture, there is no room for novelty, and it did not comport with Dr. Dwight's purpose, to descend into any of the minutiæ of criticism: it would have led him into too wide a discussion. On this branch of the subject, Dr. Pye Smith's "Scripture "Testimony to the Messiah," which may be considered as exhibiting a complete view of the present state of Biblical Criticism,

forms an admirable Key. Many most striking texts and cogent arguments are, however, necessarily passed over by the controvertist, because they would have no weight with his opponent as independent proofs; being less adapted to refute the sceptic, than to confirm the faith of the believer, or to satisfy the ingenuous inquirer. He who comes to the Bible for information, will receive as an unequivocal testimony, numberless declarations which the sceptic finds no difficulty in disposing of to his own satisfaction by means of some specious gloss. The indirect manner in which the doctrines of Christianity are conveyed, so as to afford scope for a moral exercise of the understanding in receiving or rejecting them, while it allows of more successful evasion, supplies to a believer the most valuable species of evidence,—that which connects the truth of the doctrine with its practical use and moral efficacy. The Christian teacher will not, therefore, confine himself to the narrow line of argument to which the controvertist is restricted, but will take the whole scope of Scripture into his reasonings, regardless of the cavils of objectors. On the mind of a Unitarian, the forcible argument urged in the following passage, would, probably, make no impression: to a Christian it amounts to a demonstration. The Author has been citing numerous passages in which the peculiar actions of Deity are ascribed to our Lord.

'If, then, Christ be not God, the real God has so ordered things in his providence, that the peculiar displays of Divine perfection, the greatest which will ever be made, will be made by a creature, and not by Himself. The creation, preservation, and government of the Universe; the giving of life, and the restoration of it to the dead; the forgiveness of sin; the communication of endless life; and the final judgement of intelligent beings; are the highest, the most peculiar, and the most perfect displays of the Godhead. Omnipotence and Infinite Wisdom are pre-eminently manifested in the formation and government of all things; Infinite Benevolence, in the forgiveness and salvation of sinners; and Omniscience and Infinite Justice, in acquitting and condemning, rewarding and punishing, the righteous and the wicked.

'If, then, these the most perfect displays of the Godhead, do not prove Christ to be the real and supreme God, let me ask, In what manner, and by what arguments, shall we prove that there is such a God? The existence and perfections of this glorious Being, have, hitherto, been always evinced from the creation, preservation, and government of the Universe. But these, if the Scriptures be true, are the acts of Christ. If, then, they prove the existence of God at all, they certainly prove Christ to be God. If they do not prove him whose acts they are, to be God, they do not prove God to exist at all: for they cannot prove *him* to be God, whose acts they are not. To what proofs, then, of the being of God are we to recur, unless we

admit these to be the proofs? And if we admit them, how can we deny, or doubt, the Deity of Christ?'

The third argument brought forward by Dr. Dwight in proof of the divinity of our Saviour, is treated with his usual clearness and conciseness. According to the Socinian scheme, the Jews, instead of being guilty in putting Christ to death, acted meritoriously; for they only obeyed the Divine law in punishing him as a blasphemer. If it should be said, that the Sanhedrim misunderstood our Lord, they were guilty, at the worst, of only a mistake, and a mistake for which Christ was himself responsible. They were no further guilty, than would be a jury who should, through an involuntary error of judgement, find a man guilty of a capital crime, on evidence which should afterwards prove to have been fallacious. But, if such were the case, 'what 'shall we say,' asks the Author, 'of the terrible destruction of 'their nation, of their judicial blindness, and of all the calami-'ties which have befallen them as monuments of the Divine in-'dignation for more than seventeen hundred years?'

This argument has been pursued more at length, and with great acuteness, by M. Abbadie, in his Treatise on the Divinity of our Lord. Of this work, which deserves to be better known, we have understood that the venerable Abraham Booth published an abridged translation. The sixth Amsterdam edition now lies before us. His first position will appear rather paradoxical, namely, 'that if Jesus Christ be not very God, the 'Mahommedan religion is preferable to Christianity, and Ma-'homet the greater prophet;' but it is sustained with great force of reasoning. The second position is the same as the one adduced by Dr. Dwight, 'that, if Jesus Christ had not been 'God, the Sanhedrim would have done an act of justice in put-'ting him to death.' For, 1. It is clear that, on that supposition, the Sanhedrim had a right to judge him, it being a council appointed under the Divine sanction, and having cognizance of all offences relating to religion. 2. It is not less clear, that, on his being proved to have made himself equal with God, in accepting of Divine worship, and laying claim to the Divine attributes, that court would have had just ground for convicting him of the crime of blasphemy. 3. If found guilty, they did right in putting him to death. Or, 4. Should it be denied that Jesus Christ had ever by his own language or conduct, afforded ground for the charge, so as to justify the proceedings of the Sanhedrim; still, it is incontestible, that his disciples ascribed to him Divine honours, and that they incurred, in the estimation of the Jews, the charge of impiety; on the supposition, justly incurred it. They were therefore fully justified, if not in putting to death Jesus Christ, yet, in rejecting the preaching of the Apostles; nor can the Jews of our own day be blamed for ap-

proving and imitating the conduct of their fathers. M. Abbadie follows up this train of argument, by three other positions. That, if Christ be not one with the true God, he and his Apostles have themselves led us into error; That, on the same supposition, there is no harmony between the Old Testament and the New; and, That Christianity ought in that case to be regarded as an idolatrous superstition, not having any characteristics by which it may be with certainty distinguished from magical imposture. A concluding section is devoted to the refutation of objections. The fourth and fifth positions, comprise the positive argument from Scripture. We are tempted to give a short extract from this part of the work, as the turn of thought may be new to some of our readers.

'On the supposition of our opponents, we should have much 'more reason to admire the love of God towards Jesus Christ, 'than to admire the love of God towards us. That God should 'save men, calls upon us to acknowledge the mercy of God as 'displayed in the forgiveness of our sins. But that God, to re-'compense Jesus Christ for having suffered death, should 'gloriously raise him from the dead, constitute him the monarch 'of the universe, the lord of angels, the judge of men, the Eter-'nal King; that He should place at his disposal the gifts of the 'Spirit, life and death; that He should confer upon him his own 'name, his glory, his power, and the disposal of eternal felicity; 'this is infinite love bestowed by Him upon Jesus Christ, who 'would have no reason to complain of the blood which he shed 'in order to attain to such a state of glory. He could have 'done nothing more for his own advantage. To understand, 'after this, the language of the Holy Spirit, it would be neces-'sary to have another Gospel. Instead of saying, "God so 'loved the world, that he gave his only begotten Son to the 'world, that whosoever believeth in him should not perish, but 'have everlasting life;" it would be proper to say, God so loved 'Jesus Christ, that, after having honoured him with the title of 'His Son, he subjected the world to him, and has given to him 'all those who shall believe upon him. Instead of saying, '"He who spared not his own Son, how shall he not with him 'also freely give us all things?"—we ought rather to say, It 'is no wonder that He who has promised to bestow on us eter-'nal life, should have given us the life of Jesus Christ. When St. 'Paul says, that God gave his son, he means, that God gave the 'life of his son; and, reasoning from the greater to the less, he 'concludes that God will also bestow on us other things, because 'he supposes that the life of Jesus Christ is more precious than 'all other blessings. But is there any proportion between the 'temporal life of an individual creature, however holy, and the 'eternal blessedness of all the saints? Or could any thing be

'a more fallacious than the Apostle's reasoning, if the notion 'of our opponents had any foundation.' p. 183.

'On differently constituted minds, different modes of reasoning and different kinds of evidence are adapted to make the most salutary impression. This style of argument has the advantage of disembarrassing the question from verbal criticisms, and of bringing it within the province of common sense. Dr. Dwight winds up his discussion of this all-important subject, with a similar temperate appeal to the understanding, the force of which no sophistry can invalidate.

'There are three important facts recorded concerning Christ, in which he differs wholly from all created beings, and which merit the attentive consideration of every serious man.

'1. *He always taught in his own name;* even when altering and annulling the acknowledged word of God. Christ came to change the Mosaic system into the Christian, and accordingly substituted the latter for the former. In every part of this employment he taught in his own name. The preceding prophets had uniformly introduced their instructions with *Thus saith the Lord—Thus saith Jehovah.* Christ immediately after addressing his consolations to his disciples by way of preface, introduces his sermon on the Mount in the following manner: *Think not that I am come to destroy the Law or the Prophets;* that is, the system of religion in the Old Testament: *I am come not to destroy, but to fulfil. For verily I say unto you.* This phraseology he repeats every where throughout this sermon, and throughout the gospel. Not once does he say, *Thus saith the Lord,* during his ministry; nor teach with any authority except his own. Now it is evident that the authority which he actually assumed, was equal in his view, and in the view of the Scriptures, to that which sanctioned the declarations of the Old Testament; because he changes and annuls both the doctrines and the precepts of the Old Testament at his pleasure.

'In the same manner, when he appeared to St. Paul in the way to Damascus, after informing Paul that he was Jesus whom he persecuted, he commissioned him to preach the Gospel to the Gentiles, and sent him as his Apostle to them, by his own authority, without appealing to any other.

'As, therefore, the authority assumed in these cases, is equivalent to that by which the Old Testament was revealed, He who rightfully assumed it, was God.

'The same authority, also, Christ assumed and exhibited generally, when he wrought miracles; and he never makes mention of any other.

'2. *The Apostles uniformly appeal to the authority of Christ in their preaching and miracles.* "In the name of Jesus Christ," says St. Peter to the impotent man, "rise up and walk." "By what power," said the Sanhedrim to St. Peter and his companions, "or by what name have you done this?" That is, healed the impotent man. "Be it known unto you all," answered the Apostle, "and to all the people of Israel, that by the name of Jesus Christ, whom ye crucified, whom God raised from the dead, even by him doth this man stand

here before you whole." "Æneas," said Peter, "Jesus Christ maketh thee whole." "All authority," says our Saviour, "is delivered to me in heaven and in earth. As my Father hath sent me, so send I you." Under this commission the Apostles preached and acted; and in multiplied instances have declared to us, that it was the authority of God. A single declaration of this sort will suffice for them all. Mark xvi. 20. "And they went forth and preached every where, the Lord working with them, and confirming the word with signs following. Amen."

5. In the revelation of St. John, it is to be observed, that *Christ receives the praises of the Heavenly host, both singly and in conjunction with the Father, but never unites in them.* Neither Christ nor the Holy Spirit is ever called upon to perform the great duty of all creatures, to praise God or to pray to him. Both these duties Christ performed as a man when here on earth; but he is never exhibited as performing the duty of praise in heaven. All other virtuous beings are exhibited as making this their constant worship, and a prime part of their duty. But amid all their ascriptions of praise to God, Christ is nowhere exhibited as uniting with them in this duty, in itself so delightful to a virtuous mind, and so naturally and obviously obligatory on every rational being. The whole multitude of saints and angels, with the four living ones at their head, join, without exception, in the heavenly song; "Blessing, and honour, and glory, and power, be unto Him that sitteth on the throne." But the only part ever attributed to Christ, is, to be united, in receiving the ascription, together with Him that sitteth on the throne: for the ascription is made "to Him that sitteth on the throne, and to the Lamb, for ever and ever."

In the thirty-ninth sermon, the principal objections of the Unitarians to the orthodox doctrine are answered. Some very striking, and we believe original, remarks occur relative to the doctrine of the Trinity. Dr. Dwight maintains that, in the first place, 'the admission of three infinitely perfect Beings does 'not at all imply the existence of more Gods than one,' inasmuch as 'the nature, the attributes, the views, the volitions, 'and the agency of three Beings infinitely perfect, must be ex-'actly the same.'

'They would alike be self-existent, eternal, omniscient, omnipotent, and possessed of the same boundless moral excellence. Of course, they would think exactly the same things, choose the same things, and do the same things. There would, therefore, be a perfect oneness of character and conduct in the three: and to the universe of creatures they would sustain but one and the same relation, and be absolutely but one Creator, Preserver, Benefactor, Ruler, and Final Cause. In other words, they would be absolutely One God. This radical objection, therefore, is, even in this sense, of no validity.'

But he then shews, that the doctrine of the Trinity does not involve the existence of three Infinite Beings. 'That the doc-'trine involves or infers the existence of more Gods than one, 'every Unitarian,' he elsewhere remarks, 'has a right to prove,

'and may with fairness prove, if he can. But to insinuate that 'Trinitarians believe the existence of more Gods than one, and 'to treat them as if they thus believed, when it is perfectly well 'known that every Trinitarian disclaims such belief with indig-'nation, is conduct which admits of no justification.' The proposition asserted by Trinitarians, and denied by Unitarians, is, that God is Tri-personal. Now it is intuitively certain, that no proposition can be seen to be either true or false, 'unless the 'mind possess the ideas out of which it is formed, so far as 'discern whether they agree or disagree.'

'The ideas intended by the words *God* (here denoting the Infinite Existence) and *Tri-personal*, are not, and cannot be possessed by any man. Neither Trinitarians nor Unitarians, therefore, can, by any possible effort of the understanding, discern whether this proposition be true or false, or whether the ideas denoted by the words *God* and *Tri-personal*, agree or disagree. Until this can be done, it is perfectly nugatory either to assert, or to deny this proposition as an object of intellectual discernment or philosophical inquiry. Where the mind has not ideas, it cannot compare them; where it cannot compare them, it cannot discern their agreement or disagreement, and, of course, it can form out of them no proposition whose truth or falsehood it can at all perceive.

'*What God is*, as One, or as Three in One, is perfectly undiscernible by us. Of the *existence* thus described, we have no conception. But the assertions, that He is One, and that He is Three in One, are easily comprehended. The propositions, that the Father is God, that the Son is God, that the Holy Ghost is God, and that these Three are One God, are equally intelligible with the proposition that there is One God. On these propositions, understood as facts, and received on the credit of the Divine witness, and not as discerned by mental speculation, is dependent the whole system of Christianity.'

The Unitarians tell us, that the doctrine of the Deity of Christ, by militating against that of the Unity of Jehovah, opposes an insuperable obstacle to the conversion of the Jews. On their supposition, therefore, that the doctrine is false, the Jews are perfectly justified in continuing to reject Christianity. But the first Christians held both doctrines, and the first Christians were Jews; therefore, the alleged incompatibility of these doctrines, does not present an insuperable obstacle to the conversion of that nation. The doctrine of the Trinity is known to be held by Christians as a doctrine consistent with the Unity of the Godhead. If, then, this doctrine opposes the conversion of the Jews, it must arise from one of these two causes: either the Jews are universally incapable of being made to understand the propositions which Christians of every age have had no difficulty in understanding and receiving as true; or the Jews are, as reasoners and philosophers, so vastly superior to all denominations of Christians, except the small body who under that assumed name

reject Christ as the Son of God, that they are incapable of being imposed on by what Unitarians assert to be a self-contradictory doctrine: that is to say, the difficulty arises out of the intellectual superiority of the Jews!

The Unity of God is a doctrine, the certainty of which was not discoverable by human reason: it is equally with the Deity of Christ, a doctrine of Revelation, and claims our belief on precisely the same grounds; that is, not the rationality of the doctrine, but the Divine testimony. The importance of this doctrine does not arise from its abstract truth; for a mere assent to the proposition that there is One God, cannot be supposed to be of any moral value. It is as exclusive of all other objects of worship and confidence, that this abstract proposition forms the essential basis of all true religion, that "Jehovah, he is God, and besides "Him there is no other." If, therefore, any creature be made the object of religious adoration or religious confidence, if that trust which God challenges as exclusively due to Himself, pronouncing a curse on him whosoever shall transfer it to an arm of flesh, be placed in a creature, and the acts and prerogatives of Deity be ascribed to a creature, then, although that creature should be denied to be the true God, the Scripture doctrine of the Divine Unity, so solemnly reiterated, so jealously sanctioned in the Old Testament, is as really impugned as it could be by maintaining the doctrine of a plurality of Gods. The glory of God, if not the name of God, is, in that case, given to another. Now, it is demonstrable, that Jesus Christ was regarded by his disciples and the primitive believers with these religious feelings of trust, love, and adoration; and the Christian religion teaches us so to regard the person of the Saviour, ascribing to him all those Divine actions and attributes by which, in the Old Testament, the True God is distinguished from the gods of the Heathen, and from all created beings. The admission or rejection of the doctrine of the Trinity, therefore, does not in the least affect the difficulty. The assertion that Christ is God, cannot seem more to interfere with the doctrine of the Divine Unity, cannot be more hostile to Jewish prejudice, than the homage claimed by the Saviour. Unitarianism removes none of the objections, satisfies none of the prejudices of the Jew. It would not be more abhorrent from his creed, to believe in Three Gods, than to believe in Christ as a mere creature, yet invested with Divine honours, and claiming all that supreme love, and obedience, and homage which the New Testament attributes to him. On the Socinian hypothesis, the Jew cannot, therefore, be blame-worthy for persisting in the rejection of Christianity. But then, the Christian doctrine of the Trinity, of a Tri-personality in the Godhead, so far from constituting the difficulty which shocks his faith, presents the only

means of reconciling him to the doctrine of salvation through a crucified Saviour. The great stumbling-block to the Jews was the meanness of that Messiah whom their prophets described in terms so magnificent. To what does the Unitarian refer him as the fulfilment of those high-sounding promises? To the life and death of a good man! Were this all, then either those prophecies were delusive, or they have failed of their accomplishment. The Prince, the Deliverer, the Wonderful, the Lord so long looked for, whose presence in the second temple was to render it more glorious than that which contained the Divine Shekinah, the very emblem and vehicle of present Deity,—has not appeared; for nothing short of Deity answers to the character which was given in prophecy of *Him*. No metaphysical difficulties supposed to attach to the doctrine that a personal distinction exists in the Unity of the Godhead, or that the Father, the Word, and the Spirit is Jehovah, are comparable to those moral as well as logical difficulties with which a person has to contend, who, professedly receiving the Old Testament and the New as a harmonious revelation from God, denies the divinity of Christ.

In the seventy-first sermon, Dr. Dwight has taken some pains to collect testimonies from early Christian and ancient Jewish writers to the doctrine of the Trinity, and also, proofs of what he considers as traces of the same doctrine, originally revealed, and preserved by tradition, in the Triads of Polytheism. This, however, is very unsafe and debateable ground, and we regret that he should have deviated so far from the direct line of argument, in quest of authorities of little weight, and illustrations often purely fanciful. In order to give the collection any real value, the Author should at least have been careful to cite the original sources of his information. But many of the facts he brings forward, appear to be wholly irrelevant: the tri-formed idols and triple groupes of deities, admit of other interpretations equally plausible. This is the only sermon in the whole series which we have thought unworthy of the acuteness and sound judgement of the excellent Author, and could have wished, on that account, to be omitted. At the same time, our readers are aware, that Dr. Dwight has only followed the example of some learned scholars in pursuing this line of illustration.

A more powerful auxiliary argument in favour of the Orthodox doctrine, is brought forward in the sermon on 'the objections to the doctrine of the Unitarians.' Dr. Dwight objects with great force, that their doctrine 'has compelled them to renounce, successively, many other important doctrines of the Gospel, besides that of the Trinity;' in particular, those of human depravity, the impossibility of justification by our own righteousness, the Atonement, justification by faith, and regene-

ration. 'It can never be sufficiently impressed on the minds of young inquirers, that the Socinian or Unitarian controversy does not relate merely to the *person* of Christ, but to the nature of the *religion* of Christ. It is not a speculative, a metaphysical, but an entirely practical controversy. The question at issue is, not so much whether the Saviour is Divine, as whether man needs a Saviour; and the time wasted on critical disputes might often be saved, by reverting to this fundamental difference, which renders an agreement between the two parties respecting the letter of Scripture, utterly hopeless. If Unitarians are not recognised as Christians, let it always be remembered, that it is not because they reject the doctrine of the Divinity of Christ, but because they reject with that, and we think consistently reject, the whole of the Christian system.

The discourse on the Miracles of Christ contains an able exposure of the disingenuous sophism of Hume on the subject of evidence. The whole passage (Vol. II. pp. 498-505) is too long to extract, and would be injured by a partial quotation; we must content ourselves with strongly recommending it to the notice of our readers.

The discourses on Justification are particularly valuable. Dr. Dwight's exposition of the nature of Faith as a voluntary exercise of the mind, which consists in a confidence in the moral character of God, and particularly of the Saviour, and which is therefore entitled to be considered as a moral virtue, is clear, Scriptural, and convincing; and he shews, in treating of its influence, 'the propriety with which it is constituted the means 'of our justification.' In the sixty-eighth sermon, he undertakes to reconcile the language of St. Paul on this subject with that of St. James, by shewing 'in what sense mankind are justified by 'works.' After noticing the various explanations proposed by President Edwards, by the Arminian divines, by Bishop Horne and Macknight, and by Pool, and also the rash and dangerous assertion of Luther, who called in question the inspiration of St. James, he gives it as his opinion, 'that both apostles speak 'of the same justification—that which is before God, and that 'they are perfectly harmonious in holding the doctrine of justi-'fication by faith without works.'

'To elucidate the truth of this assertion, it will be necessary to remark, that there are two totally different kinds of faith spoken of in the Scriptures; one, a speculative belief or mere assent to probable evidence; the other, the confidence which has been already described in these discourses. From the former of these, obedience to God never sprang, and cannot spring. The latter is the source of all obedience. As both, however, are called by the same name, each has, in its turn, been declared to be the faith to which justification is annexed. To both this character was challenged in the days of the Apostles. That doctrine of Antinomianism from which the name is

derived, began in the days of the Apostles; viz, that we are released by the Gospel from obedience to the Law. Of course, whoever embraced this doctrine, believed his faith to be sufficient for his justification without any works of righteousness. Against this error, I believe with Doddridge and others, that the Apostle James directed this discourse. The question which he discusses, was, not *whether we are justified by evangelical faith only, or partially by that faith and partially by the works which it produces;* but, *whether we are justified by a faith in its nature unproductive of works, viz.* mere speculative belief, or, *whether we are justified by the faith of the Gospel, from which all works of righteousness flow of course.*

'St. James introduces his discussion of the subject with these questions: "What doth it profit, my brethren, though a man say he hath faith, and have not works? Can faith save him?" In the original, it is η πιστις, *the* faith which the man declares himself to have, or, as it is correctly rendered by Macknight and various other commentators, *this* faith—"Can this faith save him?" Undoubtedly it *can*, if it can justify him; but this is nowhere asserted in the Scriptures. The justifying faith of St. Paul, is the faith that "worketh by love;" the faith of the heart, with which alone man "believeth unto righteousness."'

Dr. Dwight then briefly comments on verses 17—19, shewing, that they are in perfect accordance with this view of the Apostle's meaning, whose design is, to prove that such a faith, a mere speculative belief, is not the faith of Christians, not a justifying faith, but the same belief as that of devils.

'With the same precision, he exhibits the same thing, under a different form, in the 20th verse: "But wilt thou know, O vain man, that faith without works is dead." The Greek words for "vain man," ανθρωπε κενε, are properly rendered, false man or hypocrite. But surely, the faith of a hypocrite is not the faith of the Gospel. The verse would be better translated, *a faith without works is dead;* that is, a faith which is without works.

'In the following four verses, St. James illustrates this subject by a comparison of this faith of the hypocrite with that of Abraham. In this part of the chapter all the real difficulty lies. To explain the true import of it, let St. James be his own commentator. After having given us the declaration, that Abraham was "justified by works when he offered," or, as in the original, lifted up "Isaac upon the altar," and taught us that "faith co-operated with his works," and that "by works his faith was perfected;" he says, in the 23d verse, that "the Scripture was fulfilled" (that is, confirmed) "which saith, Abraham believed God, and it was counted to him for righteousness, and he was called the Friend of God." This passage of Scripture is found in Gen. xxv. 6. That which he believed was, these two declarations: "This shall not be thine heir," (viz. Eliezer of Damascus,) "but he who shall come forth out of thine own bowels, shall be thine heir;"—and again, "Look now toward heaven, and tell the stars, if thou be able to number them: and he said unto him, So shall thy seed be." Confiding in these promises, was that act of Abraham, concerning

which it is said in the following verse: "He believed in Jehovah, and he counted it to him for righteousness." The act of lifting up Isaac on the altar, by which St. James says this scripture was fulfilled, (that is, confirmed,) existed more than twenty years afterwards. In what sense, then, did that act confirm this declaration of Scripture? Plainly in this: it shewed that the faith of Abraham was the genuine faith of the Gospel; a real, operative confidence in the promises of God. This it shewed in a very forcible light, because the obedience was singularly great and self-denying. Exclusively of this, it would be difficult to find any sense in which the declaration can be true. That Abraham was justified by faith, and by that very act of faith here recited, is expressly declared by St. Paul, Rom. iv., and Gal. iii., and therefore cannot be disputed. It is of no significance here, to say that 'Abraham's justification was not completed in this world, but will be completed at the final trial,' or, 'that it was completed when he entered the future world.' It is sufficient for the present purpose, that his title to justification was complete, and certain, when his faith "was counted to him for righteousness." Had he then died, he would have been accepted of God; his sins would have been forgiven, and his soul made happy for ever. He to whom all things are present, makes no new determinations concerning this subject. It is plain, then, that an act of obedience, existing a long time afterwards, could not alter that which was past, nor affect in any manner the justification of Abraham, which was already made certain.

'From these observations it is, I trust, sufficiently evident, that this very case put by St. James, is a clear proof, unless we are willing to deny an express declaration of Scripture as quoted by him, and written by Moses, that we are not justified, either partially or wholly, by works, in the common meaning of that phraseology; and that the true doctrine of St. James is no other than, that we are not justified by a speculative belief which is without works, but by the faith of the Gospel which "worketh by love."'

This doctrine, that the faith of the Gospel cannot exist without good works, is, he remarks, equally the doctrine of St. Paul, of Christ, and of the whole Bible. The whole of this discourse forms a masterly specimen of expository acumen, and reflects the greatest credit on the Author as a sound and accomplished theologian.

Regeneration, the general subject of Sermons lxx to xc, is another point in the discussion of which the Author has occasion for the display of all his characteristic sound sense and ability. We wish to direct the especial attention of our readers, to the exposition of the *nature* of regeneration. Dr. Dwight lays down the following positions: 1. The change of heart implied by regeneration, consists in a relish for spiritual objects, communicated by the power of the Holy Ghost. 2. This change of heart is the commencement of holiness in the mind. 3. This change is partial. 4. It is nevertheless the foundation of perpetual holiness. 5. It is the source of new views of

spiritual and Divine subjects. 6. It is an instantaneous change. 7. As to the time and manner of its existence, it is ordinarily imperceptible by him who is the subject of it.—In maintaining the first of these positions, he remarks, that, 'in regeneration, 'the very same thing is done by the Spirit of God for the soul, 'which was done for Adam by the same Divine Agent at his 'creation.'

'The soul of Adam was created with a relish for spiritual objects: the soul of every man who becomes a Christian, is *renewed* by the communication of the same relish. In Adam, this disposition produced virtuous volitions: in every child of Adam who becomes the subject of virtue, it produces the same effects.'

But, 'although there is a period at which every man who 'becomes holy at all, first becomes holy,' and this change, the implantation of a relish for spiritual things, is, and must be, therefore instantaneous, yet, this relish, and the exercise of holy affections, are, he maintains, 'at their commencement, certainly 'no more distinguishable than the same exercises in the same 'mind usually are afterwards: the change, therefore, is ordi-'narily imperceptible as to the time and manner of its existence.' The only Scriptural test of regeneration is, its effects. The following remarks, adduced to prove, from the reason of the thing, the necessity of a Divine agency in order to produce this change, will throw further light on the Author's views of its nature: they occur in the seventy-second discourse.

'The question has often been asked, 'Why, since a holy mind can become sinful, a sinful mind may not also become holy? No preternatural agency is necessary to accomplish the former change; why is any such agent necessary to accomplish the latter?' The extent of the change in both instances is exactly the same; the one being merely the converse of the other. It would seem, then, that the same physical powers which are sufficient for the accomplishment of the former, must be sufficient, also, for the accomplishment of the latter. But by most men it is acknowledged that the physical powers of the same being when holy, are exactly the same as when sinful; both the understanding and the will remaining, in the physical sense, unaltered. Where, then, lies the impossibility, or even the difficulty of the supposition, that man can regenerate himself; or, which is the same thing, turn of his own accord from sin to holiness?'

'That a holy being should be capable of sinning, seems not, in the nature of the case, to be a supposition attended with any great difficulty. All beings, holy and sinful alike, relish and desire natural good or happiness. This can be found in an endless multitude of objects. Of these, some may be enjoyed lawfully, or consistently with the will of God; while others cannot. These, however, so far as they are supposed capable of communicating happiness, are still, naturally, the objects of desire to holy beings, as truly as to sinful ones. All natural good, when perceived, is, by itself considered,

desired, of course by every percipient being. Now it is plain, that this good may, in a given case, appear so great to a holy being, may so engross his whole attention, may so far exclude from his mind other considerations, and among them those of his duty, as to induce him to seek the good in view at the expense of his duty. In this manner, I apprehend, the Angels who fell, violated their duty; and our first parents, theirs. Nor do I see how holy beings, so long as they love natural good, and are placed in a world where it is variously and amply provided, can fail of being exposed to temptations from this source; nor, if these temptations be supposed to possess a given degree of power, or, which is the same thing, to contain a given degree of natural good, and to be set fully and exclusively before the mind, how such beings can fail, without peculiar Divine assistance, of being exposed to fall.

'In all this, however, there is nothing to countenance the supposition, that a sinner will in the same manner turn from sin to holiness. A sinner has no relish for spiritual good; that is, for the enjoyment furnished by virtuous affections and virtuous conduct. To apply the words of Isaiah concerning Christ as regarded by the Jews, to this good as regarded by sinners, when they see it there is no beauty in it, that they should desire it. Wherever this good, therefore, becomes an object of the sinner's contemplation, as his mind is wholly destitute of any relish for it, he will never desire it for his own sake, and will never make any such efforts to gain it as are absolutely necessary to accomplish the renovation of his heart. The relish for spiritual good is that state of mind out of which all virtuous volitions spring. No volition is ever excited but by good, and by good actually perceived and relished. As spiritual good is never thus perceived by a sinner, it will not excite a single volition in his mind towards the attainment of it; but will operate upon him as little as harmony upon the deaf, or beautiful colours upon the blind.

'But the relish for spiritual good is the characteristical distinction of holy beings; their *essential* characteristic, without which they would cease to be holy. The want of it, on the contrary, is a primary characteristic of sinful beings. In this lies the real difficulty of regenerating ourselves, and not in the want of sufficient natural powers. And so long as this continues, an extraneous agency must be absolutely necessary for our regeneration.'

In the seventy-sixth sermon, Dr. Dwight exposes the wretched fallacy of the inference which some theologians would draw from these views of man's moral inability, that it is useless, and even unjustifiable, to exhort sinners to pray, because, as they urge, the prayers of sinners are abominable to God. There is no necessity, he remarks, that the prayers of a sinner, inspired by a sense of danger and misery, should be insincere. The mere wish to be saved from suffering, is neither sinful nor holy: it is merely the instinctive desire of every percipient being; nor can there be any thing hateful to God in this wish, whether expressed in prayer or not. Further, that God pities sinners as mere sufferers, will not be doubted; otherwise he would not have sent his Son to

redeem them from sin and misery. And the sinner is certainly not less an object of compassion, but much more so, when feeling the evils in which he is involved. That his prayers are destitute of moral goodness, that they cannot possibly be in any degree meritorious, is certain. He is not, and cannot be, an object of the Divine *complacency*, but is clearly, as a sinner, an object of the Divine anger.

'But I see no evidence,' adds Dr. D. 'that the prayers of such a sinner may not be objects of the Divine *benevolence*, and regarded by the Infinite Mind with compassion. *To that compassion only they are addressed.* The cries of a profligate vagrant in distress render him more properly, and more intensely, an object of compassion, and more especially entitled to relief, although he is still a profligate, than a good man, than he would be, were he to continue insensible and hardened under his sufferings, and thus utterly unfitted to have any proper views of his need of relief, or the kindness of his benefactor in furnishing it. I see no reason why God may not regard suffering sinners in a similar manner. That he does, in fact, thus regard them, is, I think, unanswerably evident; Regeneration regularly following such prayers, and being regularly communicated to the subjects of them, in the course of God's providence, whenever it exists at all. That this is ordinarily, nay, that it is almost always the fact, cannot, I think, be questioned. All sinners under conviction, pray, and of such sinners all converts are made. To convinced sinners crying for mercy, Regeneration is communicated by the Spirit of God; and we are not, I think, warranted to conclude, that it is given to any others.'

The prayer of the publican in the gospel, is referred to as a strong illustration of this view of the subject. Scripture most assuredly affords no ground for the opposite representation, which has its origin in the muddy metaphysics by which theology has been so much obscured and perverted. With his usual modesty and good sense, Dr. Dwight says: 'So far as I may be permitted to judge, divines have insisted on the metaphysical nature of this and several other subjects, in such a manner as to perplex rather than to instruct.'

'To unfold, or to limit exactly, the agency of moral beings, seems to be a task imperfectly suited to such minds as ours. What the Scriptures have said concerning this subject, we know, so far as we understand their meaning. We also know whatever is clearly taught us by Experience. Beyond this, our investigations seem not to have proceeded very far; and almost all the conclusions derived from reasonings *a priori*, have failed of satisfying minds not originally biassed in their favour.'

In the seventy-eighth sermon, on Love, the Author sometimes employs a phraseology which, although not objectionable, perhaps, in point of correctness, is somewhat unusual and repulsive to the feelings. Any language which seems to bring down the Supreme Being to the level of his creatures, as an object of comparison or

of analogous feelings, requires, we think, a strong and obvious necessity to justify it. Of this description are the expressions, to *approve* of God's perfect character, to regard it with *complacency*, to regard his perfect happiness with *benevolence*, to exercise towards the Creator, *good-will*. How much more expressive, while it is not less philosophically accurate, is the language of Henry Scougal in that admirable little work, "The "Life of God in the Soul of Man"—'The love of God is a delightful and affectionate *sense of the Divine perfections*, 'which makes the soul resign and sacrifice itself wholly unto 'him, desiring above all things to please him, and delighting in 'nothing so much as in fellowship and communion with him." Dr. Dwight's object is, to shew the identity of the principle of love as exercised by a virtuous mind towards God, towards its fellow creatures, and towards itself. 'The affection,' he says, 'is one;' the difference in its exercises, springing only from the difference of its objects.

'There are not two affections of the mind in the strict and metaphysical sense; one of which is called love to God, or *Piety*, and the other, love to mankind, or *Benevolence*; but there is one love, now exercised toward God, and now toward mankind'.....'Evangelical love is a delight in happiness; or, in other words, Good-will towards percipient beings as capable of happiness.'

If this definition be accurate, then, it is incorrect to say, that love leads us to delight in or desire the happiness of its object, because love is 'a delight in the happiness,' or a desire of the happiness, of all percipient beings. Again, this definition wholly excludes a sense of the moral qualities of its object, which is the basis of the love of moral esteem or approbation. It equally overlooks the important modification of love, which consists in gratitude; especially gratitude towards the Divine Being, which enters into the very essence of piety. In fact, definitions are dangerous and useless things in morals. In attempting to be metaphysically accurate, a writer often does no more than substitute a simple idea for a complex one; and he is apt to think he has resolved the word into its true and primary import, when he has only narrowed its application. Every one knows, without a definition, what is meant by Love; yet, so essentially different are its exercises in relation to its different objects, that words become absolutely requisite to distinguish the distinct ideas. The proper use of a definition is, to distinguish: modern writers seem to use definitions chiefly for an opposite purpose, to classify—we had almost said, to confound. Dr. Dwight is not often chargeable with this error. In the present instance, however, it has led him to take a partial view of the subject, and to pass over some most important distinctions.

The discourses expository of the Decalogue, contain much important and valuable matter. The remarks on Profaneness, in the sermon on the Third Commandment, are very striking. Dr. Dwight observes, that this is a sin to which there is scarcely any temptation. In the commission of most sins, mankind usually propose to themselves some natural good, some pleasant enjoyment. The pleasure found in profaneness, such as it is, is found, on the contrary, chiefly, if not wholly, in the wickedness which it involves and expresses: 'the *sin* is the good.'

We have been much pleased with the Sermons on the Sabbath, although we are not prepared to assent to every proposition which they comprise, or rather to every argument brought forward in support of his main propositions. Sermon CVII. contains a specific refutation of the objections of Archdeacon Paley to the doctrine of the Perpetuity of the Sabbath. The Author's exposition of Heb. iv. 9., in which he follows Dr. Owen and Pres. Edwards, considering it as containing a direct assertion on this point, will hardly be admitted by an opponent as a valid argument: the passage is, confessedly, extremely obscure. Equally strained and untenable, as it appears to us, is the interpretation put on Matt. ix. 14. If that passage, so interpreted, proved any thing, it would be, the obligation of keeping a weekly fast on the seventh day. The insertion of the Fourth Commandment in the Decalogue, taken in connexion with the declaration of our Lord, that he "came not to destroy the Law, but "to fulfil it," supplies, however, in our opinion, an unanswerable argument in favour of the perpetuity of the obligation. Dr. Dwight has ably exposed the singular futility and impropriety of Paley's reasoning on this point. The Apostolic writers repeatedly refer to the Ten Commandments as obligatory on Christians; of which, the Sermon on the Mount may be considered as almost a formal repromulgation in their true and spiritual import. The First, Second, and Fourth Commandments are not there referred to, for the obvious reason, that these neither required to be explained, nor to be enforced on the observance of the Jews, who discovered a hypocritical nicety in their attention to the letter of the Law respecting the Sabbath, affecting a greater reverence for the day than our Lord himself. But the declaration that "the Sabbath was made for man," seems to point, at once, to its universality, in opposition to precepts binding only on the Jew, and to its anterior origin and perpetual obligation.

The language of St. Paul, Col. ii. 17. is with no propriety considered as a virtual repeal of the law of the Sabbath. Dr. Dwight remarks, that the word "Sabbath days," in the plural, and coupled with a reference to "the new moon," evidently intends the ordinary holidays of the Jews; from which the

sanctification of the seventh day is separated by this broad line of distinction, that its institution is exclusively the subject of specific command in the Decalogue. Nor is it credible, that a Commandment so emphatically enjoined, and distinguished by this important circumstance from the civil and ceremonial polity of the Levitical code, a Commandment held, too, in such superstitious reverence by the Jews, should be thus incidentally annulled; or that St. Paul, himself a Jew, and one who indignantly repelled the charge of making void the Law, should rank the observance of the Sabbath with prescriptions relating to abstinence from meats and drinks, and other ceremonial rites. It is, moreover, observable that, with respect to these, he affirms, that they were "a shadow" or type "of things to come;" which he explains by adding, that "the body," or anti-type "is of "Christ." This could not be said in any sense of the Decalogue, which formed no part of the shadowy or typical system, unless the Jewish Sabbath be considered as a shadow of the Christian festival of our Lord's resurrection. In that case, the obligation of keeping the first day of the week as a sabbath, would be strongly implied by the very reason assigned by the Apostle for this supposed abolition of the law of the seventh day. We conceive, however, that the primeval institution of a weekly sabbath is not alluded to in this passage, and for this reason, in addition to those already assigned; that so far from its forming part of that grievous yoke of bondage which, St. Peter says, the Jews themselves were not able to bear, and from which St. Paul was so solicitous that the Gentile converts should be free, the Sabbath was, both in a civil and a religious respect, an inestimable privilege. It was, as Dr. Dwight remarks, 'a festival from the beginning,'—a day of general release from labour, both to man and beast, an institution of the most beneficent character, worthy of the Creator, and bearing the stamp of the Divine prerogative; "made for man," and not only "hallowed," but "blessed." Had the Sabbath been abrogated, then, the privileges of the Christian would have been rendered inferior to those of the Jew, and that in a most important respect. For such a deprivation, his emancipation from the whole yoke of Judaism would have presented an inadequate equivalent. It was no "shadow," but a substantial reality, and as such, it is perpetuated in "the Lord's day," on which, as "the day which the "Lord has made," and not man, we are called upon to "rejoice and be glad."

Paley contends that the original institution of the Sabbath is to be found Exod. xvi. 22—30. In answer to this, Dr. Dwight forcibly argues, that the division of time into weeks, must have been previously known to the Israelites; and this scheme of dividing time, there is every reason to suppose, if it may not be

certainly gathered from the Mosaic account of the Creation, they received from God himself. But if so, the consecration of the seventh day, which forms the very cause of that division, or the primary reason for it, would seem to have had a contemporary origin. Besides, the passage in question affords a presumption, that the institution was previously known to the people. When some of them went out on the seventh day to gather manna, the language of God in the mouth of Moses was, "*How long* refuse ye to keep my commandments and my laws?"—a reproof which does not appear to point to the breach of a recent and novel appointment.

The whole of Sermon CIX, is highly deserving of attentive perusal: it illustrates the pre-eminent wisdom of this Divine institution. Among the subordinate and indirect benefits arising from the appointment of a Sabbath, the Author points out its usefulness in promoting *neatness* and *cleanliness*, especially among the inferior classes; the prevalence of these qualities bearing almost uniformly a proportion to the regard which is paid to its observance. Closely connected with this, is its tendency to promote a *softness* and *civility of manners*, abating the haughtiness of the rich, putting down, in a sense, in the House of God, where all are on a level, the mighty from their seats, and exalting them of low degree. Its importance is inestimable '*as the only mean ever devised of communicating important instruction to the great mass of mankind.*'

'As the knowledge itself is more valuable, so, the Sabbath furnishes means of obtaining it, which are far *cheaper*,* and far more *efficacious* than were ever furnished by any other institution. Here, on a day devoted to no employment but the gaining of this knowledge, and the performance of those religious duties which unite with it in perfect harmony,—in a place convenient and sacred,—on an occasion infinitely important,—and with the strong power of sympathy to aid and impress,—a thousand persons are taught the best of all knowledge,

* The importance of the law of the Sabbath, as exempting a certain portion of time from the operation of commercial demand, and setting at liberty on that day an indefinite quantity of labour *cost free*, which is available for the purposes of charity, has been signally illustrated by the Sunday School system. These schools provide the poorest of the population with an education which is not merely gratuitous, but costs the pupil or the parent no time; a most important consideration where, on other days, the time of children is a marketable commodity. To this, we had occasion to advert in our remarks on Mr. Brougham's Bill (Eclectic for March, 1821. p. 204). But this seemed a proper place for again adverting to a point which bears so directly upon the political importance of the Sabbath.

the most useful to themselves, and the most beneficial to mankind, for a less sum than must be expended by a twentieth part of their number in order to obtain the same instruction as this. No device of the heathen philosophers, or of modern Infidels, greatly as they have boasted of their wisdom can be compared, as to its usefulness, with this.'

'To which is to be added, that the Sabbath contributes universally, and in a pre-eminent degree, to the blessings of peace and social order. The direct and primary benefits arising from the Institution are of a still higher character. 'The Sabbath is the 'great means of preserving in the world, the knowledge and the 'worship of the one living and true God.' Wherever the Sab-'bath is not, there is no worship, no religion; man forgets God, 'and God forsakes man.'

As a day of rest, the Sabbath is a political privilege of the most invaluable kind to the labouring classes; and its perpetuity must be regarded as not less immediately attributable to the merciful Providence of God, than its original institution is to the Divine appointment. It bears upon it none of the characters of human policy: it seems rather to trench upon the prerogatives, and cross the selfish interests of that class who have had the making of human laws. It is a barrier raised against the rapacious encroachments of the rich upon the time and labour of the working classes, who, were it not for this blessed institution, would soon be reduced to work all the seven days for the same wages which they now earn by the labour of six.* The conduct of the opulent even in this country, shews that no sanction inferior to that of Divine appointment, could have secured this beneficent concession. Were it left to them, the means and the opportunity of becoming religious, would not long be left within the reach of the great mass of mankind. As it is, the Divine boon is rendered to a great extent nugatory, the lower classes being ignorantly and wickedly ready to part with their birthright, if their betters hold out the temptation of a price, and the laws tolerate the illicit bargain; and thus, the day of rest becomes sacrificed to the necessities of the poor and the profligacy of the wealthy.

Among 'the ordinary means of grace,' Dr. Dwight with great propriety devotes two Sermons to the subject of 'Religious 'Education.' In the first of these, he refutes the mischievous sophistry of the objections which have been urged against this Christian duty. The remark is obvious, although some persons have been found to question it, that 'if children are not educa-'ted in just moral principles, they will, of course, imbibe those 'which are false.' But 'the abettors of the opposite scheme,'

* See Eclectic Review. N. S. Vol. xiii. p. 455.

he next shows, 'contradicts it in their own conduct.' 'Infidels have generally manifested a peculiar solicitude to possess themselves of the education of children; and those persons who affect the greatest anxiety that their children should not be prejudiced in favour of truth, are particularly careful in strengthening an opposite bias, and in teaching them what they are not to believe. Dr. Dwight remarks very forcibly, that 'Virtue is a 'simple indivisible thing, and must, therefore, exist, and be 'taught entire, or not at all.' He affirms, however, rather too roundly, under this head, that it is impossible a man should be a man of benevolence, who is not a man of piety. This can be reconciled with experience, only by denying the purity of motive which prompts the benevolent exertions of individuals who give no proofs of a reverence for the Divine Author of Revelation. But even then, its propriety is questionable; and questionable assertions of this kind are of very doubtful utility. The next position, however, is incontestibly true; that 'if children are 'not religiously educated, they will, instead of being candid, be 'strongly prejudiced against Christianity:' the very want of candour which the objector professedly designs to prevent, will exist in the highest degree. 'Thus the scheme defeats itself, 'and frustrates the only purpose for which it is proposed.' The Author adds, and he had most ample opportunities of observation:

'Among all the infidels whom I have known, I do not recollect an individual who appeared to me to have examined thoroughly even the objections of infidels against the Scriptures; much less the arguments which have been adduced by Christians in support of their Divine origin. I do not remember one who appeared to have investigated with serious attention, the truth, evidence, or excellence of the doctrines they contain. So far as my knowledge extends, they have all rejected them both in the gross, and without a single earnest inquiry.'

Further, 'children, however religiously educated, cannot 'think too favourably of Christianity, and, in this sense, cannot 'be prejudiced.' Lastly, the Author adduces in proof of this duty, the express command of God. The motives to its performance supplied by the Divine promise, together with the manner in which the religious education of children should be conducted, form the subject of the ensuing sermon.—Dr. Dwight does not, however, in noticing the objections of infidels, fully meet the more plausible arguments of those who object merely to teaching children certain expositions of Divine truth. He rather seems to favour such an objection, indeed, by maintaining that 'the Scriptures only should be taught,' and that no human opinion should be mingled with them in the instruction of chil-

drah. (Vol. V. p. 149.) We wish that he had been somewhat more explicit, and had entered more largely into this subject, as we do not apprehend that from his opinion, properly qualified, we should feel under any necessity of expressing our dissent. On this interesting point, we have, however, already put on record our maturest sentiments in noticing Mr. Hawkins's Dissertation on Tradition, (Eclectic Review for Feb. 1820,) and to that paper, we take the liberty of recalling the attention of those readers who may wish to pursue the subject.

Here, with ample materials of further citation and discussion before us, we must reluctantly close our notice of this valuable work. Perhaps, the latter volumes do not exhibit all those marks of clear and profound thinking, careful deliberation, and intellectual energy, which are so conspicuous in the early part of the series; but we hesitate in even expressing an opinion of their comparative value, which may sound like disparagement. The subjects of the latter volumes, though of the highest practical importance, did not equally call for the display of the Author's very superior powers of mind, and may, on that account, have been less diligently laboured. For this, the Author's numerous avocations will satisfactorily apologize. There are many particular discourses, however, of eminent value; and the whole series will be estimated in proportion as it is made the subject of attentive and reiterated perusal. As a body of Divinity, and as a code of Christian morals, it forms an invaluable accession to the Theological *Bibliotheca*.

Art. VIII. *A Reply to the principal Objections advanced by Cobbett and others against the Framework-knitters' Friendly Relief Society.* By the author of "The Appeal." 8vo. p. 32. price 1s. London, 1821.

IN our Number for January 1820, we reviewed a small pamphlet, written by the Rev. Robert Hall, on the subject of the Leicester Framework-knitters' Fund; and we introduced it by a statement of the circumstances which had led to its publication. Other local tracts had, even at that time, been published with reference to the same transactions; but, though the greater portion of them lay within our reach, we did not feel it necessary to crowd our page by a citation of their titles. There was, however, one which we might have selected from the mass, as written in a fine strain of eloquent feeling; sometimes, it may be, overwrought, but always urging a vehement and powerful appeal to the better sympathies of mankind. It was not without some reluctance, that we yielded to the reasons of expediency which withheld us at the time from noticing this animated "Enquiry into the consequences of the present depreciation

"*value of human labour, in Letters to T. F. Buxton, Esq. "M. P.*" And we shall now gratify ourselves by inserting an extract which may afford a specimen of its style, and which connects itself, by a *personal* reference, both with the Author and the subject of the pamphlet the title of which stands at the head of this article.

'Labour ought to be considered in the eye of law as PROPERTY; the poor have no other, and it should be regarded as sacred.—The deprivation of labour is more mischievous, and demands severer penalties, than the depreciation of the current coin,—it ought to be regarded as the most flagitious of all felonies. But it is on *single* crimes,—on petty aggressions, that all the rigours of human law are exhausted. '*One* murder makes a villain, *millions* a hero.' Here too the strong language of the satirist is as strictly applicable. *One* petty theft will bring the culprit to the gallows, whilst robberies *en masse*, which impoverish and bring millions to ruin, are subject to no legal reprehension.

'But let us observe how ecclesiastical censures will affect this class of offenders, who are out of the reach of the secular arm. We will imagine them to be brought within the sound of a warning voice, as bold and faithful as that of the Baptist in the wilderness of Judea.—The preacher may have been long admired for the transcendent powers of his eloquence, and the sublimity of his genius, and whilst they point at speculative errors, and at generalities only, the vivid flashes of his genius, and the grand reverberations of his eloquence are observed with as much complacency as the distant innoxious storm. But, when he directs his artillery against individual sins; when he draws the avenging sword against *Agag*; begins to tear down the altars, and to destroy the idol gods which are set up in the hearts, and worshipped in the lives of his hearers; when he launches all the terrors both of the Law and the Gospel in their most appalling forms, against *the defrauders of the poor and needy;*—arraigning them at the bar of conscience, and forestalling the dreadful sentence recorded against the rich oppressors; warning them that their ill-gotten wealth shall witness against them in the great day of retribution, and 'consume 'their flesh as it were fire;' then there will be an end of his popularity:—the crowded ranks of his admirers will be broken, and censure and obloquy will succeed unqualified praise. Or, if no such consequence should follow, it is not because his remonstrances have taken effect, and are working reformation as well as conviction;—no, the individuals most implicated are cased in invincible armour;..... the arrows, however pointed, strike not the conscience, because each individual wards them from his own, and directs them to his neighbour's bosom.—Even the Royal Prophet, whilst in the commission of crimes the most atrocious, was so insensible of his own enormities, as to condemn his neighbour to death for an act of oppression, which lost all its guilt in comparison with his own.'

There was another publication on the same side of the question, distinguished by purity of intention and humane feeling, but not remarkable for strong reasoning or vigorous composition.

On this unfortunate tract, Mr. Cobbett, for reasons which it is not needful to analyse, fastened with his usual energy; and availing himself of some singularly weak paragraphs, made a fierce attack, not only on the defenders of the "Friendly So-"ciety," but on the system of association itself. There was a mixture of boldness and speciousness in his address, which produced a considerable effect; and it was felt expedient, that some competent writer should take up the discussion, in order to counteract the impression which had been made, not upon the workmen, but on such of the masters as had viewed the progress of the system with dislike, and were now glad to avail themselves of the services of this unexpected ally.

Under these circumstances, Mr. Hall has again come forward, and, in this admirably written pamphlet, has reinforced his former positions, with great strength of argument, and in his own peculiar and exquisite style. As we feel no disposition to mingle as partisans in the contest, our present business will be to supply such extracts as may vindicate the encomium we have expressed, and excite our readers to a perusal of the whole.—In some of the tracts for which this business has given occasion, the legal penalties connected with *combination* had been held up *in terrorem*. This is put aside in the following masterly paragraph.

'Since in the case before us, it is the surplus of labour alone which affords the facility of effecting a depression so destructive, by obliging those who are unemployed to engage themselves at a price by which they could not live, the object of the *Union* is simply to take away that necessity, by withdrawing that portion of redundant labour which produced it; a mode of proceeding perfectly analogous to that which takes place in every branch of trade and manufacture. He who is engaged in these, endeavours invariably to adjust the extent of the supply to the demand: if his capital enables him, he withholds his commodities from the market when it is glutted, and reproduces them when they are more eagerly called for. Is there any principle of political economy conceived to be violated by this discretionary power of the manufacturer to adjust his productions to his demand—to withdraw them from the market at his pleasure, when he foresees their sale will fetch no adequate returns? But this, mutatis mutandis, or with a slight change of names, is exactly the case under present discussion. The labour and skill of the mechanic or the artist, constitute the article *he* has to dispose of; and the Framework-knitters' Fund, against which such a clamour has been raised by interested and designing men, is nothing more or less than a provision for withholding such a portion of that article, as he perceives cannot be employed without ruinous consequences. If the principles of political economy are those of justice and common sense, they will authorise no more interference with the labouring mechanic, than with the tradesman or manufacturer: and if the manufacturer is not compelled to dispose of his productions on destructive terms, why should the mechanic be obliged thus to dis-

pose of his labour? It will be acknowledged, it is more difficult for the mechanic to adjust his labour to the demand, than it is for the manufacturer to regulate his supply by the state of the market; but this is a distinct consideration: the Framework-knitters' Fund is contrived with a view to obviate this difficulty; it has already done it to a great degree, and nothing but a more general co-operation of the workmen, and of parishes, is wanted to enable them to surmount it altogether.' p. 8, 9.

Mr. Cobbett had urgently recommended to the Framework-knitters to abandon their fund, and to depend upon the poor-rates. To this it is forcibly replied:

'If the Framework-knitters' Union is dissolved, it is universally allowed, wages will sink still lower, nor can any limits be assigned, to which they may not descend. Before its formation, nearly half the subsistence of the workmen was drawn from the parishes, or, in other words, from the public. But what more monstrous can be conceived, than a manufacture carried on at the public expense, but not for the public benefit, where all the profits are appropriated to one description of persons, while the public are taxed to an enormous amount to enable a few individuals to secure to themselves those advantages? Is there an anomaly in the social system more prodigious than this, or more pregnant with the most alarming consequences? Is it a greater enormity, let me ask, to be compelled to support a numerous herd of sinecurists, pensioners, and "eaters of taxes," to use the elegant phraseology of Mr. Cobbett, than to pay half the wages of an extensive manufacture, without deriving from it one farthing of profit, while it wells out a putrid stream of pauperism which overflows the land? Mr. Cobbett perhaps sees nothing in such a state repugnant to his feelings: in the despair of the poor, and the utter incapacity of the parishes to relieve their wants, he seems to exult, as the infallible prognostic of some great convulsion; but there are those, and I hope not a few, who will contemplate such a prospect with horror.'

pp. 14, 15.

After having repelled the various arguments brought forward against the Union from different quarters, the Writer of the present tract turns upon Cobbett himself in the following language, than which we know of nothing more eloquent and impressive in the Philippics or the Catilinarians.

'These, and such like extravagancies, will be quite sufficient to satisfy the reader, that he is a popular declaimer, not a philosopher; a firebrand, not a luminary. He emits fire and smoke in abundance, like a volcano, but the whole effect is to desolate, not to enlighten. His principal artifice consists in the exhibition of a few specious and bold generalities, which he illustrates and confirms by a few prominent facts, culled for his purpose, without the slightest attempt at that patient induction and inquiry, which alone lead to solid and useful results. Shrewd, intemperate, presumptuous, careless of the truth of his representations, and indifferent to their consequences, provided they make an impression, he is well qualified, it must be confessed, by

his fancy no less than his talents, by his inflammatory style and incendiary spirit, for the office he assumes, to scatter delusion, to excite insurrection, the Polyphemus of the Mob, "the one-eyed monarch of the blind." His strictures, however, on the topic under consideration are pregnant with instruction it was not his design to communicate. Whatever the inhabitants of this County may think of the Frapezark-knitters' Union, he plainly foresees in the consequences of its failure, the materials of ferocious delight; he sees without the aid of inspiration an inundation of miseries to follow, paupers crowding by thousands to the doors of overseers, parishes dismayed and perplexed, the poor clamouring for bread which cannot be given them, and rushing upon the point of the bayonet to avoid a more cruel and lingering death; the commencement of that tempest, in a word, which he boasts having crossed the Atlantic to witness, which is to shake all that is stable, to prostrate all that is great, and to accumulate a pile for the elevation of future demagogues.

'Rome trembled when Cataline rejoiced. Let the friends of peace and order then, let the landed proprietor especially, take warning: they stand upon the brink of a precipice, from which if they suffer themselves to be precipitated, it will be no small aggravation of their calamity to perceive the ease with which it might have been prevented; together with the contemptible agency, and the flimsy sophistry, which accelerated their overthrow. If it is some consolation to the fallen to have perished by a noble hand, the indignity of being baffled and deluded by the Author of the Political Register, must be more humiliating than words can express.'

pp. 25—27.

Though we reluctantly abstain, we can afford room for but one extract more, in which Mr. Hall avows his undiminished attachment to the cause which he so eloquently advocated at the commencement of his public life.

'If he should be thought to have treated Mr. Cobbett with too much severity, he wishes it to be clearly understood, that his censure is in no degree founded on the professed attachment of that Writer to the cause of reform. Educated in the principles of Mr. Fox, and in those of the earliest and best days of Mr. Pitt, to which advancing years and experience have increased his attachment, it is impossible he should entertain a doubt that an important reform in our representation, is essentially connected with the freedom, the glory, and the happiness of the British Empire.' p. 29.

On the whole, though we greatly prefer Mr. Hall's theology to his economics, it is not that we like the latter less, but the former more: and if he cannot be prevailed on to gratify our wishes by taking a right view of what appear to us his higher responsibilities, we shall endeavour to be grateful for a humbler gift.

Art. IX. *First Impressions on a Tour upon the Continent*, in the Summer of 1818, through Parts of Italy, Switzerland, the Borders of Germany, and a Part of French Flanders. By Marianne Baillie. 8vo. pp. 375. London. 1819.

THIS is, on the whole, a pleasant volume, carrying the reader without fatigue, an agreeable post-chaise tour through Paris, Lyons, Turin, Milan, the Simplon, Geneva, Berne, Nancy, Rheims, Calais, Dover, *home*. In general, it is written with simplicity and ease, but there is an occasional attempt at vivacity and airiness, which usually misses its object, and excites an extremely uncomfortable sensation in the perusal. Now and then, too, we meet with a lofty and dashing allusion to points of theology, commonly accompanied with a damnatory reference to Calvin and his followers. These obnoxious sectaries will, however, recover from their consternation when we assure them, that the lady has not the smallest knowledge of the subject on which she writes so flippantly; and they will probably agree with us in wondering at the ingenuity which could contrive to exhibit among the *first impressions* of a Continental tour, the signs of a snappish disposition to quarrel with her neighbours on the score of their religious creed. We would fain hope that reflection and right feeling may hereafter dictate to Mrs. Baillie, a language less tinctured with virulence and self-complacency. But, not satisfied with the indulgence of this unaccountable tendency to vituperate Calvinism, she avails herself of a visit made by a friend of hers, 'the purest and most romantic child 'of nature,' to a set of 'ignorant' and 'unsophisticated' mountaineers, blessed with the 'singular virtues,' 'innocence,' and customary *et ceteras* of such people, to make a triumphant attack on the doctrine of Original Sin.

'The advocates for the doctrine of original depravity, and who deny that man is rendered vicious chiefly by circumstances, might have been somewhat staggered in this 'plain tale,' so truly calculated to 'put them down.'

We are unwilling to say harsh things to a lady, and shall therefore abstain from treating this delectable *sequitur* as it deserves; but we shall take leave to intimate, that infidelity, as well as hypocrisy, may have its *cant*, and that sundry passages in the present volume may serve to prove, that a sectarian temper is not confined to the admirers of Calvinism.

The scenery, manners, and costume, on the road from Calais to Paris, are slightly but agreeably described, and the little *rencontres* between the travellers and interesting or common-place hostesses and *filles de chambre*, are amusingly sketched. The height of the buildings, the narrowness of the streets, the want

of accommodation for pedestrians, and the 'villanous' and various 'congregation of foul smells,' gave Mrs. Baillie a feeling of disgust towards Paris, which all its novelties and exhibitions were insufficient to remove. After a short stay in the Capital, her party quitted it for Lyons. At Saulieu,

'Two very pretty, modest, rustic lasses waited upon us, named Marie and Lodine. Lodine was a brunette, with an arch, dimpled, comical little face, (round as an apple, and equally glowing,) teeth white as snow, and regular as a set of pearls; but I rather preferred the opposite style of Marie, who was slighter in her person, graver, and whose large dark eyes and penciled brows alone gave lustre and expression to an oval face, and a pale, yet clear and fine-grained skin: those eyes, however, were not so often illuminated by bright flashes of innocent gaiety as those of Lodine, but they made amends by the length and beauty of their soft black lashes. Lodine's admiration was prodigiously excited by my English ear-rings and rings, &c. She took them up one by one to examine, and exclaimed frequently that she had never seen such beautiful things in her life.'

Mrs. B. and her friends reached Lyons in time to witness the rejoicings on the *fête de St. Louis*,

'which is always celebrated with particular pomp and splendour. It was also the great jubilee of the Lyonnese *peruquiers*, who went in procession to high mass, and from thence to an entertainment prepared for them. The *jouteurs* (or plungers in water) likewise made a very magnificent appearance. They walked two and two round the town, and after a famous dinner (laid out for them in a lower apartment of our hotel) proceeded to exhibit a sort of aquatic tournament, in boats upon the river..... The dress of the combatants (among whom were several young boys of eight and five years old) was very handsome and fanciful, entirely composed of white linen, ornamented with knots of dark-blue riband. They had white kid leather shoes, tied with the same colours, caps richly ornamented with gold, and furnished with gold tassels. In their hands they carried blue and gold oars, and long poles, and upon their breasts a wooden sort of shield or breast-plate, divided into square compartments, and strapped firmly on like armour..... Against this they pushed with the poles as hard as possible, endeavouring to jostle and overturn their opponents; the vanquished, falling into the water, save themselves by swimming, while the victors carry off a prize.'

If Mrs. Baillie means that 'plungers in water,' is the meaning of *jouteurs*, she is much mistaken; the word means *tilters*—combatants at a joust or tournament.—Some good description occurs of the mountain of Savoy, and ample evidence is given of the admirable arrangements made by Napoleon for the safe and commodious passage of these elevated regions. On *Mont Cenis*, the party noticed the Hospice occupied by a set of kind and attentive monks.

'We passed by the Hospice, originally built by Charlemagne and re-established by Bonaparte, who really put us in mind of the Marquis of Carabas, in the fairy tale of 'Puss in Boots;' for if we saw any road better than another, any house particularly well calculated for the relief of travellers, any set of guides whose attendance was unusually convenient and well-ordered, or any striking improvement, in short, of whatever nature, and were induced to inquire, 'to whom all had been done,' the answer was invariably, 'Napoleon! Napoleon! Napoleon!'

At Turin, Mrs. B. was sadly annoyed by the effluvia of garlic, a universal ingredient in the cookery. In the neighbourhood she met the king of Sardinia taking his evening ride. He is described as a little thin man, apparently about fifty-five, with a countenance expressive of good nature. The prince and princess of Carignano are spoken of as universally beloved. While at the Opera, Mr. B., 'feeling something tickle his forehead, put up his hand, and caught hold of a monstrous black spider, at 'least four inches in circumference.'

In the journey through Switzerland, the party followed a route which, though well described by Mrs. Baillie, does not offer any other than well-known objects. Some particulars are stated of the singular habits of the idiot artist Mind: he was a Cretin, and did not appear in any respect superior to that miserable race, but in every thing not immediately relating to his art, exhibited every symptom of confirmed imbecility. His animals, however, are said to be painted with great force and truth. He lived in the midst of a menagerie of cats, and from his skill in representing that species, has acquired the mock-heroic distinction of *le Raffaelle des chats*.

A few plates, not remarkable for excellence, accompany the volume.

Art. X. SELECT LITERARY INFORMATION.

*** *Gentlemen and Publishers who have works in the Press, will oblige the Conductors of the* Eclectic Review, *by sending information (post paid) of the subject, extent, and probable price of such works; which they may depend upon being communicated to the public, if consistent with its plan.*

The Rev. T. H. Horne's Introduction to the Critical Study and Knowledge of the Holy Scripture, will be ready in the course of October next, in four large volumes, 8vo. each containing not less than 650 pages, closely but handsomely printed; with fifteen plates of maps and fac-similes, besides numerous other engravings inserted in the body of the work.—The delay in the publication has been occasioned partly by the accession of new matter (amounting to considerably more than one third), and partly by the author's desire that the supplementary Volume (of which a limited number of copies only is printed) may appear at the same time, for the accommodation of purchasers of the first Edition. This supplementary Volume will comprise the whole third Volume of the new Edition, besides all such other historical and critical Matter, as can be detached to be useful, together with all the New Plates and fac-similes. Vol. I. contains a full inquiry into the genuineness, authenticity, and inspiration, of the Holy Scriptures; with refutations of the infidel objections lately urged against them. Vol. II. treats on Scripture Criticism, and on the Interpretation of the Scriptures, with select lists of the best books on every subject therein discussed. Vol. III. contains a summary of Biblical Antiquities, including so much of Greek and Roman Antiquities, as is necessary to elucidate the Sacred Writings, together with a geographical index of the principal places mentioned in them. Vol. IV. comprises historical and critical Prefaces to each book of the Old and New Testaments, and three indexes.—I. Biographical.—II. Of Matters.—And III. Of the principal Texts cited and illustrated.

Shortly will be published, (dedicated by permission to the Earl of Liverpool) The Dying Confessions of Judas Iscariot a convincing Evidence of the Divine Origin of Christianity. An Essay. By the Rev. Benj. Crackanell, D. D. &c.

Nearly ready for publication, a new and beautiful edition of Moral Gallantry and other Essays, by the late Sir George Mackenzie, of Rosencath.

In the press, A Reply to Samuel Lee, Professor of Arabic in the University of Cambridge, refuting his remarks on the New Translation of the Bible. By I. Bellamy.

Sir George Nayler is preparing for publication, by command of his Majesty, a full account of the Ceremonies observed at the Coronation, illustrated by plates.

The Rev. James Townley has in the press, in three octavo volumes, an introduction to the Literary and Ecclesiastical History of the Sacred Scriptures, and the Translations of them into different languages.

Mr. John Mawe is printing a second edition of his Travels in Brazil, which will contain some further researches, and be enriched by communications from several men of eminence in that country.

Dr. Wardlaw, of Glasgow, has in the press, Lectures on the Book of Ecclesiastes, in two octavo volumes.

Messrs. Kirby and Spence have in great forwardness, the third volume of their Introduction to Entomology.

John Howison, Esq. will soon publish in an octavo volume, Sketches of Upper Canada, domestic, local, and characteristic; with practical details for the information of emigrants.

The Private and Confidential Correspondence of Charles Talbot, duke of Shrewsbury, during the reign of William III. illustrated by historical and biographical narratives, is preparing for publication.

A history of the Literature of Spain and Portugal, by Frederick Bouterwek, translated from the German, is printing in an octavo volume.

Mr. William Robinson is preparing for the press, the History and Antiquities of the Town and Parish of Enfield.

Mr. Stevenson has in the press, a practical Treatise on Gutta Serena, a species of blindness arising from a loss of sensibility in the nerve of vision, illustrated by numerous cases.

Mr. Phillips (of Bayswater), Author of the Pomarium Britannicum or history of Fruits known in Great Britain, has issued Proposals for publishing by Subscription, a history of Cultivated Vegetables, comprising their Botanical, Medicinal, Edible, and Chemical Qualities, their natural history and relation to art, science, and commerce. It will form 2 vols. royal octavo.

In the press, Memoirs of Mrs. Barfield, of Thatcham, (formerly Miss Summers of Hammersmith,) with extracts from her correspondence, by her brother.

Preparing for the press, A Gradus ad Heliconem, being a Greek Gradus, to answer to the Gradus ad Parnassum. By the Rev. T. W. Neblock, master of the Grammar School, Hitchin, Herts.

A new Edition of Mr. Cuthbert Johnson's Essay upon the Uses of Salt in Agriculture and Horticulture, will appear in the course of a few days. It will be improved by the results of the Experiments of Messrs. Curwen and Cartwright, and numerous other Practical Farmers, and, by favour of the Board of Agriculture, will also be enriched with those of Mr. Sinclair, of Woburn Abbey. The work has been nearly rewritten.

On the first of September, will be published, price 1s. 6d. to be continued monthly, Part I. of the Youth's Evangelical Library. It has been long observed with regret by the Friends of Christian Education, that while the productions of the dramatist and the novelist have been brought under the notice and within the reach of every class of society, in almost every form of selection or compilation; still thousands, more piously disposed, are denied access to many highly important and interesting passages in the works of our most eminent writers on sacred subjects, through a want of ability to procure, or of time to peruse, the numerous and expensive volumes in which they are contained. This lamented deficiency it is the wish of the Compilers of the Youth's Evangelical Library effectually to supply, by presenting to the Public, at a very moderate expense, the most interesting and instructive passages of Addison, Baxter, Cowper, Doddridge, Flavel, Henry, Law, Leighton, Lewis, Newton, Owen, Sturm, Tillotson, Watts, and various other writers equally admired and approved. This work will be published in monthly parts, price 1s. 6d. each: it will be so arranged that each part will be complete in itself, even when one author may occupy two parts; each may therefore be purchased separately. A brief sketch of the life of the different authors will be given, and each part will be embellished with an engraving. The price has been reduced as low as possible, in order to bring the work within the reach of the higher classes of Sunday schools, as most of the parts, if not all, will form a very suitable and valuable addition to every Sunday scholar's library. Part I. contains selections from the works of Cowper, with a brief sketch of his life and an engraving. Part II. will consist of selections from the reflections and most important notes of Doddridge's Family Expositor.

Shortly will be published, a Picture of Ancient Times, and a sketch of modern history, in a most exact chronological order, forming a pair of maps for the study of universal history. By Miss Thomson, teacher of the French language, geography, history, &c. &c. In these maps, divisions and epochs are carefully observed and distinguished by colours, so that the learner may easily understand and feel an interest in them. They form a complete line of events, divided by bands each under respective heads. The first chart comprehends from the creation to the birth of Christ, sacred history occupying a separate column; and profane history follows in three divisions. The dates of the world are arranged with those before Christ in opposite columns, distinguished by colours to facilitate the memory. The second Map contains the most important names and remarkable events from the Birth of Christ to the present time, with all the reigns of England and France from the Conquest of the Normans to the Death of Buonaparte. No date has been inserted without consulting the most approved authorities.

ART. XI. LIST OF WORKS RECENTLY PUBLISHED.

BIOGRAPHY.

Ten Years' Exile: or Memoirs of that interesting period of the life of the Baroness de Stael-Holstein, written by herself during the years 1810, 11, 12, and 13, and now first published from the original manuscript by her Son. Translated from the French. 8vo. 12s.

A Reply to the Charges of Robert Adair, Esq. against the Bishop of Winchester, in consequence of a passage contained in his lordship's Memoirs of the Rt. Hon. William Pitt. 8vo. 2s.

EDUCATION.

The French Speaker; or, the art of speaking and reading the French language; exemplified in a course of lessons illustrative of the phraseology and literature of the language. Accompanied by a selection of idioms, and instructions for conducting epistolary correspondence; with suitable specimens, and a Dictionary of Synonymes. By M. St. Simeon. 12mo. 8s. 6d.

FINE ARTS.

Illustrations of Kenilworth, in seven prints after designs by Leslie. Medium 8vo. 16s. proofs, 1l. 4s. India paper, 1l. 10s.

The Rabbit on the Wall. Engraved by Barnet from Wilkie. Prints, 1l. 1s. proofs, 3l. 3s.

HISTORY.

Malay Annals: translated from the Malay language. By the late Dr. John Leyden. With an Introduction by Sir T. S. Raffles, F.R.S. &c. 8vo. 10s. 6d.

An Historical Account of Cumner; with some particulars of the traditions respecting the death of the Countess of Leicester. To which is added an Appendix, containing the original ballad of Cumner Hall, &c. By Henry Tighe Usher, Esq. of Corp. Christ. Coll. 8vo. 7s.

MEDICINE.

The Principles of Forensic Medicine, systematically arranged, and applied to British practice; with numerous illustrations and examples; intended for the use of barristers, coroners, magistrates, and medical practitioners. By J. G. Smith, M.D. 8vo. 14s.

A Treatise on Indigestion, and its Consequences, called Nervous and Bilious Complaints; with observations on the organic diseases in which they sometimes terminate. By A. P. Wilson Philip, M.D. F.R.S. Ed. &c. 8vo. 9s.

A Practical Essay on Ring-Worm of the Scalp, Scald-Head, and the other species of Porrigo, with a view to establish the treatment of these diseases on sound and efficient principles. By Samuel Plumbe, Member of the Royal College of Surgeons. 8vo. 7s. 6d.

Observations on some of the General Principles, and on the Particular Nature and Treatment of the different Species of Inflammation; being, with additions, the substance of an essay to which the Jacksonian Prize for the year 1818 was adjudged by the Royal College of Surgeons. By J. H. James, Surgeon to the Devon and Exeter Hospital, and Consulting Surgeon to the Exeter Dispensary. 8vo. 10s. 6d.

MISCELLANEOUS.

Three Enigmas. 1. The Import of the Twelve Signs. 2. The Cause of Ovid's Banishment. 3. The Eleusinian Secret. 8vo. 6s.

Eliza Harding; a tale founded on facts. By Mrs. Hewlett, author of the Legend of Stutchbury, &c. 18mo. 2s. 6d.

Œuvres inedites de Mde la Baronne de Stael Holstein. With portrait. 3 vols. 8vo. 1l. 16s.

*** Vols. II. and III., containing Essais dramatiques, Dix Années d'Exil, and Mélanges, may be had separate.

The Edinburgh Annual Register for 1817. 8vo. 1l. 1s.

The Youth's Evangelical Library. Part. I. containing Selections from Cowper. 1s. 6d.

An Irish-English Dictionary, with copious quotations from the most esteemed ancient and modern writers, to elucidate the meaning of obscure words, and numerous comparisons of the Irish words with those of similar orthography, sense, or sound in the Welsh and Hebrew languages. To which is annexed a compendious Irish Grammar. By Edward O'Reilly. 4to. 2l. 12s. 6d.

The Commercial Guide and Continental Negotiator; being an accurate comparison, equalization, and arrangement of the weights, measures, and monies of Europe, North and South

America, the East and West Indies, &c. with [illegible] of Great Britain, as applicable to the Corn Trade; also a topographical description of every principal port on the continent, and a capacious treatise on the negotiation of foreign exchanges, with examples and operations. The whole embracing a most comprehensive field of information, as it respects trade in general. By James Sheppard, author of the British Corn Merchant's and Farmer's Manual. 8vo. 12s.

POETRY.

Rome: a poem in two parts. 8vo. 6s.

Cause and Effect; or Nature's Proofs of a Divine Creator: a poem. By the Rev. Robert Moffat. 12mo. 6s.

POLITICAL.

A Speech, delivered in the House of Lords, on Thursday, June 14, 1821, by Herbert, Lord Bishop of Peterborough; in answer to a petition presented to the House of Lords respecting his examination questions. 1s. 6d.

The Reply of the People to the Letter from the King. 2s.

THEOLOGY.

The Insufficiency of Human Efforts, contrasted with the All-sufficiency of Divine Power, in evangelizing the heathen world: a Sermon delivered at Great Queen Street Chapel, Lincoln's Inn Fields, on June 21st, 1821, at the Anniversary of the Baptist Missionary Society. By the Rev. Thomas Steffe, of Bristol. 8vo. 1s.

The Seventh Memoir of the Translation of the Holy Scriptures, carrying on by the Missionaries at Serampore, containing a particular account of their progress up to December, 1820. 8vo. 1s.

A Candid Examination of the Claims of Modern Deism. By George Redford, A.M. 1s. fine paper, 1s. 6d.

Deism compared with Christianity; being an epistolary correspondence, containing all the principal objections against revealed religion, with the answers annexed; in which is shown the insufficiency of the arguments used in support of infidelity. By Edward Chichester, M.A. Rector of the parishes of Culdaff and Cloncha, in the diocese of Derry. 3 vols. 8vo. 1l. 7s.

Adult Baptism, and the Salvation of all who die in infancy, maintained: in strictures on a sermon, entitled, "The Right of Infants to Baptism," by the Rev. H. F. Burder, M.A. By Isaiah Birt.

The First Principles of Christian Baptism, deduced from the New Testament. By Thomas Eisdell, of Enfield.

TOPOGRAPHY.

Sketches of India. For Fireside Travellers. By a Traveller. 8vo. 10s. 6d.

THE

ECLECTIC REVIEW,

For OCTOBER, 1821.

Art. I. *Travels in Georgia, Persia, Armenia, Ancient Babylonia, &c. &c.* During the Years 1817, 1818, 1819, and 1820. By Sir Robert Ker Porter. With numerous Engravings. In Two Volumes. 4to. Vol. I. pp. xxiv, 720. London. 1821.

THIS volume terminates with the Author's journey through Persia Proper. A second, not yet published, is to comprehend Babylonia, Kourdistan, and the countries of the empire which occupied so important a space in the old histories of the East.

In the former series of this Review, the First Journey of Mr. Morier was noticed in terms of strong commendation. Persia was then ground almost untrodden by the living race of travellers; and its manners, its moral and social habitudes, the monuments scattered over its territory, attesting its ancient grandeur and early civilization, its gaudy and embellished literature, received ample illustration at the hands of a person whose accomplishments and official rank peculiarly fitted him for the task. That we have not yet devoted an article to the Second Journey of this Traveller, has been, chiefly, because the same route was traced, the same customs delineated, the same subjects investigated, while the freshness and grace of novelty were wanting to recommend it. We deem it, however, but just to remark, that it abounds with ingenious and learned expositions of scriptural and profane history, with topics of the highest interest to the antiquary, and the most useful information to the general reader.

Among the recent descriptions of Persia must also be classed the Geographical Memoir of Mr. Kinneir, and the second volume of Sir John Malcolm's History, which is occupied with a minute account of the country, people, religious opinions, and civil manners of Persia, and which, though unskilfully arranged, conveys new and striking notices, not to be found in the earlier accounts of Chardin, Le Brun, and Niebuhr. But while we

have no reason to lament the scantiness of information relative to Persia, we are by no means oppressed with its superabundance; and we were pleased when a new work on the same subject was announced from so diligent a traveller and so accurate an artist as Sir Robert Ker Porter. We hoped (too fondly indeed) that time, and the critical rebukes which his former travels into Russia and Sweden had encountered, would have pruned the luxuriances, and healed the affectations of his diction, and that fully impressed with the gravity of his subject, he would have imparted in a condensed form, the results of his laborious investigations concerning the most interesting country in the world.

We are not attaching an undue importance to Persia, in using this phrase. Once, the mistress of the Eastern world,—the subvertor of Babylon and Egypt,—the restorer of Jerusalem,—the invader successively and victim of Greece;—one of the most familiar examples, also, in our youthful studies, of the instability of human affairs, the insecurity of thrones and kingdoms, the virtues by which empires are founded, and the causes which hasten their dissolution;—a nation so consecrated by historic recollections, and so eminent in civil and military virtue, must ever be interesting to a liberal curiosity. Nor is it to the great transactions of Cyrus and his successors, only, that Persia owes her importance. At a later, but by no means less interesting era, she is ennobled by the proud distinction of opposing the ambition of Rome, and checking the strong and swelling tide of her domination. Even the palsying influence of Mohammedanism did not reduce her to insignificance: she still remained the bulwark of Christendom against the Turk. And even now, scarcely breathing as she is, after a century of misrule and calamity, with a dissipated strength, and a disunited empire, the Muscovite protectors of Georgia, and the British conquerors of India, are glad to sue, by costly and distant embassies, the favour of her kings at Tehraun and Caubul.

Yielding to a desire which he had long felt of travelling to Persia across a range of countries memorable in sacred and profane history, our Author left St. Petersburgh in August 1817, for Odessa on the Black Sea, in order to embark for Constantinople, and to proceed to Persia. But at Odessa, the intelligence of the plague, which then raged in the Turkish capital, deterred him from prosecuting his projected route, and he determined on entering that country over the mountains of Caucasus. We are favoured with a short account of Odessa, and of Nicolaieff, which, with Kherson and Sebastopol, was founded by the celebrated Potemkin. At the dock-yard of Nicolaieff, Sir Robert thus moralizes on an insect said to be dreadfully injurious to the shipping of the Black Sea.

'A dock-yard has been established on the Eastern shore of the Ingul, for building ships of war. Indeed, an arsenal of this kind, and to be constantly at work too, is necessary to maintain a navy on these shores; for the Black Sea possesses a peculiarity more hostile to its fleets than the guns of the most formidable enemy,—nothing more than a worm! But the progress of that worm is as certain and as swift as the running grains of an hour-glass. It preys on the ship's bottom, and when once it has established itself, nothing that has yet been discovered can stop its ravages. Even coppered vessels are ultimately rendered useless, when any small opening admits the perforation of this subtle little creature.' Vol. I. p. 12.

We have extracted this passage,—the simple fact of the green timber employed in ship-building from the forests of the Ukraine, being liable to a destructive insect, thus ushered to the reader in the pomp and prodigality of sentimental description,—as a sample of that unfortunate passion for amplification with which Sir Robert has so frequently exercised our patience, as we have travelled through his volume.

We forgive him for indulging it as he approached the tomb of Howard on the road to Kherson; for we would not stint the effusions of a virtuous sensibility over the tomb of that unwearied friend of humanity; and much as we object to the taste, we fully commend the feeling and spirit of the passage.

'The evening was drawing to a close when I approached the hill, in the bosom of which the dust of my revered countryman reposes so far from his native land. No one that has not experienced "the heart of a stranger" in a distant country, can imagine the feelings which sadden a man while standing on such a spot. It is well known that Howard fell a sacrifice to his humanity; having caught a contagious fever from some wretched prisoners at Kherson, to whose extreme need he was administering his charity and his consolations. Admiral Priestman, a worthy Briton in the Russian service, who was his intimate friend, attended him in his last moments, and erected over his remains the monument, which is now a sort of shrine to all travellers, whether from Britain or foreign countries. It is an obelisk of whitish stone, sufficiently high to be conspicuous at several miles' distance. The hill on which it stands, may be about three wersts out of the direct road, and has a little village and piece of water at its base. The whole is six wersts from Kherson, and forms a picturesque as well as interesting object. The evening having closed when I arrived at the tomb, I could not distinguish its inscription; but the name of Howard would be sufficient eulogy. At Kherson I learned that the present emperor has adopted the plans which the great philanthropist formerly gave in to the then existing government, for ameliorating the state of the prisoners. Such is the only monument he would have desired, and it will commemorate his name for ever; while that of the founder of the pyramids is forgotten—so much more imperishable is the greatness of goodness, than the greatness of power!' Vol. I. pp. 15, 16.

Leaving the banks of the Ingouletz, our Author proceeded

Eastward over a dreary steppe, where he observed innumerable tumuli scattered over an expanse to the furthest stretch of sight. They are declared by Herodotus to have been regular places of interment for whole nations and tribes of ancient Scythia. Journeying onward, their route lay through the country of the Cossacks. It was a uniform cheerless waste, destitute alike of human and vegetable life, broken only by groupes of thistles six or seven feet high. The magnificent Don (the Tanäis of the ancients) flows through the country for more than a thousand wersts, and discharges itself into the sea of Azoff at its eastern extremity. Its banks abound in timber, which being thrown into the river, floats safely down to St. Demetry, where it is exported to Odessa and other ports on the Black Sea. From Rostow, it was not quite a day's journey to reach New Tcherkask, the new capital of the Donskoy country, and honoured by the residence of the illustrious Count Platoff. Here Sir Robert learned, that the Attaman was at his summer residence two miles distant, where he was welcomed as an old acquaintance (our Author is the brother-in-law of the late Prince Scherbatoff) by the venerable chieftain, and received with the most hospitable greeting.

'Next morning Count Platoff called upon me to see how his hospitable orders had been fulfilled. The hurry of spirits which followed the meeting of the day before, having now subsided with us both, I observed him more calmly; and, while in discourse, I could not but remark to myself, with foreboding regret, the difference between his present appearance, and the vigour of his frame even so late as the year 1816, when he was my guest at St. Petersburgh. The destroying effects of the campaign of 1812, were now too apparent in his countenance and figure; but his mind continued unimpaired, and each succeeding hour I passed in his society increased my veneration for its powers. He took me to dine with him at his house in Tcherkask, whither he was going to inspect the preparations he had ordered for welcoming his Imperial Highness.

'The hour of dinner, in this country, is generally two o'clock; but Count Platoff always dined at five, or sometimes a little later. The manner of serving the repast, differs in nothing from the style at Moscow, excepting that more wine is drank. The wines most in use, came from the Greek islands; yet his excellency boasts his own red and white champaigne of the Don, which, when old, are hardly inferior to the wines of that name in France. I drank at the Attaman's table another sort of red wine as excellent as any from Bourdeaux. It is made by a family of Germans, whom his excellency brought from the Rhine. And, from these specimens, I have little doubt that were the like culture of the grape, and similar treatment of the juice when pressed from the fruit, pursued throughout the country, the Donskoy vineyards would produce wines that might rival, not only those of Greece, but of France and Germany.' Vol. I. p. 27, 28.

The new city owes its existence to Count Platoff, who founded

it about ten years ago. All Europe rings with his military fame: in his own country, he is the father of his people. The reader will be pleased at the rapid progress of this capital, which will remind him of the infancy of Dido's city in Virgil.

> 'Miratur molem Æneas, magalia quondam;
> Miratur portas, strepitumque, et strata viarum.'

Among other judicious measures, Platoff has established a school. But the number of its scholars are at present only thirty-six, for this warlike people care little for the embellishments of life, or the refinements of learning. A Cossack finds his own arms, clothing, and horse. When on service, the Emperor allows each man one ration and double for his horse. In the campaign of 1812, all the population capable of bearing arms were called out, and fifty thousand are computed to have fallen. The quota which this branch of the Cossack nation furnishes to Russia, is about eighty regiments, numbering from five hundred to six hundred men. That of the Attaman, which is the *elite* of the country, is twelve hundred men.

On the 15th of September, a visit was announced from his Imperial Highness the Grand Duke Michael. He was received with due ceremonials by Platoff, of which the chief is the customary present of bread and salt on a magnificent salver of gold. The bustle of this scene being over, Sir Robert made preparations for his departure. Nor was his venerable host unmindful of the arrangements that speed the parting guest, for he provided our Traveller with every thing that could administer to his comfort and safety till he could reach Tiflis, the termination of the Russian jurisdiction. From the brow of a very steep hill, the stupendous mountains of Caucasus first burst upon his view.

'No pen can express the emotion,' says he, 'which the sudden burst of this sublime range excited in my mind. I had seen almost all the wildest and most gigantic chains in Portugal and Spain, but none gave me an idea of the vastness and grandeur of that I now contemplated. This seemed nature's bulwark between the nations of Europe and of Asia. Elborus, amongst whose rocks tradition reports Prometheus to have been chained, stood, clad in primeval snows, a world of mountains in itself, towering above all, its white and radiant summits mingling with the heavens; while the pale and countless heads of the subordinate range, high in themselves, but far beneath its altitude, stretched along the horizon, till lost to sight in the soft fleeces of the clouds. Several rough and huge masses of black rock rose from the intermediate plain: their size was mountainous, but being viewed near the mighty Caucasus, and compared with them, they appeared little more than hills; yet the contrast was fine, their dark brows giving greater effect to the dazzling summits which towered above them. Poets hardly feign when they talk of the genius of a place.

I know not who could behold Caucasus, and not feel the spirit of its sublime solitudes awing his soul.' pp. 44—5.

Sir Robert takes notice of the kindness with which foreigners, more especially Englishmen, are received, when they travel in the Russian empire. Having crossed the Podrouma, the plain extended itself before him. The road lay through a steep and difficult ravine. The spot bore no inviting name, being called, from the frequent occurrence of robbery and murder, the Valley of Thieves. He arrived at Mozdock, on the banks of the Terek, his first step into Asia, on the 30th of September, (O. S.) without disaster. At Gregoropolis, being furnished with an escort of twelve Cossacks, he set forth on his way to Wlady-Caucasus, which he reached after a journey of twenty-two wersts. Here, having joined a convoy of merchants, they set out under an escort of forty soldiers and a few Cossacks, having received strict injunctions from the commander of the fort, to keep close together, for the road was beset with banditti.

We do not pretend to give either an abridgement or an analysis of our Traveller's journey over the narrow and steep defiles of Caucasus, referring those of our readers who are enamoured of picturesque description, and have an appetite for hair-breadth escapes, to the work itself: the engraving of the Pass at Derial on the river Terek, will convey to their imaginations no tame or inadequate idea of its horrors.—Tiflis, the capital of Georgia, is distant from St. Petersburgh 2627 wersts; its latitude is 41° 45′. It was founded by the Tzar Liewvang, who was attracted to the spot by the fame of its warm springs. The public baths are the daily resort of both sexes. The water is impregnated with sulphur, and its heat is from 15 to 16 degrees of Reaumur.

'Within these twenty years, the higher ranks of the inhabitants of Tiflis have gradually lost much of their Asiatic manners; and it was a change to be expected, from their constant intercourse with the civil and military officers of the European empire, to which they had become a people. Such changes are not always at their earliest stage properly understood by the persons who adopt them; hence, nations who have been long in a state of vassalage, when they first break from their chains, usually mistake licence for liberty; and, in like manner, the fair inmates of an Eastern harem, when first allowed to shew their faces to other men than their husbands, may, perhaps, be excused, if they think that the veil of modesty can no longer be of any use. Amongst the lower orders in Tiflis, the effect of European companionship has been yet more decided. Owing to the numbers of Russian soldiers, who, from time to time, have been quartered in their houses, the customary lines of separation in those houses could no longer be preserved; and their owners were obliged to submit to the necessity of their wives being seen by their stranger guests. The morals of a soldier, with regard to women, are seldom rigid; and

these gentlemen, not making an exception to the rule, made the best of the opportunities afforded them by the occasional absence of the husbands, to eradicate all remains of female reserve, and its sacred domestic consequences, from the characters of their ignorant but pretty wives. When the women walk abroad, they still so far retain the old custom of concealment, as to wear its costume; and we see them tripping along, enveloped from head to foot in the large Asiatic veil, called a *chadre;* and, when any of these females happen to be standing at the doors, without this safeguard, I must do them the justice to say, that I have seen more than one retreat hastily into the house, on observing herself to be attentively looked at by a man. The beauty of the Georgian women cannot be disputed; having fine dark large eyes, very regular features, and a pleasing mild expression of countenance; and from these characteristics being general, if there be any thing in physiognomy, we must conclude that they are naturally sweet-tempered and amiable. The dress of the higher ranks is splendid, and carefully adjusted; but the lower order of females, notwithstanding they share the same taste for the ceremonies of the bath, and regularly go through them all, wear clothes which seldom make acquaintance with soap or water; consequently they appear often in rags, and always in dirt.' pp. 122—3.

The town does not appear to have undergone much alteration since it was visited by Chardin. Upon all occasions, Sir Robert appears the '*elegans formarum spectator.*' We have a minute description of the dresses of the Georgian women.

'A bandeau round the forehead, richly set with brilliants and other costly stones, confines a couple of black tresses, which hang down on each side of a face beautiful by nature, as its features testify, but so cased in enamel, that not a trace of its original texture can be seen; and, what is worse, the surface is rendered so stiff by its painted exterior, that not a line shews a particle of animation, excepting the eyes; which are large, dark, liquid, and full of a mild lustre, rendered in the highest degree lovely, by the shade of long black lashes, and the regularity of the arched eye-brow. A silken shawl-like veil depends from the bandeau, flowing, off the shoulders, down the back; while a thin gauze handkerchief is fastened beneath the chin, binding the lower part of the face, and descending as low as the bosom, where it ties over the rest of the garments; shewing, through its light medium, the golden necklaces and other jewellery which decorate the vest. This latter piece of raiment is usually made of velvet, or silk richly embroidered, covering the bosom and entire waist. A close gown of brocade, with sleeves to the wrist, and an exceedingly long skirt, devolving on the ground all round, is put over the vest; but left open in front, as far as the bottom of the waist. The whole is then confined with a fine Kashmere shawl. The sleeves of the gown are open in front of the arm, but closed at pleasure by little pine-apple-shaped gold buttons and loops. Over all this, in cold weather (which was the season in which I saw these ladies) is added the oimah, or short pelisse, of gold brocade lined with fur; it flows loose to the figure, with wide sleeves; is open in front, reaching only

a little below the knees: and has a superb, as well as comfortable appearance. However, when the fair Georgians sit or stand together, in this gorgeous apparel, the inflexible stiffness of their position, and total absence of motion in features or complexion, give them the effect, rather of large waxen images, which open and shut their eyes by mechanical ingenuity, than that of living, breathing, lovely women.' pp. 135—6.

The avalanches of the Caucasus are as dreadful and calamitous as those of the Alps. The inhabitants calculate on a visitation of this kind once in seven or nine years. They are not peculiar to the winter season, but happen whenever, by the power of the sun or the weight of the snow, the masses are disengaged from their hold on the mountain. Of an awful calamity of this kind, which took place in November 1817, our Author gives a description.

'The pale summit of the mountain Kasibeck, on the side which shelves down into a dark valley between Derial and the village which bears the mountain's name, had been seen abruptly to move. In an instant it was launched forward; and nothing was now beheld for the shaken snow and dreadful over-shadowing of the falling destruction. The noise that accompanied it, was the most stunning, bursting, and rolling onward, of all that must make death certain. As the avalanche rushed on, huge masses of rock, rifted from the mountain's side, were driving before it; and the snows and ice of centuries, pouring down in immense shattered forms and rending heaps, fell, like the fall of an earthquake; covering from human eye, villages, valleys, and people! What an awful moment, when all was still!—when the dreadful cries of man and beast were heard no more; and the tremendous avalanche lay a vast, motionless, white shroud on all around.

'The magnitude of the destruction will readily be comprehended, when it is understood that the depth of the snow, which thus rolled downwards in sight of the appalled inhabitants of the valley, was full twenty-eight fathoms, that is, 186 feet; and its extent more than six wersts, or four miles, English. It immediately blocked up the course of the Terek, whose obstructed waters, beating up in immense billows, foaming and raging against this strange impediment, seemed, at times, ready to over-top it; but, still repelled by the firmness and height of the snow, it fell back on its bed with a roaring that proclaimed the dreadful scene to a vast distance. The overcharged waters then formed themselves into a lake, which spread down the whole valley, on the river-side of its tremendous barrier; thus completely barring all communication with Wlady Caucasus. Nearly twelve days elapsed, before the river had sapped its way through so immense a body of consolidated snow; but when it did make an opening, its flood, and fury, and devastating consequences, fell not far short of the dreadful ruin occasioned by the cause of its obstruction. Bridges, forts, every thing contiguous to its path, were washed away in the torrent.' pp. 146—147.

It is to the possession of Georgia by Russia, that travellers are indebted for the comparative security in which they may traverse the whole country from the banks of the Don to the furthest shores of the Kur. Our Traveller departs from Tiflis, not without dedicating a page of his ponderous quarto to a verbose panegyric on General Yarmolloff, the governor-general of the province, for the liberality and mildness of his administration. He visits the ruins of Anni, one of the ancient capitals of Armenia, and now a few miles within the Turkish frontier. But we cannot compliment him upon the distinctness of his delineations; for the fear of banditti made him impatient to leave a spot, to which he had taken so much pains to journey. In the western extremity of the town, however, which was very large, and in which no living beings except themselves seemed breathing, they saw the palace of the ancient kings of Armenia, which is of immense extent, and superbly decorated with highly wrought sculpture and mosaic pavements. Anni and other flourishing cities were literally swept away nearly five hundred years ago by an overwhelming horde of Tartars. The greater part of the inhabitants were murdered; and of the remainder, some fled into Turkey, others across the Caucasus, where they established on the Don the present city of Nackchivan.

Mount Ararat, as might be expected, calls forth from our Author much verbal description. Its height has been never accurately ascertained, Sir Robert gravely tells us, having already informed us, that no human foot ever reached its summit. But Captain Monteith communicated to him several trigonometrical observations made at Erivan, of which the results are, 52,000 yards from that place to the highest point of the loftiest head, and to the minor head, 55,000. These heads are called Little and Great Ararat, and are 12,000 yards asunder. Sir Robert conjectures, that the Ark rested in the space between these heads, and not on the top of either;—an ingenious conjecture, but, like many other theories of the same kind, wholly unsupported by data. There is a considerable expenditure of words to shew the impossibility of ascending their summits. The single word inaccessible might have conveyed the idea to any reader who was aware that they are covered with snow and ice. He combats, however, very properly, the notion idly entertained by many travellers, of its having once been a volcano: registers have been kept for eight hundred years at the monastery of Eitchmai-adzin (generally spelt Etmiatzin), of the general appearances of the mountain, in which no notice of any eruption is to be found.

The weather was mild and pleasant notwithstanding the season of the year. Winter hardly sets in till January, and the mercury not uncommonly stands at 16 to 18 degrees of Reaumur.

From this hospitable convent, our Traveller directed his course due East towards the province of Erivan, one of the most fertile districts of the Persian empire. The kind patriarch had lodged on the backs of his cattle an ample store of wine; and 'in consequence,' says Sir Robert, '*so long as it lasted*, I could not 'taste its refreshment without some grateful remembrance of the 'fair and bounteous plains of Ararat.' An ingenuous confession, comprehending, we fear, much of that philosophy which is practised in the ordinary commerce of life, where the reminiscences of kindness and friendship are too apt to fade with the good cheer that gave birth to them! He arrived at Erivan, the capital, on the 21st of November, and he again exercises his ingenuity on the origin of its name, assigning it to Ervandus, an Armenian king sixty-five years before the Christian era;—a hazardous conjecture, for it would puzzle a much more learned inquirer than Sir Robert, to establish any fact in the Persian history upon clear and incontrovertible grounds, prior to Ardisheer or Artaxerxes, the restorer of the Persian dynasty about the third century of the Christian era. The Greek and Roman historians are silent upon the point, and the native Persian history anterior to that period, is a confused mass of fable, wholly destitute of chronological light.

At Ardashir, one of the largest cities of ancient Armenia, the extent of the ruins attest its former greatness. At present, it seems the grave, not of the people only, but of houses, temples, palaces, lying in death-like entombment. Tabreez (Taurís) is in lat. 38° 4′ and in long. 46° 25′. It is the residence of Abbas Mirza, the heir apparent, and the capital of Aderbijan,* (by Sir Robert Porter spelt Azerbijan,) of which province his Royal Highness is governor. The city has been twice destroyed during the last century by earthquakes.

* Tabreez has been re-fortified lately, by order of the Prince, and, accordingly, is surrounded with a thick wall, protected by towers and bastions, with the addition of a very deep dry ditch. The whole embraces a circumference of six thousand yards. Beyond this boundary, to the north and east, extend the suburbs, which rise amidst the ruins and broken ground of what formerly composed part of the old city. Four gates, of no very imposing appearance, conduct into the new city. They are surmounted by turrets, and ornamented with slight minarets, covered with chequer-work of blue and green tiles, which have been collected from the remains of the ancient vaulted mosques. These walls and towers are built of bricks dried in the sun, with an occasional mixture of some that have been burnt; but, for these latter, the modern architect is obliged to the great earthquake, and the fine

* This is the orthography of Kinneir, Malcolm, Morier, and Scott Waring.

masonry it overwhelmed. Out of two hundred and fifty mosques, mentioned by Chardin, the ruins of only three are visible. The most considerable is that of Ali Shah, erected nearly six hundred years ago, by Ali Koja; and which still presents lofty arches, and the mouldering vaulted work of splendid domes. The whole of the building, within and without, has been cased with lackered tiles of porcelain, adjusted into intricate and elaborate figures, with an ingenuity and taste that would honour the most accomplished artists of any age. The colours of these decorations are green, dark and light blue, interspersed with Arabic sentences in letters of gold; and a broad band of such legends, formed in white upon this beautifully varied ground, and interwoven with flowers in green and gold, winds round the entire extent of the building. This fine ruin is within the new fortifications of the city, as are, also, the remains of the ark or citadel. In former times, it is said to have contained the royal palace, with its attendant mosque. Very legible traces of these different structures are yet to be found within its lofty, though riven walls. The height of those walls may be about eighty feet, commanding an extensive view on every side over the lately erected works, and making a conspicuous object to a great distance from the town. The materials of the whole structure are of brick, and put together with the nicest care.'

pp. 221—223.

Chardin says, that in his time (1686) Tabreez contained half a million of people. But how terrible must have been the desolations of war and pestilence, which, in the course of little more than forty years from that time to the first earthquake, reduced the inhabitants of this capital to little more than one fifth of that number! Sir Robert does not neglect the gentler sex; and the process of the bath, though frequently described, is still an amusing topic.

'Having,' says he, 'gone over most of the royal residence, I was curious to see how the gentler sex are accommodated, in a country where their home is their prison. At least, so we consider their sequestration. But such is the kindly influence of habit, though many of these women must be full of conscious beauty, and never have heard the voice of admiration but from one man, yet the mere idea of giving them more liberty, would fill them with misery. In short, they would regard the freedom of the most delicate woman in Europe, as a contempt from their husbands, and an exposure altogether too degrading to be thought on. To satisfy my curiosity I was conducted to the quadrangle of the Prince's palace, which is called the anderoon, or private apartment, where the ladies and female slaves are lodged. Of course it was then vacant. I found this place, as it ought to be, all *couleur de rose*.

'In one corner of the court was a small door, leading to the bath. Having entered by it, we went along an extremely narrow passage; and after making an angle or two, were brought into a spacious saloon of an octagon shape. A door on the left of the saloon, conducted us through another narrow way, to the great bath; close to the entrance

of which, is a small dressing-chamber for the use of His Royal Highness, when he chooses to bathe. The apartment denominated the great bath, is one immense marbled hall, the walls and floor being entirely covered with that cool and shining surface; and from this chamber diverge several recesses, still all marble; while at one end is the cistern, or bath, with about four feet depth of water. The boiler is beneath, whence a pipe conveys the heated water into the receiver above, to the temperature required. Tubes also conduct the steam, or warmed air, into the saloon and its recesses; that a colder atmosphere may not check the perspiration of the person issuing from the bath. The apartment I have already mentioned, is appropriated to the females, to complete the ceremonies of the bath; and its decorations may be considered in harmony with the beauty perfected beneath its roof. Mirrors cover the walls in almost every part, and where we do not see them, the intermediate spaces are luxuriantly painted with flowers, intermixed with gold. The finest nummuds carpet the benches, for the fair bathers to repose on; and gathered roses strew the floor in every direction, contrasting their natural beauties with their gilded imitations on the walls.

'Understanding that the process of the bath is much the same, when applied by either sex, and as it is rather curious, I shall describe it in a general way. The bather having undressed in the outer room, and retaining nothing about him but a piece of loose cloth round his waist, is conducted by the proper attendant into the hall of the bath; a large white sheet is then spread on the floor, on which the bather extends himself. The attendant brings from the cistern, which is warmed from the boiler below, a succession of pails full of water, which he continues to pour over the bather till he is well drenched and heated. The attendant then takes his employer's head upon his knees, and rubs in with all his might, a sort of wet paste of henna plant, into the mustachios and beard. In a few minutes this pomade dyes them a bright red. Again he has recourse to the little pail, and showers upon his quiescent patient another torrent of warm water. Then, putting on a glove made of soft hair, yet possessing some of the scrubbing-brush qualities, he first takes the limbs, and then the body, rubbing them hard for three quarters of an hour. A third splashing from the pail, prepares the operation of the pumice-stone. This he applies to the soles of the feet. The next process seizes the hair of the face, whence the henna is cleansed away, and replaced by another paste, called *rang*, composed of the leaves of the indigo plant. To this succeeds the shampooing, which is done by pinching, pulling, and rubbing, with so much force and pressure as to produce a violent glow over the whole frame. Some of the natives delight in having every joint in their bodies strained till they crack; and this part of the operation is brought to such perfection, that the very vertebræ of the back are made to ring a peal in rapid succession. This climax of skill, however, has a very strange effect to the spectator; for, in consequence of both bather and attendant being alike unclothed, the violent exertions of the one, and the natural resistance of the joints in the other, give the twain the appearance of a wrestling match. This over, the shampooed body, reduced again to its prostrate state, is

rubbed all over with a preparation of soap confined in a bag, till he is one mass of lather. The soap is then washed off with warm water, when a complete ablution succeeds, by his being led to the cistern, and plunged in. He passes five or six minutes, enjoying the perfectly pure element; and then emerging, has a large, dry, warm sheet thrown over him, in which he makes his escape back to the dressing room. During the process of the bath, many of the Persians dye, not only their hair black, but their nails, feet, and hands a bright red. They often smoke half a dozen kaliouns; and, in short, take the whole business more easily, than an European would his sitting down under the hands of a barber, to shave his beard.

'The Persian ladies regard the bath as the place of their greatest amusement. They make appointments to meet there; and often pass seven or eight hours together in the carpeted saloon, telling stories, relating anecdotes, eating sweetmeats, sharing their kaliouns, and completing their beautiful forms into all the fancied perfections of the East; dyeing their hair and eye-brows, and curiously staining their fair bodies with a variety of fantastic devices, not unfrequently with the figures of trees, birds, and beasts, sun, moon, and stars.'

pp. 229—233.

Our Author was invited to dinner by Merza Bezoork, prime minister of the prince, who, as a matter of course, in return for this civility, receives a page of eulogy for his 'maturity in 'the knowledge of government, the power, happiness, and 'grandeur resulting from his administration, expansion of view, 'cultivation of his mind,' &c. &c.—*Le veritable Amphytrion ou l'on dine.* As these are subjects on which Sir Robert habitually summons all the graces of description, we will give in his own words his account of the feast.

'We were shewn into an extensive saloon carpeted all over, and with the usual accompaniments of nummuds, which are long and narrow pieces of a thicker and softer substance, made of wool or felt. On some of these sat several of the officers of state, who rose on our approach; and after the usual compliments, we took our station on the nummuds appointed for our accommodation, in the true Eastern style of sitting on the heels, or cross-legged, whichever way our stubborn limbs could easiest conform to the attitudes of the more plastic Asiatics. A couple of huge, heavy, and ill-proportioned candalabra, stood opposite to each other in the middle of the floor, their lights being fed with oil, or any other convenient unctuous matter. In a small chimney at one end of the room, blazed a lively wood fire; and to increase the heat, a brazen dish full of glowing charcoal was placed at the answering extremity.

'A few minutes elapsed before our host made his appearance. On his entrance we all rose; and on being re-seated, he bowed to each person according to his rank, uttering at the same time a compliment befitting the esteemed importance of the guest. The routine of the entertainment was then as follows: kaliouns were presented; then coffee, served in very small cups, and without cream or sugar. Kaliouns

succeeded; then tea, in larger cups; and this over, conversation filled an interval of ten minutes, when the minister gave a signal for dinner to be brought. Several servants immediately entered, bearing a long narrow roll of flowered cotton in their arms, which they laid down, and spread before the whole company, who now occupied both sides of the room. This napery was placed close to our knees. The next service was to set a piece of the thin sort of bread or cake I formerly described, before each guest, to be used as a plate and napkin. Then came a tray, between every two persons, containing the following articles of food: two bowls of sherbet, each provided with a wooden spoon of delicate and elegant workmanship; a couple of dishes of pillau, composed of rice soaked in oil or butter, boiled fowls, raisins, and a little saffron; two plates with melons sliced; two others, containing a dozen kabbobs, or morsels of dry, broiled meat; and a dish, presenting a fowl roasted to a cinder. The whole party along the extended web, being in like manner supplied, the host gave the sign for falling to; a command that seemed to be understood literally, for every back became bent, every face was brought close to the point of attack, and every jaw, in an instant, was in motion. This is done by a marvellous dexterity in gathering up the rice, or victuals of any kind, with the right hand, and almost at the same moment, thrusting it into the mouth. The left hand is never used by the Persians but in the humblest offices; however, during meals at least, the honoured member certainly does the business of two, for no cessation could be observed in the active passage of meat, melon, sherbet, &c. from the board to the mouths of the grave and distinguished assembly. I must say, I never saw a more silent repast in my life, nor one where the sounds of mastication were so audible. In some countries it may be "merry in the hall, when beards wag all:" but here, I could only think of a similar range of respectable quadrupeds, with their heads not farther from their troughs, than ours were from the trays. For my part, whenever I wished to avail myself of the heaps of good provender on mine, at every attempt to throw a little rice into my mouth, it disappeared up my sleeve; so that after several unsuccessful essays, I gave up the enjoyment of this most savoury dish of the feast, and contented myself with a dry kabbob or two.

'When the servants cleared away, it was in the order the things had been put down. A silver-plated jug with a long spout, accompanied by a basin of the same metal, was carried round to every guest, by an attendant who poured water from the jug on our right hands, which we held in succession over the basin, while each individual cleansed his beard or mustachios from the remnants of dinner. We had no towel to dry one or the other, save our own pocket-handkerchiefs; the bread-napkin, or plate, having no capability but to be eaten off, and wipe the ends of the fingers between every new plunge into the opposite dish. A kalioun, with tea, followed, and continued, with a few interruptions, during the conversation which had broken the dead silence on the departure of the rolled-up web and its appendages. A fresh kalioun finished the entertainment, and we then rose to take our leave. With extreme difficulty I obeyed the general movement; but when I did get upon my legs, they were too cramped

to stand, and had it not been for the support of one of my countrymen, more accustomed to such curveture of limbs, I must have fallen. A few minutes, however, restored me to locomotive motion; and having made my bow, we passed through the curtained entrance, to resume the slippers we had left at the door.' pp. 236—239.

Sir Robert leaves nothing unpraised. Abbas Mirza is doing, he tells us, all in his power to restore the place to its former military importance. He does not aim so much to adorn as to strengthen it. The present fortifications (of which we have already given our Traveller's description) were begun and finished by him. Very different is Colonel Johnson's* account of this fortification, who, at the desire of the prince, visited it the very same year, and, as it may be supposed, looked at it with a soldier's eye. The following is an extract from the journal of that officer.

'June 24. In the evening we rode out with Captain Lindsay of the Artillery and Captain Monteath of the Engineers, round the walls of the town, which the Prince is strengthening as much as possible; but it is lamentable to observe, that, instead of attending to the advice of Captain Monteath, he is going on in his own way, and seems to rest the defence of the town on the prayers of his head priest and the efforts of the Mussulmans, which, however, would be of no avail against Russian artillery. The town is surrounded by two walls, the first or inner one being of mud, flanked by towers of brick, twenty feet high, having a parapet *weakened* by holes cut through it for throwing stones with loop-holes, &c. This and the rampart, as well as the towers, are all hollow, and already shaken and cracked from top to bottom, so that a few shot must bring the whole down. The second or outer wall, a kind of fausse-braye, is a high parapet on the escarpe, which beginning from the bottom of the dry ditch, is built throughout only of mud, and is crumbling down by its own weight, before the whole is finished. This also has no flanks, and can be used only for musketry and stones. The ditch is a deep trench of twenty feet and thirty wide, and the earth thrown on the counterscarpe to cover the walls, is so constructed as to give cover to the enemy from the fire of the walls at the foot of its slope. In addition to these defects, the houses, inclosures, aqueducts, and ruins remain untouched close up to the ditch: and many of the public buildings of the garrison are erected close and parallel to those of the town. On one side is a structure which they call a citadel, being nothing more than a portion of the town walls projecting beyond the rest, and separated from the town by a single wall of similar construction. The different faces of this work are seen from the heights outside in reverse; and it is at all events as easy to be taken by an enemy as any other part of the fortification. The ditches are crossed by bridges of wood covered with earth. This is sufficient to shew that the Persians are ignorant of the art of defence.'

* "Journey through Persia, Georgia, &c. by Lieut. Col. Johnson, C.B." 4to. London, 1818. p. 211.

Abbas Mirza invited our Author to accompany him to Tehraun, whither the King had ordered him to repair, to assist at the celebration of the feast of the Nowroose; a proposal which he readily accepted. His board was, by order of the prince, to be supplied from his own; a distinction held in high honour by the Persians. Sir Robert is by no means remiss on his part, for Abbas Mirza receives the full amount of all this kindness in panegyric. In all the varieties of his conversation, our Traveller found 'new occasions to admire the capacities of his mind, 'and the noble purposes to which he unfolded them.' The interpreter enabled him to comprehend the animated discourse of his master. 'He discussed all the existing empires, their naval 'and military power, commerce and comparative wealth.' In short, Abbas Mirza was deeply versed in every branch of knowledge; and during the frequent conversations our Author had with him, he could not but think that he saw before him 'the 'man whose powerful and liberal mind is to create a new epoch 'in the national consequence of his future kingdom.'

We cannot proceed with Sir Robert in the splendid cavalcade which moved on this occasion to Tehraun. At Mianna, he encountered a plague, hitherto found impossible to be eradicated, in the form of a small but poisonous bug. He conjectures, and we think plausibly, that this is the same city which Sir John Maundeville, five hundred years ago, mentions as 'lyinge in the 'way from Thaurisp (Tabreez) to the East, where no Cristene 'man may long dwelle, ne enduren with lyfe in that cytee, but 'dyen within short tyme, and no man knowethe the cause.' It breeds in myriads in all the old houses, and is seen in every part of the walls, of the size and shape of common bugs, but of a more reddish colour. Its bite is mortal, producing death in eight or nine months.

'Strangers,' says our Traveller, 'of every sort, not merely foreigners, but persons not usually inhabiting the town or its vicinity, are liable to be thus poisoned; while the people themselves or the adjacent peasantry are either never bitten, or, if so, the consequences are not more baneful than the sting of the least noxious insect.'

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This is, at best, but a superficial account of this extraordinary insect, and betrays more credulity than we should have expected from an intelligent Englishman. It is certain, however, that the old buildings of this town are infested with a small insect which the Persians call *mulla*, and that its bite is said to produce disease, and ultimately death. Dr. Campbell, Physician to the British Residence at Tehraun, describes the disease as beginning with nausea, bilious vomiting, and loathing of food, succeeded by obstructions of the liver and other viscera, and terminating in death within six weeks or two months. These

insects are destroyed by boiling lime-water. It is merely a popular persuasion among the inhabitants, that it is fatal to their neighbours and not to themselves. In form and colour, the insect resembles the large dog-tick of India. It is not red, but of a greyish water colour, and is hairy between the legs. Nor does it ever make its appearance but in the hot season. In all probability, therefore, Sir Robert did not see it.

A chain of magnificent mountains divide the province of Aderbijan from IRAK, once so considerable a part of the kingdom of Media. Descending these heights on the S.E., they arrived at a rapid river, said to be the Amardus of Ptolemy and the Gozen of Scripture, which discharges itself into the Caspian, east of Resht.

'Having crossed the bridge, we set our foot on the land of Irak Ajem, a country so famed in Asiatic romance, classic history, and Holy Writ. Our road then lay north-east, directly over the mountains which bound that side of the valley. The ascending track was winding, with abrupt curves, up very steep acclivities for full three miles, at the end of which we reached another commodious caravansary, built of brick. Near it, are the ruins of an older structure of the kind, which has been faced with hewn stone. The vicinity of this secluded spot has a painful interest attached to it, as having been the scene of a dreadful and mysterious murder, committed on the person of the celebrated traveller, Mr. Browne: this sad catastrophe happened about five or six years ago.

'This gentleman was a man of indefatigable research, with a persevering industry in acquiring the means of pursuing his object, equal to the enterprising spirit with which he breasted every difficulty in his way. Previous to his going to Persia, he had stopped some time in Constantinople, to perfect himself in the Turkish language; and before he left that city, he spoke it like a native. From a mistaken idea of facilitating his progress amongst the different Asiatic nations through which he might have occasion to pass in the route he had laid down for himself, he assumed the Turkish dress. Being thus equipped, he set forward, with an intent to penetrate through Khorasan; and thence visit the unexplored and dangerous regions south of the Caspian, closing his researches in that direction at Astrakhan. During the early part of his Persian journey, he had a conference with His Britannic Majesty's ambassador, Sir Gore Ousely; and at Oujon, was admitted to an audience of the Persian King. So little was danger from attacks of any kind apprehended by the persons best acquainted with the state of the country, that no difficulties whatever were suggested as likely to meet him; and, accordingly, he proceeded in full confidence. Having reached this pass of Irak, he stopped at the caravansary I have just described, to take a little refreshment. That over, he remounted his horse; and leaving his servant to pack up the articles he had been using, and then follow him, he rode gently forward along the mountains. Mr. Browne had scarcely proceeded half a mile, when suddenly two men on foot came up behind him; one of

whom, with a blow from a club, before he was aware, struck him senseless from his horse. Several other villains at the same instant sprang from hollows in the hills, and bound him hand and foot. At this moment they offered him no further personal violence; but as soon as he had recovered from the stupor occasioned by the first mode of attack, he looked round, and saw the robbers plundering both his baggage and his servant; the man having come forward on the road, in obedience to the commands of his master. When the depredators found their victim restored to observation, they told him it was their intention to put an end to his life, but that was not the place where the final stroke should be made. Mr. Browne, incapable of resistance, calmly listened to his own sentence, but entreated them to spare his poor servant, and allow him to depart with his papers, which could be of no use to them. All this they granted; and, what may appear still more extraordinary, these ferocious brigands, to whom the acquisition of arms must be as the staff of life, made the man a present of his master's pistols and double-barrelled gun; but they were English, and the marks might have betrayed the new possessors. These singular robbers then permitted Mr. Browne to see his servant safe out of sight before they laid further hands on himself; after which they carried him and the property they had reserved for themselves, into a valley on the opposite side of the Kizzilouzan, and without further parley terminated his existence, it is supposed, by strangulation. They stripped his corpse of every part of its raiment, and then left it on the open ground a prey to wolves and other wild animals.' Vol. I. pp. 268—270.

There is no doubt that the assassins were part of some roving Kurds. Mr. Browne had unfortunately refused the assistance of a Mehmandaur, though the Prince had offered him one for his escort. 'A single traveller,' remarks Colonel Johnson, 'should, 'however objectionable may be the expense, take with him in all 'cases a Mehmendaur. He acts as purveyor and guide; he is an 'adviser in every emergency; an accredited witness in case of 'wrong or imposition; his presence serves to protect a stranger 'from fraud or violence, and his experience affords the readiest 'clue for discovery and redress.*'

The ancient city of Sultania is in lat. 36° 32′. Here are the remains of an unfinished mausoleum, begun by Sultan Mahomed Khodabund for the bodies of the Caliph Ali (of whose sect he was) and his martyr Hoossein, it being his intention to translate them thither with all religious pomp from Meshed Ali; but death intercepted his pious purpose, and his own ashes are intombed within it. Mr. Morier's accurate delineation of this superb fragment, renders it superfluous to cite our Author's account of it. The ruins of other magnificent structures are still conspicuous in many parts of this decayed city, and are on so extensive a scale, that we are astonished at the former magni-

* "Journey through Georgia and Persia." p. 190.

tude of a place which, at present, scarcely numbers three hundred families. In 1637, the city, even then declining, contained six thousand people.

A lofty range of mountains South of the Caspian, but to the North of this province, bears the name of Elborz or the Kohf Caucasân. It was from their wild and rugged recesses, that the sect so famous in the history of the Crusades, spread themselves to the remote hills of Syria. Our readers will recollect their story in the Roman history of Gibbon, and we, therefore, pass over with less reluctance Sir Robert's recapitulation of it.

Tehraun, (unnecessarily spelt Teheran by our Author,) the present metropolis of Persia, is in latitude 35° 37′ N. and longitude 50° 52′ E. It stands on a low tract of ground at the foot of the Elborz mountains. But its situation is by no means salubrious. The spring torrents descending from the adjacent heights, saturate the low ground about the town, and emit the most noxious exhalations. Early in June, the heat becomes intolerable, and the city is nearly abandoned. It is surrounded with a deep ditch, towers, and a mud wall, embracing a circle of about four miles. The streets are like those of every town in Persia, narrow and dirty.

'When a khan or any great man goes out to take the air, or for any other object, he seldom condescends to be seen on foot; but, mounted on horseback, sets forth with a train of thirty or forty ill-appointed followers on foot, and a servant preceding him, bearing a fine embroidered horse-cloth. One of the fellows in the rear generally carries his master's kalioun; but of what use the others are, except to fill the scanty way, and raise a dust to suffocation, I have never been able to learn. Successions of such groups, loaded camels, mules, asses, and not unfrequently one or two of the royal elephants, are continually passing to and fro; sometimes jamming up the streets, to the evident hazard of life and limbs, both of man and beast. Ancient and modern cities of the East, all shew the same narrow line in the plan of their streets. To compress many inhabitants in a similar small space, was deemed expedient in Europe also, when the state of the times rendered fortified places the only secure places; and this occasional necessity may account, in some measure, for the wretched alleys I have just described. But the natives give another reason; that were they wider, it would be impossible to pass along them under the unshaded fire of the summer's sun. This may appear feasible; but the evil is only half averted; confined heat, crowd, and odious smells, producing effects, to European feelings at least, more intolerable than the most vertical beams in a free atmosphere. Where any place does present a little more room than ordinary, or under the covered ways attached to the shops, we generally find one of the national story-tellers, surrounded by groups of people; some well-clad, others in rags, and not

a few nearly naked, attending with the most lively interest to tales they must have heard a thousand times before. He recounts them with a change of gesticulation, and a varied tone of voice, according to his subject; whether it be the loves of Khosroo and Shireene, the exploits of Rustum their favourite hero, or any number of historic couplets from Ferdoussi, the Homer of their land. From the humblest peasant, to the head that wears the diadem, all have the same passion for this kind of entertainment. His present Majesty, and also the several Prince-governors, have each a court story-teller; in listening to whose powers of memory, or of eloquence, the royal personage frequently passes the leisure of the day; and when on a long journey, this necessary officer is always within call, to beguile the tedium of the way. Such a living chronicle of noble exemplars is certainly a more creditable adjunct to a great man's train, than the saucy motleys of our old courts; whose wit might as often be a vehicle of mischief, as of innocent pastime, to the invited guests. These story-tellers of Persia have a mixed character, something between the bards of antiquity, and the troubadours of more modern days.' Vol. I. pp. 310—2.

A muddy drawing in India ink does not much aid Sir Robert's description of this capital.—Mirza Sheffy, prime minister to the late and the present King, is about seventy-five years of age, short in stature, of a spare figure, a thin, pallid visage, small sparkling eyes, beard long, pointed, and dyed a deep red. He is a man of considerable talent and tact, but inordinately avaricious. He understands, however, the business of his office, and being considered the second man in the kingdom, is treated by all ranks with the utmost deference.

'A little anecdote,' says our Author, 'that was told to me the other day, of this minister, will shew the master-passion and the humour with which he sometimes turns it into sport. His station near the sovereign gives him a kind of reflecting consequence, that makes a nod or a smile from him, so full of a similar quality, that it may shed honour *ad infinitum* downwards; graduating dignity, according to its distance from the original fountain of favour. First one happy courtier, and then another, had received these marks of peculiar grace; and, in consequence, became the little centre of a temporary adulation from hundreds; many of whom envied the favour they sought to conciliate, even at second, or third hand. Amongst the latter order of suitors, was a rich, but otherwise inconsiderable individual, who had long attended Mirza Sheffy's levees, without having received the slightest notice; but chancing one day to find the minister alone for a few moments, he seized the opportunity, and thus addressed him:

'"I have had the honour of placing myself, for these many months back, in your Excellency's sight, in the midst of your crowded halls, and yet have never had the happiness of receiving a single glance. But if your Excellency would condescend, in the next assembly of your visitors, to *rise a little* on my entrance, such a distinction would be the height of my ambition; I should thenceforth be held of

consequence in the eyes of the khans. And for this honour, I would give your Excellency a consideration of one hundred tomauns."

'It was an argument his Excellency liked so well, he closed with the proposal, and the time for the solemn investing dignity was arranged for the next day. The happy man took care not to make his appearance till the divan of the minister was pretty well filled. He then presented himself on the most conspicuous part of the carpet, big with ideas of the ever-growing honours, of which that moment was to make him master. He looked proudly round on the rest of the khans, while Mirza Sheffy, half-raising himself from his seat, by his knuckles, and fixing his eyes gravely on him, to the no small astonishment of the rest of the company, exclaimed, "Is that enough?" The man was so overcome with confusion, he hurried from the room, leaving his distinction and his money alike with the minister; but taking with him the useful lesson, that bought honours are generally paid with disgrace. The laugh for once went, without doubt of sincerity, with the great man; and his smiles became of still higher value, since it had been provedthat he set them above price.'

Vol. I. pp. 314, 315.

Very tedious is the historical account which follows, of the festival of Nowroose, and Sir Robert bewilders himself to little purpose among the early records and traditions of Persia. He is more at home when he describes the celebration of it as it was actually presented to his senses; and his authority is, on these occasions, much less questionable, than when he overwhelms himself in matters of dark and doubtful erudition. He is enraptured with the pomp and magnificence of the royal procession at this feast.

'Here was no noise, no bustle of any kind; every person standing quietly in his place, respectfully awaiting the arrival of the monarch. At last, the sudden discharge of the swivels from the camel-corps without, with the clangor of trumpets, and I know not what congregation of uproarious sounds besides, announced that His Majesty had entered the gate of the citadel. But the most extraordinary part of this clamour, was the appalling roar of two huge elephants, trained to the express purpose of giving this note of the especial movements of the Great King.

'He entered the saloon from the left, and advanced to the front of it, with an air and step which belonged entirely to a sovereign. I never before had beheld any thing like such perfect majesty; and he seated himself on his throne with the same undescribable, unaffected dignity. Had there been any assumption in his manner, I could not have been so impressed. I should then have seen a man, though a king, theatrically acting his state: here, I beheld a great sovereign feeling himself as such, and he looked the majesty he felt.

'He was one blaze of jewels, which literally dazzled the sight on first looking at him; but the details of his dress were these; a lofty tiara of three elevations was on his head, which shape appears to have been long peculiar to the crown of the Great King. It was entirely

composed of thickly-set diamonds, pearls, rubies, and emeralds, so exquisitely disposed as to form a mixture of the most beautiful colours, in the brilliant light reflected from its surface. Several black feathers like the heron plume, were intermixed with the resplendent aigrettes of this truly imperial diadem, whose bending points were finished with pear-formed pearls of an immense size. His vesture was of gold tissue, nearly covered with a similar disposition of jewellery; and, crossing the shoulders, were two strings of pearls, probably the largest in the world. I call his dress a vesture, because it sat close to his person, from the neck to the bottom of the waist, shewing a shape as noble as his air. At that point it devolved downwards in loose drapery, like the usual Persian garment, and was of the same costly materials with the vest. But for splendour, nothing could exceed the broad bracelets round his arms, and the belt which encircled his waist; they actually blazed like fire, when the rays of the sun met them; and when we know the names derived from such excessive lustre, we cannot be surprised at seeing such an effect. The jewelled band on the right arm was called *The Mountain of Light*; and that on the left, *The Sea of Light*; which superb diamonds, the rapacious conquests of Nadir Shah had placed in the Persian regalia, after sacking Delhi, stripping Mahomed Shah, the eleventh emperor of the Moguls, of his dominions, and adding to Persia all the provinces of Hindostan, north of the Indus. Vol. I. pp. 324—326.

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'While the Great King (Futteh Ali Shah) was approaching his throne, the whole assembly, with one accord, continued bowing their heads to the ground till he had taken his place. A dead silence then ensued; the whole presenting a most magnificent, and indeed awful appearance; the stillness being so profound, amongst so vast a concourse, that the slightest rustling of the trees was heard, and the softest trickling of the water from the fountains into the canals. As the motionless state of every thing lasted for more than a minute, it allowed me time to observe particularly the figure of the Shah. His face seemed exceedingly pale, of a polished marble hue; with the finest contour of features; and eyes dark, brilliant, and piercing; a beard black as jet, and of a length which fell below his chest, over a large portion of the effulgent belt which held his diamond-hilted dagger. This extraordinary amplitude of beard, appears to have been a badge of Persian royalty, from the earliest times; for we find it attached to the heads of the sovereigns, in all the ancient sculptured remains throughout the empire.

'In the midst of this solemn stillness, while all eyes were fixed on the bright object before them, which sat, indeed, as radiant and immoveable as the image of Mithrus itself, a sort of volley of words, bursting at one impulse from the mouths of the moullahs and astrologers, made me start, and interrupted my gaze. This strange outcry was a kind of heraldic enumeration of the Great King's titles, dominions, and glorious acts; with an appropriate panegyric on his courage, liberality, and extended power. When this was ended, with all heads bowing to the ground, and the air ceased to vibrate with the sounds,

there was a pause for about half a minute, and then His Majesty spoke. The effect was even more startling than the sudden bursting forth of the moullahs; for this was like a voice from the tombs, so deep, so hollow, and at the same time so penetratingly loud. Having thus addressed his people, he looked towards Captain Willock, the British Chargé d'Affaires, with whom I stood: and then we moved forward to the front of the throne. The same awful voice, though in a lowered tone, spoke to him, and honoured me with a gracious welcome to his dominions. After His Majesty had put a few questions to me, and received my answers, we fell back into our places; and were instantly served with bowls of a most delicious sherbet, which very grateful refreshment was followed by an attendant presenting to us a large silver tray, on which lay a heap of small coin called a shy, of the same metal, mixed with a few pieces of gold. I imitated my friend in all these ceremonies, and held out both my hands to be filled with this royal largess; which, with no little difficulty, we passed through our festal trappings into our pockets.

'When the rest of the gratulatory compliments of the day, had been uttered between the monarch and his assembled nobles, the chief executioner, our former herald, gave us the signal that all was over for that morning. We then retired, as we came, under his auspices; but, if possible, with still more pressure and heat than we had battled through in our approach.'

Vol. I. pp. 327—329.

The Spring at Tehraun is pleasant and healthy; the thermometer of Reaumur being only from 70 to 80 in the shade. The garden of Negauristan, one of the King's palaces, loses little of its gaudiness in the perfumed diction of Sir Robert Porter.

'On my first entering this bower of fairy-land, (indeed I may call it the very garden of Beauty and the Beast!) I was struck with the appearance of two rose-trees, full fourteen feet high, laden with thousands of flowers, in every degree of expansion, and of a bloom and delicacy of scent that imbued the whole atmosphere with the most exquisite perfume. Indeed, I believe that in no country of the world does the rose grow in such perfection as in Persia; in no country is it so cultivated and prized by the natives. Their gardens and courts are crowded with its plants, their rooms ornamented with vases filled with its gathered bunches, and every bath strewed with the full-blown flowers, plucked from the ever-replenished stems. Even the humblest individual, who pays a piece of copper money for a few whifs of a kalioun, feels a double enjoyment when he finds it stuck with a bud from his dear native tree! But in this delicious garden of Negauristan, the eye and the smell were not the only senses regaled by the presence of the rose. The ear was enchanted by the wild and beautiful notes of multitudes of nightingales, whose warblings seem to increase in melody and softness with the unfolding of their favourite flowers; verifying the song of their poet, who says: "When the roses fade, when the charms of the bower are passed away, the

fond tale of the nightingale no longer animates the scene." ' Vol. I. pp. 337, 8.

We dare not trust ourselves to the sentimental descriptions of the Asiatic women and their personal charms,—a subject on which our Author expatiates as in a congenial element. The empire of their beauty seldom outlives eight or ten years; the brief summer of their bloom beginning at eleven or twelve, and fading into ugliness and wrinkles at twenty. Under the present King, a great melioration in the manners of the Persians is stated to have taken place. Wine, forbidden by the Koran, had formerly been drunk to excess both by King and subjects. But Futteh Ali Shah and his sons, being strict observers of the religious ordinances of their country, the great men of the country following their example, have recovered their dignity and the respect of the people. In another important respect also, the morals of Persia appear to our Author considerably improved under the present dynasty. Brothels were formerly authorized and publicly licensed, and the Sefi princes drew a great revenue from them; but the existence of these places is now hardly known in the country.

The personal character of Futteh Ali Shah is eulogized to the skies. Sir Robert had frequent opportunities of observing it, and from every conference he came away 'with renewed impressions of the *amiable* in the man, one of the most essential qualities in the composition of a sovereign whose will is virtually the law.' But who can blame our Author for a little oriental hyperbole in describing the virtues of the Great King, when he adverts to the overwhelming honour that was reserved for him of drawing his Majesty's likeness?

'The wish had been imparted to the Shah; and his Majesty with that *bienséance* which as eminently belongs to the Persian court, as ever it did to that of Louis XIV., paying me a compliment that might have elevated my pencil and the hand that held it to a place among the stars, did me the honour to appoint a day when I was to transfer his image to paper.'

This sitting and the dress of the monarch occupy three or four pages of Sir Robert's quarto. The sketch, which is animated and striking, is prefixed to the volume. We cannot restrain ourselves from quoting the following passage as a complete specimen of the mock-heroic style of Sir Robert, which, like that of Mr. Puff, 'has as much to say upon a ribbon as 'a Raffaelle.'

'As I traced his Majesty's features, line by line, I ascertained every detail of his physiognomy, and felt new interest in the varieties of its expression. His complexion, as I observed before, is exceedingly pale; but when he speaks on subjects that excite him, a vivid colour rushes to his cheek; but only for a moment, it passes so transiently away. His nose is very aquiline. His eye-brows, full, black,

and finely arched, with lashes of the same appearance, shading eyes of the most perfect form, dark and beaming, but at times full of a fire that kindles his whole countenance, though, in general, its expression is that of languor. His beard, black as jet, ample, and long, and tapering to a point considerably below the hilt of his dagger. The almost sublime dignity which this form of beard adds to the native majesty of his features, is not to be conceived: and the smile which often shone through it, ineffably sweet and noble, rather increased than diminished the effect. The British Chargé d'Affaires, with Abul Hassan Khan, were my companions to the presence; and, the Shah conversing with them during my occupation, the changes of the subjects gave his fine physiognomy every play. Yet the enervating style of his life was evident, both in the languid movement of his eye, when he sat quiescent, and from the usual hollow tone of his otherwise sonorous voice; but which, like the occasional flashes from his eyes, became powerful when under the influence of animating discourse.' Vol. I. p. 356.

Having surveyed the ruins of the famous city of Rhey, Rhé, or Rey, of which it would be injustice not to remark, that he has given a more detailed description than any other European traveller, our Author proceeded on his tour to the south of the empire on the 13th May, 1818, with a suitable escort for the expedition, and a royal firman to afford him requisite facilities on his progress.

The caravansaras, without which travelling through a country so waste and depopulated as Persia would be wholly impracticable, are generally erected on the same plan (varying only in dimensions and architectural ornament) throughout the empire. That of Guz is thus described.

'The extent of this building is an exact square of one hundred yards on every side, flanked by four towers, of a diameter so disproportioned to the length of the intervening walls, as not to exceed nine feet. Within these walls are the buildings which form the accommodations of the caravan. On entering the great gate, the first object that presents itself, is a kind of piazza, which extends itself on every side of the interior of the quadrangle, leaving a noble area, or court in the middle. These piazzas are subdivided into lofty arched apartments, open in front, and all neatly paved. At ten feet within each of these, is another chamber, fifteen feet deep, and containing, at its farther end, a fire-place, besides several little compartments cut out of the thickness of the wall, called topshehs, or cupboards, which are deemed indispensables in every Persian room. This interior chamber is seldom resorted to before winter; the outer one, open to the court, being considered the summer apartment, from the advantage it affords of breathing the free, incommoded air. The traveller spreads his nummud upon the paved floor; fitting it up with bedding according to his own idea of comfort; but nothing is really necessary, beyond a pillow, with a sheet for the warmest nights, and a quilt for the cool. Immediately behind this double range of chambers, runs an open space

or lane, in like manner following the quadrangular sweep of the building; the hinder side of the lane, (that is, the one nearest the wall of the caravansary,) being an arcade also; and divided into cell-like apartments, for the use of servants, muleteers, and other persons, wishing to keep station near their cattle: which are generally stabled in the lane, between the front of this last arcade, and the back of the one first described. Sometimes, when the caravansary is very full, the animals are picketed in the great court, while their attendants sleep on a large elevated square platform, which occupies the centre; and round it, the packages of the travellers are piled up in heaps. Reposing in the open air is not merely a luxury to all orders of people in this climate, at this season, but is indispensable to their health and their comfort in many other respects; close apartments being often not only intolerable from heat, but often sorely infested with vermin both great and small. One ample entrance leads into the caravansary, the gates of which are closed soon after sun-set, and only occasionally re-opened during the night for the egress of departing guests. Beneath the extensive vaulted roof of the porch, are the quarters of the keeper, or warden, and his people; with the shop, and other repositories of the accommodations he prepares for travellers. Amongst this numerous store, we see exposed to sale, tobacco, rice, grapes, water-melons, eggs, grease, bread, wood, corn, moss, &c. This last article is a beverage of acidulated milk, and when diluted with water, is a favourite drink with the natives; the antiquity of the beverage is so great, that Plutarch mentions it as part of the ceremony at the consecration of the Persian kings, to quaff off a large goblet of this acidulated mixture: an apt emblem of the sweets and sours that fill the cup of royalty! Every commodity being sold at double the ordinary price, the renter of the caravansary is enabled to pay liberally to the agent of the crown for his privilege, and to realize a very handsome profit besides.' Vol. I. pp. 400—2.

Ispahan lies in lat. 32° 40′ 24″, long. 84° 19′. It has for ages been deemed the capital of Persia, and was raised to great magnificence by the renowned Shah Abbas. We are sorry, however, to observe that our Author has followed Chardin's long, tedious, and hyperbolical account of this city; and at the end of his description, he amuses himself in a most ridiculous passage, by imagining what Mr. Anacreon Moore would have said to the shade of Shah Abbas, had he fallen in with him.

'How would the seer-spirit of our poet of Persia, Thomas Moore, have apostrophized the shade of Shah Abbas, the lord of all these departed festivities; had he been looking out that moonlight night, as I did on the first of my sojourn in that vast and lonely palace, on the deep solitude of those former gardens of pleasure! He would have re-peopled these silent glades with the first of the royal name, who made Ispahan the emporium of nations; he would have seen him—&c. &c.'

In Chardin's time, its population was six hundred thousand; but since that period, its glories have been nearly destroyed by

the merciless invasions of its Affghan conquerors, and its people are now computed at about a tenth of that calculation. Its streets are silent and abandoned: its bazaars neglected; its palaces in ruins; and the nocturnal laugh and song with which its beauteous gardens once resounded, are succeeded by the yells of jackalls, and the howls of famished dogs. The Chehel Setoon, or Forty Pillars, the favourite palace of the Sefi kings, appeared to our Author a magic vision in the wonderful tales of an Arabian night; and he luxuriates in the delineation. Yet, he seems to be ignorant that it is, in fact, supported only by twenty pillars, which, by reflection in the tank, appear as forty, and that from this circumstance its name is derived. The six large historical pictures of the banqueting hall are described; but it is scarcely possible to comprehend them distinctly amid the mazes of Sir Robert's metaphorical confusion. As specimens of art, indeed, they are ridiculous; but, as faithful representations of the costume and manners of the time to which they relate, they are invaluable. In truth, the art, though it never approximated in this country to excellence, seems to have receded from the Sefi age. In a large hunting-piece in the new palace erected for Futteh Ali Shah and his two hundred and forty children, groupes of courtiers stray all over the surface, east, west, north, south, not unlike the groupes on the pocket handkerchiefs worn by the common people in England, where the figures leap over mountains, walls, castles, nay, into the very sky. The Persian painters magnificently disdain light and shadow, and pay no regard to perspective.

Julfa, separated by a bridge across the Zeinderood from Ispahan, was originally a colony of Armenians. But its ten thousand inhabitants have dwindled to three hundred wretched families; its thirteen Armenian churches to two only, dark, squalid, and tawdry in their decorations. This suburb is also a deplorable monument of the overwhelming violence of the Affghan incursion. The Armenians throughout the Persian empire, are a poor despised race, and addicted to drunkenness and gluttony. The women are equally degenerated, since the era of Shah Abbas. They actually educate their children to violation, and sell them at the tender age of twelve or thirteen to the highest bidder.

Our Traveller does not make an excursion to the Ateesh-gah, (he adopts the absurd orthography of Attush kou,) or place of fire, visited by Morier in his Second Journey, but contents himself with a bird's eye view of it from the roof of the Sefi gate.

[c] As this Attush-kou is an artificial mount, and stands close to the quarter of the city where the Guebres, and particularly those who followed the arms of Mahmoud, dwelt; no doubt they reseated themselves in a spot that had been inhabited by their ancestors from the

first peopling of the banks of the Zeinderood, and they found it thus marked by the *High Place* of their worship.' Vol. I. p. 438.

A most confused account, enveloped in a mass of unmeaning words literally signifying nothing, of a spot that would be deemed worthy of a pilgrimage by those who are earnest in the study of Oriental antiquity! In fact, the mount is not artificial: it is a hill composed of several strata of native rock. On its summit are several interesting ruins, of mud bricks baked in the sun, between which are layers of reeds without any apparent cement. It seems to have escaped Mr. Morier, and, we believe, every other traveller, that this was the style of building peculiar to the Israelites, who carried it with them from Babel into *Midian*, Egypt, and Persia.

The sinuous course of the valley of Yezdikhast, marks the limits of Irak Ajem, the ancient Media; dividing it from the present province of Fars or Pars, which, under the classic appellation of Persis, once comprised the original kingdom of Persia. We extract the following description of the Goorkhur or wild ass, one of which species our Traveller saw as he was entering into the province of Fars.

'The sun was just rising over the summits of the Eastern mountains, when my greyhound, Cooley, suddenly darted off in pursuit of an animal, which my Persians said, from the glimpse they had of it, was an antelope. I instantly put spurs to my horse, and followed by Sedak Beg and the mehmandar, followed the chase. After an unrelaxed gallop of full three miles, we came up with the dog, who was then within a short stretch of the creature he pursued; and to my surprise, and at first, vexation, I saw it to be an ass. But, on a moment's reflection, judging from its fleetness it must be a wild one, a species little known in Europe, but which the Persians prize above all other animals as an object of chase, I determined to approach as near to it, as the very swift Arab I was on would carry me. But the single instant of checking my horse to consider, had given our game such a head of us, that, notwithstanding all our speed, we could not recover our ground on him. I, however, happened to be considerably before my companions, when, at a certain distance, the animal in its turn made a pause, and allowed me to approach within pistol-shot of him. He then darted off again with the quickness of thought; capering, kicking, and sporting in his flight, as if he were not blown in the least, and the chase were his pastime.

'He appeared to me to be about ten or twelve hands high; the skin smooth, like a deer's, and of a reddish colour; the belly and hinder parts partaking of a silvery grey; his neck was finer than that of a common ass, being longer, and bending like a stag's, and his legs beautifully slender; the head and ears seemed large in proportion to the gracefulness of these forms, and by them I first recognised that the object of my chase was of the ass tribe. The mane was short and black, as was also a tuft which terminated his tail. No line whatever ran along his back, or crossed his shoulders, as are seen on the tame

species with us. When my followers of the country came up, they regretted I had not shot the creature when he was so within my aim, telling me his flesh is one of the greatest delicacies in Persia; but it would not have been to eat him that I should have been glad to have had him in my possession. The prodigious swiftness and peculiar manner with which he fled across the plain, coincided exactly with the description that Xenophon gives of the same animal in Arabia. (vide Anabasis, b. i.) But, above all, it reminded me of the striking portrait drawn by the author of the book of Job.' Vol. I. pp. 459, 60.

The accurate pen of Mr. Morier has scarcely left any thing pertaining to the ruins of Mourg-aub undescribed. Our Traveller, however, with a commendable diligence, has not forborne a minute delineation of them. The most considerable of them bears the name of Tackt-i-Suleiman, or the throne of Solieman. It appears to have been the platform of a building, and consists of hewn stones raised to a level with a rock to which it adheres. Its front is about three hundred feet. He could discover no trace of columns, nor even of marble. It commands the entrance into the valley, or rather plain of Mourg-aub, now received to be that of Pasargardæ, the city originally founded by Cyrus, and containing the tomb of that monarch. The learned world are indebted to Mr. Morier for the hypothesis, that the ruins scattered over this valley are those of Pasargardæ. The tomb called Mesched-Madre i-Sulieman, or the tomb of the Mother of Sulieman, Sir Robert conjectures, and upon plausible grounds of reasoning, to be the Tomb of Cyrus, and cites Arrian's account of that structure in confirmation of his opinion. He deduces a still stronger argument in its favour, from the ancient cuneiform or arrow-headed character found on all the pillars of this place, without the deviation of a single curve. Professor Grottefund, who has made considerable progress in decyphering what Sir Robert incorrectly terms the most ancient form of writing, has translated the memorable inscription,

'Dominus Cyrus rex orbis rector.'

Our Author considers this obscure question to be at length set to rest, and that henceforth the traveller who visits this ruin, may confidently say, *In that small house of stone lies Cyrus, king of kings.*

Great praise is due to our Traveller for the diligence with which he explored, and the accuracy with which he copied, the ruins of what is called the Harem of Jemsheed, and those of Nakshi-Roustam or the mountain of sepulchres. Of the latter we have some curious notices. Having examined the exterior of the tombs, (for the details, we refer our readers to the volume itself,) he penetrated into their interior; an attempt of no little danger as well as fatigue. For the bas relievos and other curious sculptures found in these remains, we must also refer to the nu-

merous drawings which illustrate his researches. We feel no disposition to follow Sir Robert through his antiquarian disquisitions, from a conviction of the utter hopelessness of arriving at clear and satisfactory decisions on subjects involved in inextricable obscurity; more especially as his redundancy of diction would render the task still more perplexed and difficult. We abstain from these topics with less reluctance, from the persuasion that the learned and laborious investigations of Mr. Morier left little more to his successor than to take more detailed copies of the antiquities, and to state his conjectures more diffusely, perhaps, but with little additional strength or perspicuity.

Our Author's attention was next directed to the ruins of Persepolis, the great capital of the empire. It lies in lat. 29° 50′ 39″. He justly remarks, that all attempts to trace the origin of this renowned city, would be fruitless; but concludes that the only means now in our reach, of forming any satisfactory conjectures on the subject, are those of calculating the probable eras of the ruins, by comparing them with similar specimens of art in countries once connected by conquest or by alliance with Persia. He is strongly inclined, from the resemblances he observed in the remains of Persepolis to the architectural taste of Egypt, to infer that this splendid capital was enriched with the spoils of Thebes in the reign of Cambyses the son of Cyrus, and that this monarch 'accompanied the spoil with Egyptian work-'men to place the decorations in their new places.' An elaborate historical illustration of the bas-reliefs follows, which it would be wholly inconsistent with our limits to analyse or abridge. An engraving is given of the inscription in arrow-head characters, of which Le Brun had copied the concluding part. This was omitted by Mr. Morier, and our Traveller deserves commendation for the laborious fidelity with which it seems to be executed. Were we inclined to enter into the dark labyrinth of these antiquities, we should lean towards the inferences of Hager and Lichtenstein, who consider them to be variations of the Hebrew alphabet. Nor is it (Sir Robert will forgive the boldness of our hypothesis) at all improbable, that the inscriptions of Persepolis should have been written in that language. The province of Elam, or Elymais, in which that city was built, appears to have been colonized by a Jewish clan in the time of Darius. It should be recollected also, that the entire dynasty of Persian sovereigns from Cyrus to the Darius whom Alexander dethroned, were of Jewish extraction and Jewish religion. By one of these monarchs, the structures of Persepolis were in all probability erected. Jemsheed, which was the oriental name of the city, was perhaps the oriental name also of Cambyses, the father of Cyrus, who superintended the buildings of the capital, while his son was engaged in his conquests.

On the 21st July 1818, Sir Robert bade adieu to Persepolis. The next day, he arrived at the far-famed stream of Rocknabad, which owes its immortality to the strains of Hafiz. It is now dwindled into a mere rivulet, and the beautiful scenery which once adorned its banks, is no more. A little onward, through an opening in the mountains, appeared the city of Shiraz. We cannot omit the description of the distant view of this celebrated place, accompanied as it is with a transient but honourable mention of Henry Martyn; a name which will never fade from our memory, so long as unwearied ardour in the cause of the Gospel, and the gentlest and purest virtues of the heart, shall retain their reverence among us.

'It stood,' says our Author, 'in an extensive plain, at the foot of the height we were descending, and seemed a place of great consequence and extent, from the mosques and other lofty buildings which towered above the flat roofs of the vast expanse of dwelling-houses. Gardens stretched on all sides of the fortified walls; and, faint with sickness and fatigue, I felt a momentary reviving pleasure in the sight of a hospitable city, and the cheerful beauty of the view. As I drew near, the image of my exemplary countryman, Henry Martyn, rose in my thoughts, seeming to sanctify the shelter to which I was hastening. He had approached Shiraz much about the same season of the year, A. D. 1811, and like myself, was gasping for life under the double pressure of an inward fire, and outward burning sun. He dwelt there nearly a year; and on leaving its walls, the apostle of Christianity found no cause for "shaking off the dust of his feet" against the Mahomedan city. The inhabitants had received, cherished, and listened to him; and he departed thence amidst the blessings and tears of many a Persian friend. Through his means, the Gospel had then found its way into Persia; and as it appears to have been sown in kindly hearts, the gradual effect hereafter, may be like the harvest to the seedling. But, whatever be the issue, the liberality with which his doctrines were permitted to be discussed, and the hospitality with which their promulgator was received by the learned, the nobles, and persons of all ranks, cannot but reflect lasting honour on the government, and command our respect for the people at large. Besides, to a person who thinks at all on these subjects, the circumstances of the first correct Persian translation of the Holy Scriptures being made at Shiraz, and thence put into the royal hands, and disseminated through the empire, cannot but give an almost prophetic emphasis to the transaction, as arising from the very native country (Persia Proper) of the founder of the empire, who first bade the temple of Jerusalem be rebuilt, who returned her sons from captivity, and who was called by name to the divine commission.'

'The son of the late Jaffier Ali Khan came out to meet me: he hailed me, more like an old friend than a *frangee* stranger; and received myself and people into his house with every cordial hospitality our situation needed. My fever had gained an alarming height; and one

of my European servants, a Russian, was in an unmanageable state, having become delirious. Repose seemed the first point, to give some check, if possible, to the advance of our disorder; and when too ill almost to thank our kind host, I found cool apartments prepared, and every comfort he could command, even to a physician, if I would have trusted myself and faithful follower to Asiatic medical skill. From general observation, and a little particular instruction on the subject before I left Europe, I had gained some knowledge of the disorders incidental to this climate, and the safest mode of treating them; hence, I took myself and servant into my own hands, and did not spare our travelling pharmacopeia. The nummud on which I lay, spread in a shaded corner of my room, with the air breathing in at the open window, and the sweet refreshment of rose-water sprinkled over my clothes, while the flowers themselves scattered on the floor, or gathered in pots near me, exhaled a fuller fragrance;—these were all that I saw of Shiraz for several days after my arrival. But the attentions of my host were so unwearied, that I never could forget I was in the house of the near kinsman of the two noble Persians, Jaffier Ali Khan, and Mirza Seid Ali, who had shewn the warmest personal friendship to our "Man of God!" for so they designated Henry Martyn. When the weather became too intense for his enfeebled frame to bear the extreme heat of the city, Jaffier Ali Khan pitched a tent for him in a most delightful garden beyond the walls, where he pursued his Asiatic translations of the Scriptures; or sometimes in the cool of the evening, he sat under the shade of an orange-tree, by the side of a clear stream, holding that style of conversation with the two admirable brothers, which caused their pious guest to say, "That the bed of roses on which he reclined, and the notes of the nightingales which warbled above him, were not so sweet as such discourse from Persian lips." The land in which he so expressed himself, is indeed that of the "bulbul and the rose;" the poet Hafiz having sung of their charms till he identified their names with that of his native city.'

Vol. I. pp. 687—689.

Shiraz is in lat. 29° 33′ 55″. It stands in a fine valley, and has a pleasant, rather than an imposing appearance. It is here that Kerim Khan is said to have erected tombs for Hafiz and the philosophical poet Sadi. But a solitary cypress or two are all that mark the spot where Hafiz reposes. That which holds the remains of Sadi, presented an appearance still more forlorn. We forbear following our Author into his sentimental bewailings upon the neglected condition of these monuments, remarking only that they are in the worst taste possible.

The present governor of Shiraz is Hassan Ali Mirza, one of the King's sons. Every thing within the town seems neglected: the bazaars and maidans are falling into ruins; the streets are choaked with filth; and the squalid poor are seen crawling out of their hovels in a state of indescribable wretchedness. The

water, from mere neglect, is so foul as to injure the health of the inhabitants. The grapes in the valley grow to a size and fullness hardly to be matched in other climates, and produce the celebrated wine of Shiraz. But, whatever may have been its former reputation, since the accession of the present royal family, who are strict in their obedience to the injunctions of the Koran, the whole manufacture has fallen into disrepute. The vine itself is comparatively neglected, the sorting of the fruit disregarded, and the apparatus used is on so small a scale, that only small quantities of the best flavour can be obtained. No wine has so many varieties, from the most transparent brightness to the most muddy syrup. The Armenians of the district are the only persons who venture to make it. But it is sold and drunk in secrecy.

Our Author resolved to return from this place to Ispahan for the recovery of his health, with an intention to proceed to Hamadan, the ancient Ecbatana, anxious to compare its relics with those of Persepolis, and thence to pursue the winding courses of the Tigris and the Euphrates, in order to investigate the stupendous pile of Babylon. The fruits of this projected peregrination, we are promised in another volume.

From the occasional murmurs which have escaped us during our progress through this massy volume, it will be perceived that we are far from being in good humour with its style of composition. The sense is for ever lost amid the indistinct masses of a cloudy phraseology. Hence, there is no sort of proportion between the matter and the words in which it is embodied. When the Author conceives, or seems to conceive an idea, he disappoints us with a countless litter of epithets. He is for ever describing, even when there is hardly any thing to describe. His diction is emphatically of that class,

> 'Where pure description holds the place of sense.'

Thus we have long and verbose descriptions, almost in the manner of Salvator Rosa, of dreadful banditti, who never make their appearance, and of perils by 'flood and field,' which he never encounters. In portraying the scenery of Persia, his language, to use an oriental metaphor, seems 'drunk with the fragrance of 'the air.' Roses and jessamines, clustering parterres of fruits and flowers, dark-green shadows, gurgling of waters, golden rays of the setting sun, embroider his pages with every variety of verbal millinery. His fits also of wonder seem to have no end; and he invariably loses his senses at the sight of what is awful and stupendous,—the icy summits of Ararat or the craggy defiles of Caucasus. His fault is, that he will not tell us any thing simply and naturally, according to the unexaggerated

impression of the moment; an inexpiable fault in a book of travels.

We complain, moreover, of another feature (unfortunately a prominent one) in this volume; we mean the perpetual propensity which he manifests, to lose himself in obscurities of learned languages and ancient authors. If we do not grossly err, Sir Robert has 'little Latin and less Greek.' Speaking of a garden, he calls it *this* horti Adonidis, without any deference to concord. And he thus translates the inscription on the tomb of Cyrus, Ενθαδ' ἐγω κειμαι Κυρος βασιλευς βασιληων. 'Here is *placed* 'Cyrus King of Kings.'

Yet, making due deductions for bad taste, false learning, and inflated diction, much amusement, and perhaps some information, are to be derived from his writings. They are evidently those of an amiable and good-humoured man, disposed to be pleased with himself and every thing about him, 'from Dan to 'Beersheba.' Some of his drawings are admirable, and we cannot speak in too high commendation of his sketches of the sculptures and bas-reliefs which he took at Persepolis and Nakshi Roustam.

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1. Art. II. *Horæ Britannicæ;* or Studies in Ancient British History, containing various Disquisitions on the National and Religious Antiquities of Great Britain. By John Hughes. 2 vols. 8vo. London. 1818, 19.

2. *The Welsh Nonconformist's Memorial;* or Cambro-British Biography; containing Sketches of the Founders of the Protestant Dissenting Interest in Wales. To which are prefixed, An Essay on Druidism, and Introduction of the Gospel into Britain. With an Appendix. By the late Rev. William Richards, LL.D. Edited, with Notes, by John Evans, LL.D. 12mo. pp. xxxvi, 500. Price 8s. London. 1820.

MR. HUGHES claims for his work 'the honour of being 'the first thing of the kind, as a history of the British 'churches, treated in any thing of a popular shape, for the use 'of English readers in general.' We have already adverted to his work in noticing Mr. Stuart's recent history of Armagh, but it is entitled to a more distinct notice. It is a highly respectable compilation; and as the works from which the Author has drawn his materials, are not generally accessible, some from their bulk and costliness, others from the language and letter in which their contents are shrouded from the vulgar, he deserves the thanks of the public for having compressed the results of much dry and tedious investigation into the compass of two very readable and entertaining volumes.

Mr. Richards (or, if Doctor Evans prefers it, *Dr.* Richard although the American diploma never reached the good Welsh-

man,) had been, for some years before his death, employed in similar researches. His Essay on Druidism forms the first part of a concise ancient British history, which is brought down, in the subsequent sketches, to the time of Wicklif. This occupies a hundred and thirty pages of the volume, and although a mere outline, will convey a correct general idea of the history of the period. The memoirs of Vavasor Powell and his fellow-labourers, extend to two hundred and forty more; and the remainder of the volume is occupied with miscellanies.

The word Britain, which, according to Bochart, is of Phœnician derivation, from *Barat-anac, the land of tin*,* is derived by our Cambrian lexicographers from *pryd, beauty*; prydain signifying *beautiful*, either in reference to the country itself, or as the Welsh Triads assert, being so called from a great legislator of that name, the Numa of the isle, Prydain the son of Aedd the Great. The proper name in its radical form, is, on this hypothesis, Prydain, or Ynys Prydain; but Mr. Hughes conjectures that this mysterious personage was no other than a personification of the Island itself.

It is generally supposed, that this Island must have been peopled from Gaul at least five hundred years before Christ. The Celts emigrated originally from Asia: they settled principally in Gaul, and in parts of Italy; and from them Britain is commonly held to have received its first inhabitants. Mr. Hughes, however, contends that the Island must have been previously inhabited, and that it was peopled not many centuries after the Flood. Spain and Gaul must, he argues, have been inhabited long prior to the date assigned to the earliest Celtic colony in this Island; and Britain could not remain entirely uninhabited for any length of time after the continent had been stocked with inhabitants. The Trojan origin of the British nation, which is generally treated as a mere fiction of Geoffrey of Monmouth's, is supposed by our Author to be founded on a much more ancient tradition; the Brutus of the Chronicle being no other than Prydyn, the son of Hu-ysgwn, the leader of one of the earliest colonies. According to the Welsh Triads, some of which, there is good reason to believe, are of remote antiquity, three successive colonies came over from the continent at a very early period. The first was the *Cymry* or Cymbrians, for whom is claimed the honour of being the first occupiers of the soil: they are said to have come over *Mór Tawch* (the hazy ocean) from the land of *Háv* or *Deffrobani*. The land of *Háv* (in Welsh, the *summer country*) is explained by the learned Author of the Celtic Re-

* The Cassiterides of Strabo, a word of the same import, are supposed also to denote the British islands.

searches, to be the land of *Hâm*: 'it may,' he adds, 'import 'Hæmus.' Deffrobani is stated in the Triads, to be the country 'where Constantinople now stands;' but this comment is suspected to be the remark of some copyist. The second race, the Lloegrwys, Loegrians, or Ligurois, are stated to have come from the land of Gwasgwyn (Gascony.) The third tribe, the Brython or Britons, came from the land of Llydaw (Letavia, Armorica, or Bas Bretagne).' Both these tribes are affirmed to have sprung from the primordial race of the Cymry, and 'the three were of 'one language and of one speech.' Three other tribes are stated to have settled in the Island, with the permission of the Cymry, 'without weapon or assault:' the *Celyddon*, or Caledonians in the North; the *Gwydhelians*, who also settled in the highlands of Scotland; and the men of *Galedin*, 'who came in their 'boats to the Isle of Wight, when their country was overflowed, 'and were allowed a territory by the race of Cymry, but could 'not be entitled to the rights of natives until the ninth genera-'tion.' After these,

'Three usurping tribes came into the Isle of Britain, and never departed out of it. The first of those was that of the Coraniaid, who came from the land of the Pwyl (or Poland, according to the etymology of the word, and according to the application of it, to denote that country, by the modern Welsh); the second was, the Gwyddelian Fichti (Picts), who came into Alban (Scotland), over the sea of Llychlyn, or Lochlyn: the third was that of the Saxons.'

The Coraniaid, or Coritani, occupied a territory on each side of the Humber, including the counties of Leicester, Rutland, Lincoln, Nottingham, and Derby; and in these counties there is no trace of the Cambro-British tongue. On the arrival of the Saxons, they united with them against the natives, and succeeded in obtaining the sovereignty of the Island. All the Loegrians became one people with the Saxons, those only excepted who inhabited Cornwall and Northumberland; but the Cymry, although dispossessed of the empire, are stated to have kept their country and their language; and the Britons, who were of a common descent, became blended with them. The 'men of Galedin' are no other than the Belgæ, numerous hordes of whom followed the first detachment, occupying the South-eastern coast. Their first coming over is reckoned to have been about four hundred years before Christ, since, by the time of Cæsar, not only Kent and Sussex, but Hampshire, Dorsetshire, Wiltshire, Devonshire, and Cornwall, were occupied by their descendants, and bore their names. The wars occasioned by these invaders, are supposed by Mr. Whitaker to have conduced to the peopling of Ireland from this Island. The Coritani are supposed to have also been a Belgic tribe: they merged in the swarms of Angles and Danes who poured

into the North of England, at nearly the same time that the Saxons invaded the counties South of the Thames, and drove the former inhabitants into Wales, Cornwall, and Britany, where they became mixed with the aborigines. The true ancient Britons are generally supposed to be represented by the Highlanders of Scotland and the Irish, whose language plainly proves their identity. Whether these Celtic tribes or the Cymry have the best claim to be considered as the aboriginal possessors of Britain, we shall have occasion presently to shew. Ireland,* most probably at a very early period, would receive colonists from the shores of the Bay of Biscay; and it would afford a ready asylum to different races of fugitive Britons when driven before successive invaders. The first inhabitants of Ireland, according to Richard of Cirencester, came from South Britain. The large proportion of Gothic words to be found in the Erse and Gaelic, shews that both Ireland and Scotland received at an early period of the Christian era, colonists from Scandinavia. Almost half the Welsh language is said to be German: it contains also a great deal of Latin as well as Celtic. If the Welsh Triads may be relied on, and the Cymry retained their original language, this circumstance would seem to justify the opinion of their affinity with the Celtic and Germanic families. But what was the language of the Belgic Britons, with whom the Romans, on their first invasion, came chiefly in contact? Was it the Gaddelic or the Cymraeg,—Gaelic or Welsh? 'It is admitted,' says Mr. Hughes, 'that the language spoken by the natives of 'Wales, is the same that was spoken in this Island previous to 'the establishment of the Romans;' but he doubts whether it was ever spoken by the central Britons. It was principally spoken by the inhabitants of the Western coast, from Cornwall to the Firth of Clyde. What then was the language of the Belgæ,—of the Cassii, the Trinobantes, and the Iceni? It must have differed from that of the Cymry; and as the greater part of the nation are represented in the Triads as becoming one people with the Saxons, the language of the Belgæ, as well as that of the Coritani, was probably allied to the Saxon; and the Welsh may have derived its mixture of German from the blending of the Cimbric with the Belgic Britons. The Coritani, instead of coming from Poland, or from Holland, (which Mr. Davies supposes to be denoted by the land of Pwyl,) might with more plausibility be conjectured to be Angles or Danes. These tribes, as distinguished from the aborigines, Mr. Pinkerton considers as the main stock from which the English nation is sprung, since the few Saxons and Angles who repeatedly came over in

* Mr. Hughes seems, in his Appendix, to lean to the opinion, that the Gwydhelians or Irish were the primitive inhabitants of Britain, and that they were driven northward and westward by the Cimbric, Loegrian, and Breton tribes.

the fifth and sixth centuries, and of whom many fell in battle, could never, he argues, be the parents of such a nation as that which possessed England in the time of Bede and of Alfred.

We have, then, three grand divisions of the nation, distinguished by their respective languages—the old Celtic race, to which are to be referred the Albanian and Hibernian Scots, of whom traces are left in the Gaelic and the Erse; the Cymry or aboriginal Britons of the Western coast, including the Cornish, the Cumbrians, and the Armorican Bretons; and the mixed Celto-Germanic race who ultimately assumed the designation of Anglo-Saxons. It has been supposed that the Gaelic or Erse, and the Cymraeg, had originally a much closer affinity, and that both the North Britons and the Welsh Britons were of the same great Celtic family. It is probable enough, that the language of the former would become considerably modified by a larger mixture of the Scandinavian dialects, while that of the latter would blend itself with that of the continental tribes who subdued the South of Britain and the counties bordering on Wales. Of the Cambro-British tongue, there were three distinct dialects; the Silurian, which is supposed to be the most ancient, spoken in the counties of Hereford, Radnor, Monmouth, Glamorgan, and Gloucester west of the Severn; that of the Dimetæ, inhabiting the remainder of South Wales; and that of the Ordovices of North Wales. The fragments of ancient poetry, however, handed down to us as the productions of Aneurin the Northumbrian, Llywarch, the Cumbrian prince, and Myrdhin the Caledonian, are, Mr. Hughes affirms, 'as intelligible to a 'good Welshman of the present age as the works of Taliesin of 'North Wales; and all these are much in the same language 'as the laws of Prince Howel, composed in the tenth century, 'in South Wales.'

It is not by any means clearly ascertained to what race the Picts are to be referred. Bede speaks of them as having a language peculiar to themselves, enumerating five languages spoken in Britain in his day: 'Anglorum (Anglo Saxons), 'Britonum (Welsh), Scottorum, Pictorum, et Latinorum.' But Mr. Hughes thinks that Bede may not have been acquainted with the Pictish, and that it may have been only a dialect of the Cymbro-British. This does not strike us as very probable. Camden, Whitaker, Henry, Smollett, and Macpherson, are a powerful array of authorities on the side of the opinion which makes them Caledonian Britons. They were evidently, however, a distinct nation from the Scots; and the authority of the Triads will sufficiently justify our asserting them to have been of an origin distinct from the Northumbrian and Cumbrian Cymry. Etymology can avail us little in determining the point; but we strongly incline to the supposition that they were of Scandinavian extraction.

There can be no doubt as to the original identity of the Welsh,

the Cornish, and the Breton or Armoric dialects. The learned Father Pezron, not content with claiming for them the distinction of being the genuine relics of the ancient language of Gaul and Britain, exclaims, in the fullness of antiquarian enthusiasm: 'What a singular fact, that so ancient a language should now 'be spoken by the Armorican Bretons in France, and by the 'ancient Britons in Wales; for these are the people who have 'the honour of preserving the language of the posterity of Go-'mer, Japhet's eldest son'!! This is rather at variance with the supposed derivation of the Cymry from the land of *Ham*, and not less so with their Celto-Scythian extraction.—According to the most learned Welshmen of our own day, the language bears decided marks of its Asiatic origin, resembling the Hebrew both in its terms and idioms, and its syntax. Its pronunciation also is stated to resemble that of the East, while 'its composition and structure approach nearer to the Oriental 'tongues than to any European language.' The Asiatic origin of the Celts and Goths, is unquestionable; and their language might be expected to exhibit more or less the proofs of their extraction. But why the Cymraeg should preserve more of an Asiatic character than the Erse or the Gothic, does not appear. The Bretons have laboured under peculiar disadvantages, having no printed book among them for general use, and no version of the Scriptures. Mr. Hughes remarks:

'We have the Sacred Scriptures in every language spoken in the British isles, new editions having lately been published of the Irish and Gaelic; and there have been repeated editions of the Welsh in this, as well as in the last two centuries. The Manksmen have the Scriptures in the dialect of their small island: but the *Bretons of France* have not as much as the New Testament in their ancient tongue. There appears to be no one likely to undertake such a work; except some Welshman engage in it, and thus make some return, after the lapse of numerous ages, for the labours of Garmon and his associates in our island, in the fourth century.'

Such a work will, we trust, before long be supplied under the auspices either of the British and Foreign Bible Society, or the Bible Society recently established at Paris. Among no people, if we may rely on the accounts of recent travellers, does it seem more desirable to circulate, in their vernacular tongue, the hitherto sealed volume of Inspiration. They inhabit a fine country; they once boasted of liberty and independence; they had, like the Welsh, their heroes and their bards, their history and their literature; but they have sunk into the most abject degeneracy. 'During my excursion in Wales,' says Mrs. Stothard, 'I heard 'continually some recurrence to their ancient history, some tra-'dition or legendary tale; but I never met with a single in-'stance of this kind in Britany.....Most of our ancient metrical romances derive their origin from the genius and ef-

'fusions of the Breton bards. Many of the early Norman poets 'avowed the subjects of their lays were likewise borrowed from 'the Bretons. But at the present time, they have not in Britany 'any legendary songs or poems that sprung from their bards. I 'say this, because I have made every possible inquiry to gain 'full information, and I could never learn that they retained any 'portion, however obscure, of their ancient poetry or traditions.'

The difference between the Patois of Britany and the Welsh, appears to arise from the former having received a large portion of the language of the Franks, which was a compound of the Latin and the Teutonic. Mr. Hughes has given, in an appendix to the second volume, numerous specimens of the ancient languages of Gaul and Britain, in which the Welsh, Cornish, and Armoric generally differ only in their orthography. In some cases, the latter two present a close resemblance, while both differ from the former: in a few, the Welsh and the Armoric agree, and the Cornish differs. The Breton language as now spoken, varies considerably in different districts of Britany, but not much more, perhaps, than the Welsh varies in North and South Wales. It is said to have more words in common with the Saxon, than the Welsh has, while the Cornish approaches nearer than either of the other dialects, to the Irish. According to the same authority, that of Mr. Owen, the Irish has, of all the Celtic languages, the greatest affinity of structure with the Latin; which, taken in connexion with Mr. Lluyd's remark, that there are decided marks of affinity in the Irish with the Old Spanish (or Cantabrian), strengthens the supposition that the Hibernian Scoti came originally from Spain, agreeably to the assertion of Ninius, while the Gwydhelians, with whom they ultimately blended, emigrated from Britain. We must refer those of our readers who are disposed to pursue these philological speculations to the Cambrian Register, the Archæologia Britannica, and the other works cited by Mr. Hughes. His own opinion appears to be either undecided or confused; and we have to complain that the subject, instead of being fully discussed in a distinct and connected form, is broken into desultory remarks and detached appendices, so that the information which the volumes contain, is given piece-meal in a manner which leads us to suppose that the Author collected it as he went along.

There is a similar want of arrangement and distinctness in his treatise on the Druidical worship. We have first, disquisitions on the learning, religious rites, and mythology of the Druids; next, remarks on the religion of the ancient Britons, and proofs of their polytheism; followed by a comparative view of the objects of their idolatry: we then return to the worship and mythology of the ancient Britons; and this same subject is further pursued in the Appendix to the first volume, Nos. 1 and 2. This is either an indolent or an unskilful style of compilation.

Our knowledge of Druidism is chiefly derived from Strabo and the Roman historians; in particular, Cæsar and Pliny. The common opinion or tradition in Cæsar's time, was, that it originated in Britain, and was thence translated into Gaul. In order to reconcile this with the received supposition that this Island was peopled from the continent, we must conclude, either that the system was of indigenous growth among the Cimbric Britons, or that it was imported to this country immediately from the East. The striking similarity which may be traced between the Druids of Britain, and the Magi and Bramhuns of Persia and Hindustan, has been largely insisted on by the Author of the "Indian Antiquities." Brunker, in his History of Philosophy, remarks on the similarity of their fables to those of the Asiatics; a circumstance which he considers as confirming the conjecture that the Celtic nations arose from colonies which came from the northern regions of Asia, and that they brought with them the tenets which, in the remotest periods, had prevailed among the Persians, Scythians, and other Asiatic nations. Mr. Hughes cites from Enfield's translation of Brunker the following passage;

'Indeed, it is probable, that the Celts and Sarmatians in Europe, and the Medes and Persians in Asia, were derived from one common stock, the Asiatic Scythians: for, on the one hand, it appears that the name of Scythians, which remained in the northern part of Asia, passed over with the Scythian colonies into Europe, where it was gradually lost in those of Sarmatians and Germans; and on the other hand, authorities are not wanting to prove that the Medes and Persians were descended from the Scythians. (V. Herod. lib. v. c. 9. Ammianus Marcellinus, lib. xxxi. c. 23.)—The same religious rites which the Persians had received from the Scythians, were probably also embraced by the Celts, and by them transmitted, in their migrations, through Germany, Gaul, and Spain.'

Sir William Jones has remarked that the Goths and the Hindoos had originally the same language, gave the same appellations to the stars and planets, adored the same false deities, performed the same bloody sacrifices, and professed the same notions of rewards and punishments after death. In illustrating his favourite position, that Iran or Persia was the original centre of population, he adverts to Brunker's opinion, that the Goths or Scythians came from Persia, and cites the coincident conclusion of another writer who brings the Irish and the Old Britons from the borders of the Caspian. The Saxon Chronicle also brings the first inhabitants of Britain from Armenia.* 'That the first 'race of Persians and Indians, to whom we may add the Ro-'mans and Greeks, the Goths, and the old Egyptians or

* Possibly, a mistake for Armorica.

'Ethiops, originally spoke the same language, and professed 'the same popular faith, is capable,' adds Sir W. J., 'in my 'humble opinion, of incontestible proof.'* All these nations he considers to be the descendants of Ham, and to be characteristically distinguished from the great Tartar family, the children of Japheth. Mr. Maurice, however, transports a tribe of Bramhuns into the deserts of Grand Tartary, where he makes them mingle with Scythians, and then brings them, half Bramhuns, half Scythians, to the Western regions of Europe, we are not certain whether by sea or overland, to become the immediate progenitors of the British Druids!! It is but fair to state that we quote his opinion at second-hand, as given by Mr. Hughes. Gale more plausibly contends that they received much of their philosophy, as well as their theology, from the Phenicians, with whose language the Welsh is affirmed by Bochart to have a considerable affinity. That the Phenicians, many ages before the Christian era, (it is supposed in the reigns of David and Solomon,) had planted colonies in the utmost regions of the known world, and in particular beyond the pillars of Hercules, is certain from the testimonies of Strabo and Herodotus; and there is the strongest reason to suppose that they had settlements both in Britain and Gaul. Strabo mentions that 'Ceres and Proserpina were worshipped in or about Britany, accord-'ing to the Samothracian, (i. e. Phenician) rites,'† The *Ked* 'and *Keridwen* of the Druids, accordingly, answer to Ceres, and *Lleuwy* to Proserpine. Bochart affirms, that their Taranis (Jupiter), Hesus (Bacchus, the ideal patriarch of the Cymry, and the same as Heus, and Hu-ysgwn, or Hu the mighty), Teutates or Teutath (Mercury), Belenus, or Belin (Apollo, the same as Plennyd), and Ogmius (Hercules), are all of Phenician original and offspring. To account for this close affinity, Mr. Hughes's supposition, that 'the Druids re-'ceived a tincture of Phenician rites from the Punic colonies 'settled in Spain,' is manifestly insufficient. There seems no reason for supposing that they derived them through any intermediate channel. That Ireland was known to the Phenicians, is pretty clear from its ancient name Iberne; i. e. in Phenician, 'the utmost habitation;' and if so, they must have been familiar with the south-western coast of Britain, to which they are supposed to have traded for tin. If the Cymry were really in possession of any part of Britain before the emigrations of the Celts and Belgæ of Gaul, and any dependence whatever can be placed on the vague oral traditions preserved in the Triads, that they came over the hazy ocean from the summer country, the most plausible conjecture would be, that they were a Phenician

* Works, Vol. I. 4to. p. 180.
† Gale's Court of the Gentiles. B. I. c. 9.

colony. This would receive some colour from their being confined to Cornwall (the land of tin) and the western coast, along which they appear gradually to have spread to Cumberland. What is meant by Deffrobani is altogether uncertain; but its similarity to Tabrobana, supposed to be the ancient Ophir,* to which the Phenicians certainly traded, and the name of which is Phenician, is a striking coincidence, although we do not recollect to have seen it noticed. This hypothesis has the further advantage of harmonising with the otherwise unaccountable fact, that Druidism was translated to Gaul from Britain, when Britain has hitherto been supposed to have received its first inhabitants from Gaul. It would also account for the existence of a kindred nation on the coast of France, the Brython of the Triads, who are represented as having sprung from the same primordial race as the Cymry, without having recourse to the violent hypothesis that Armorica was peopled by fugitive Britons in the fourth and fifth centuries, and that those emigrants were the progenitors of the Bretons. It is not denied, that such emigrations took place; but what led to the choice of Britany, rather than the mountain fastnesses of their own country, or the opposite coast of Ireland, must have been, that the Cymry there recognised a kindred nation, alike in manners as in language. Further, if the Welsh is really distinguished by a resemblance to the Hebrew, (for we would build with extreme caution on the philological opinions of native antiquaries,) the Phenician origin of the Cymry would supply the best explanation of so singular a circumstance.

If we had any inscriptions of sufficient antiquity to be referred to the Druidical age, they would at once determine the question. Cæsar states, that the Druids were acquainted with letters, but that they deemed it unlawful to make use of them in teaching the maxims of their philosophy, affirming that to commit things to writing was the way to forget them: what their true reason was, is obvious, as secresy was most anxiously observed. In the reign of Henry VIII, a plate of tin inscribed with many letters, was found near Stonehenge; but they were 'in so strange a character, that neither Sir Thomas Elliot, a 'learned antiquary, nor Mr. Lilly, master of St. Paul's school, 'could make them out. This plate, to the great loss of the 'learned world, was soon after lost.' Diodorus Siculus, in the remarkable account he gives of the island of the Hyperboreans, which is very plausibly supposed to mean Albion, speaks of Greek inscriptions being found there, although he does not suppose them to have been the writing of natives. The passage is

* See Bochart as cited by Gale. B. I. c. 9.

highly curious, and we shall transcribe it at length as given by Mr. Hughes.

'Hecateus and others, who have written very wonderful descriptions, say, that an island, large as Sicily, is situate opposite to Gaul, and near the Arctic circle: it is inhabited by the Hyperboreans, who are so named as being placed beyond the gates of Boreas, or of the North. The soil is rich and very fruitful, the climate temperate, and two crops are reaped within the year. They worship Apollo with greater reverence than any of the other deities; they sing every day hymns to his praise; they ascribe to him the highest glories; they act as if all the inhabitants were his priests. They *have dedicated to him a dark grove, and a celebrated temple of a circular form*, decorated with many rich donations. A city is also devoted to him, the inhabitants of which are principally harpers, who chaunt to their favourite instrument, hymns to the Apollo of their temple, and celebrate his glorious actions. They speak their own peculiar language.

'Apollo comes once in nineteen years into the island: in this space of time the stars perform their revolutions, and return to the same point; hence the Greeks call this revolution THE GREAT YEAR. At the time of his re-appearance, they report that he plays upon the harp, and sings and dances through the night, from the vernal equinox to the Pleiades; self-pleased with the encomiums upon his successful enterprizes. The sovereignty of the city and the care of the temple belong exclusively to the Boreades, the posterity of Boreas, who succeed to the throne in a regular descent from their great ancestor. From a remote and distant date, they have entertained a peculiar affection for the Greeks, and beyond the other parts of Greece, for Delos. Greeks have travelled to their island, and deposited among them various offerings, inscribed with Greek letters; and *Abaris*, in return, travelled into Greece, and renewed the ancient ties of friendship with the Delians.' Vol. I. p. 257.

In striking coincidence with this account, it is observable, that the original name of Britain is said to have been *Y Vel Inys*, the island of Vel or Bel, the Syrian Apollo. The following account is cited from Toland's History of Druidism.

'"On May eve, the Druids made prodigious fires on these Carns, which being every one in sight of some other, could not but afford a glorious shew over a whole nation. These fires were in honour of Beal or Bealan, latinized by the Romans into Belenus, by which name the Gauls and their colonies understood the sun; and therefore, to this hour, the first day of May is, by the Aboriginal Irish, called *la Bealteine*, or *the day of Belin's fire*. May-day is likewise called *la Bealtine* by the Highlanders of Scotland. So it is in the Isle of Man. And in Armoric, a priest is still called Belec, or the servant of Bel, and the priesthood Belegieth."' Vol. I. p. 281.

A very ancient poem, which is described as full of the Druidic fire-worship and solar-worship, has for its title, *Cadar teyrn On*, or *the chair of the sovereign On*; the Amonian

title of the same Deity. The circular dances of the Druids are supposed to have been intended to represent the motions of the planets. Their proficiency in Astronomy is attested by Cæsar and Pomponius Mela. The former speaks of them as disputing and teaching their scholars many things respecting the stars and their motion.* In their veneration for the serpent as a sacred symbol, we have a further proof of their worship of the sun. The Druids were themselves called *Nadredd*, or snakes; and they wore suspended from their necks amulets called serpents' eggs, of which a particular account is given by Pliny. These amulets are still, it is said, talked of among old people, who call them *glain-neidyr* and *maen-glain*, adder-stones, or adder-beads. For much curious information on this subject and that of the Druidical rites, we refer our readers with pleasure to Mr. Hughes's first volume. We wonder that Mr. Bryant has not remarked on the coincidence between the Egyptian Ath-ur and the mythologic Arthur, or Uthyr of the Druids. 'Athyr,' he tells us, 'was a name conferred on places where the Amo-'nians settled;' and 'one of the most ancient names of Rhodes 'was Aithraia, or the Island of Athyr, so called from the wor-'ship of the sun.'† Ath-ur was also 'one of the Egyptian 'months.' Mr. Hughes informs us that,

'There are many places which bear the name of Arthur, not the Arthur of history, but the mythologic Arthur, the representative of the Northern Bear, and referred to as one of the principal divinities of the Britons, as appears from several ancient poems. We have *Cadair Arthur*, one of the high peaks of the Brecknockshire mountains, called the beacons, or Monochdeny hills. There is *Coiten Arthur*, a famous Cromlech in Merionethshire; *Moel Arthur*, in Flintshire; *Carreg Carn March Arthur*, a fragment of some ancient monument; and the name of Arthur is given to a hill near the city of Edinburgh. Most things that were of enormous size appear to have been dignified with the name of Arthur, who was so called, most probably, on account of his great stature and martial prowess.'

Vol. I. p. 311.

We ourselves lay no stress on the coincidence; and yet, less plausible derivations have been pressed into the service of many a learned hypothesis.

Mr. Edward Williams, the celebrated Bard of Glamorgan, speaks of 'the patriarchal religion of Ancient Britain called 'Druidism;' an expression cited with great complacency by Mr. Richards, who, with a pardonable nationality of feeling, seems quite disposed to dispute their being either idolaters or polytheists. We suspect that his own mind was deeply tinctured with Druidism, if he was not, indeed, half a Druid. He gives

* Gale. Part II. B. i. c. 4. † Anal. of Anc. Mythol. Vol. I. p. 25.

his readers a long passage from a strange disquisition on the Pythagorean doctrine of transmigration, attributed to Soame Jenyns, and talks gravely of the acuteness and ingenuity displayed in 'the defence of that exploded tenet;' as if he himself were some way gone in the belief of it. All this is marvellously absurd. He bestows high praise, too, on a very superficial and erroneous account of Druidism contained in *Mavor's* History of England! In this it is affirmed, that one of the leading tenets of the Bardic Religion, was the belief in the existence of one Supreme Being, 'of whom they reasoned that 'he could not be material, and that what was not matter, must be 'God.'* But did Mr. Richards know no better than to confound the Bardic metaphysics with the Druidical worship? In the Aphoristic Triads, the Unity, self-existence, and infinite power and wisdom of the Deity are, Mr. Hughes remarks, 'so explicitly 'allowed, that such sentiments cannot with any consistency be 'ascribed to the Heathen Druids.' Mr. Richards himself allows that they 'held the *necessity* of human expiatory 'sacrifices,' although he attempts to palliate this concession by adding, that these sacrifices '*generally* consisted of malefactors.' And so they do at this day in Bengal and Ashantee: only, when criminals fall short, and their gods are hungry, they are under the '*necessity*,' like the Druids, of making up the proper number with innocent persons. These barbarous rites were so common among all heathen nations, that it is scarcely necessary to remark on the probability that the Britons derived theirs from the worship of the Phenician Moloch. Mr. Richards's remark on 'religious 'wars,' would have been very proper had he not been so inconsiderate as to represent the cases as parallel. The Gaulish Druids 'were so resolutely addicted to this dreadful superstition, 'that, although prohibited by the Emperor Tiberius, they con-'tinued to adhere to the same practice even in the time of Pliny, 'in the reign of Trajan.' The Helio-arkite worship of the ancient Britons, is treated by Mr. Hughes at considerable length, but without any parade of learning. Unlike many compilers who enter into other men's labours, and grace their margins with stolen references from books they never saw, *(sic vos non vobis mellificatis apes,)* he is scrupulous in referring to the authors which he has chiefly followed, namely, Bryant, Faber, Maurice, and Davies.

Here for the sake of our readers, not less than for our own, we must suspend our antiquarian lucubrations. From druids

* The speculations of the Hindoo theists are strikingly similar. The language of the Vedas is, that 'all spirit is God'—a metaphysical existence without attributes.

and bards to saints, and bishops, and Welsh Nonconformists, Pelagius and Vavasor Powell, is a transition too violent to be endured; and as so wide a chasm occurs between them in ancient British History, we hope that it will be allowed us to treat of them in a separate Number. In the mean-time, those of our readers who are given to poetry, may, possibly, be pleased with the following fragment of an unpublished poem, in which an elegant use has been made of the Druidical mythology. Δρῦς *vel Quercus loquitur.*

'Ere yet on Cambria's mountains hoar
Had burst the thundering battle-roar,
Ere War his murderous lance had hurled,
Or Slaughter's crimson flag unfurled,
Amid the forests wild and rude
Of Mona's caverned solitude,
In deep recess of solemn shade,
By ages more majestic made,
Invisible to unhallowed eye,
Was darkly throned my awful ancestry.

'And he, the monarch of the wood
In might magnificent that stood,
Embosomed in the gloom profound,
And stretched his giant arms around,
Was guarded by enchantments high,
And spells of wizard potency.
For whilom in his knotty cell
Did Taranis sublimely dwell,
And oft, in pealing whirlwinds, spoke
His mandates from the charmed oak.
There would the star-read Druids haunt,
And azure-vested Bards would chaunt
Of sage Tradition's ancient lore,
And Arthur's might, and deeds of yore.
Or softly harping to the skies,
They hymned their mystic harmonies,
Holding in necromantic trance
The viewless spirits of the air,—
Or slowly wove the solemn dance
In measured orbits circling there.
Andraste, silver-crowned queen,
In sceptered state and courtly sheen,
Her radiant car would oft suspend
And to the secret shades descend;
Or sphered in midnight's spectred sky,
Beneath the bright-starred canopy,
Would listen to their choral minstrelsy.
The time-proved seers, a stately band,
With oaken wreath and gifted wand,

And amulet inchased in gold,
Their hidden orgies there would hold;
And, their stone-altars duly dight
With leaves that flamed brave and bright,
Till star-set, wrought in magic guise,
And held their moonly mysteries.

'Then, through Mona's sunless caves,
Delving to the Ocean-waves,
Wound in many a wildered maze
The storied chords of minstrel lays.
Other music heard she none,
Other echo breathed not one.
Till that fell hour of deadly fame
When the Roman Eagle came,
And fiercely rushing on her prey,
Scared the Dove of Peace away.
Then the druid-temples wild
Of stones by mighty Ogmius piled,
Or reared by incantation high,
And balanced true by witchery,
Were all profaned by warring bands;
And spoiled by sacrilegious hands,
Mona's unsunned groves were rent:
Mona poured her loud lament,
As the vengeful flames made way
For the unwelcome light of day,
Through paths for ages veiled from sight,
While Murder, by the lurid light,
Pursued his prey; unmoved his breast
By harp of power, by snow-white vest,
By patriarch form, by spell or prayer;—
On their own altars bleeding there,
The Nadredd sage, the gifted Seers
Amid the ruins flaming round,
The honours of a thousand years,
A sylvan burial found.'

* * * * * *

Art. III. *The Chronology of our Saviour's Life*, or an Inquiry into the true Time of the Birth, Baptism, and Crucifixion of Jesus Christ. By the Rev. C. Benson, M.A. of Trinity College, Cambridge. 8vo. pp. 349. Price 6s. Cambridge University Press.

THE precise time of a person's birth or death who should be acknowledged as the author of a new system of moral or religious doctrines, would seem to be of little or no importance to his followers, who could not be supposed to connect their reception of the tenets taught by him, with satisfactory proof of the true date of his birth, or of the time of his decease. It would

never occur to them, to reject the doctrine which they had received, as being, in the absence of all evidence to prove those eras, unworthy of their regard. In what year Plato or Aristotle was born, would but little concern a disciple of the Academy or of the Lyceum. The value of the instruction is wholly independent of the age of the master; and a candidate for admission would never think of including in his previous inquiries, circumstances which had no relation to the qualifications of his instructor. If we had no means of obtaining a correct arrangement of the events in the life of Plato; or if the chronology of any memoirs of Socrates was so perplexed as to present only some incidents in connected order and agreement of time, while others might seem to exclude all arrangement and accurate date; the truth or importance of their doctrines would not be in the least involved in the chronological discussions. They would still be the doctrines of Plato, or the doctrines of Socrates, and would claim our attention on grounds irrespective of any nicety of date in the biography of their founders. And so, we presume, is the chronology of the Gospels immaterial to the consideration of the Christian doctrine. The precise time of the birth and death of the Jewish Legislator, it might be difficult to determine; but the credibility of the Mosaic records is not therefore invalidated. And in like manner is the evangelical doctrine worthy of confidence, though we may not be able successfully to harmonise the facts which the written Gospels comprise, or to affix to every circumstance which they detail, its exact date. The resurrection of Christ is established by proof the most ample and complete, though there may be some incidents in the several narratives of that great fact of the Christian religion, which may not satisfactorily be adjusted to other particulars which they contain.

But, though the true time of the birth of Christ, the term of the duration of his ministry, and the date of his death may not be essential to the determination of the question, Is Christianity a Divine religion? yet, these several eras are not unimportant: they have their place among the subordinate particulars which a careful investigator of the Gospels will not overlook. They are circumstances of which a Christian advocate will be ready to avail himself of every means of elucidation, in order that he may be prepared to obviate difficulties which may occur to the humble and sincere inquirer, and the removal of which may be an essential service rendered to persons whose habits or whose prejudices allow them to be satisfied with nothing short of the most rigid scrutiny into all the subjects which they undertake to examine. And though the result of the most minute and careful examination of these and similar questions, may not be perfectly satisfactory, though the means of a complete adjustment

of apparent disagreements may not be obtained, it will be a consequence not lightly to be estimated, if the investigation should make it evident, that the difficulties are perplexing, only because our information on the subjects to which they relate is imperfect; that they form part of a case, the reception of which, in its entire character, is in strict accordance with the obligations of reason, and in exact harmony with the best established and most approveable maxims of human practice. Such a result will never fail to attend a sober and impartial examination of the New Testament records. Let the investigation of their contents be of this character, and then, let it be full and scrupulous, and have its course.

The chronology of the life of Christ is a question of some importance in regard to the integrity of the Gospels of Matthew and Luke, the statements of the former Evangelist being represented by some writers as not reconcileable to those of the latter. The conclusion which they would establish on a comparison of these sacred Biographers, would require us to discard the preliminary chapters of at least Matthew's Gospel; and, in the full spirit and letter of their demand, this would be but one half of the sacrifice: the initial chapters of Luke must likewise be surrendered. It is quite clear, that, according to the narrative of the Evangelist Matthew, the birth of Christ preceded the death of Herod the Great; and if it were indisputable fact, that Herod was not then living, that his death was antecedent to the birth of Jesus, it would be impossible to admit the authenticity of the narrative. An examination, therefore, of the chronology of the Gospels, is necessary to the determination of the question of authenticity as applied to at least the initial chapters of the first Gospel.

Now, the genuineness of these portions of the New Testament is supported by the customary proofs on which depends the genuineness of its incontrovertible books: the evidence of manuscripts and versions in their favour is ample and complete; and the testimony of early writers is equally decisive. Unless, therefore, we abandon the acknowledged tests of genuine Scripture, we must receive as integral parts of Matthew's Gospel, the first and second chapters of the book which bears his name. And with this evidence in support of their claims, we cannot, we apprehend, be at liberty to expunge them from the place which they hold in the Christian records, unless we can challenge to ourselves the most perfect acquaintance with the whole of the circumstances which they comprise, and are fully prepared to shew, that they want the characters of truth, and are at variance with facts the reality of which is indisputable. It will not be reckoned sufficient to warrant their rejection, that difficulties of the strongest kind exist in those chapters, and that every at-

tempt to remove them by explanation has hitherto failed. We must be fully assured that we possess the whole of the means necessary for satisfactory solution, and that to these means, correctly employed, the difficulties will not yield, before we permit ourselves to allege the charge of spuriousness against these or any other passages of Scripture.

The History of Josephus is the principal authority with which the details of the Evangelists are compared, and the standard by which their accuracy in the notes of time inserted in their Gospels, is determined. The chronology of Josephus, however, is not easily to be settled. Whoever will take the pains of proceeding through his Antiquities and the Books of the Jewish Wars, will find it not a little perplexing to obtain a series of dates regular and satisfactory for the events which he relates. The time of Herod's death is, in more than one instance, given in reference to other memorable eras in his history and reign; but the exact period of his decease, is not definitely stated; it is a question of difficult solution, and different writers have come to widely varying conclusions. Had Josephus given us the exact date of Herod's birth, the time of his decease might be ascertained with considerable pretensions to accuracy. But not only are we unable to obtain this assistance directly, but we are strangely perplexed in our perusal of the passages on which our calculations are founded. The difficulty in attempting to ascertain the date of Herod's birth, Mr. Benson remarks, 'is rendered insurmountable by a false reading in the passage of Josephus upon which our conclusions depend. In one place, Josephus informs us that Herod was constituted Governor of Galilee when very young, and in another, he limits his expression by stating that he was then about 15 years of age. Now it is universally allowed, that Herod was appointed Governor of Galilee in the Consulship of Calvinus and Vatinius U. C. 707. U. C. 707—15=692 and 692+69 (age of Herod at his death)=761. He was of course, therefore, according to this computation, born about the 692nd, and died about the 761st year of Rome, 10 years later than we should be led to suppose by every other mode of calculation. To remove this discrepancy, it has been conjectured that we ought to read 25 instead of 15 years in the preceding passage of Josephus, and thus fix the birth and death of Herod 10 years earlier than before; his birth about U. C. 682, his death U. C. 751. This new reading may be defended by many incontrovertible computations.' p. 17.

But, whatever support may be obtained for the new reading from such computations, it is, we apprehend, quite obvious, that the proposed emendation can be admitted only as extreme violence is offered to the text of Josephus. The new reading is decidedly at variance with manuscript authority; and the passages which directly refer to the case, are clearly in favour of

the inferior number of years. 'Antipater,' says the Jewish Historian, 'appointed his son Herod to be Governor of Galilee—'νεῳ παντάπασιν οντι, ιέ γαρ αυτῳ εγεγονει μονα ετη. Βλαπτει δε ουδεν ἡ νεοτης, 'αλλ' ὧν το φρονηματι γενναιος ὁ νεανιας αφορμην ευρισκει παραχρημα εις ἐπιδειξιν της αρετης—he being at that time a very young man, for he 'had not yet passed his sixteenth year. His youth, however, 'was no disadvantage to him, for, being of an enterprising genius, he soon found an occasion of signalizing his valour.'* Now, this description is evidently more appropriate as applying to a spirited and daring youth of fifteen, than to a person of twenty-five years of age: the latter number can by no means be considered as requiring an apologetical representation like that which Josephus has given. Let κέ be substituted for ιέ in the foregoing quotation, namely 25 for 15, and the force and propriety of the expressions are no longer to be perceived.

Again, as to the difficulty of settling the chronology of Josephus. Three instances occur of his mentioning the duration of Archelaus's reign; two of these are in agreement with each other, but the third of them is at variance with the others. In the Antiq. Jud. it is stated, that Archelaus was accused before Augustus in the tenth year of his government—δεκατῳ δε ετει της αρχης. (Lib. xvii. 15.) In the Books of the Jewish War, the exile of Archelaus is said to have happened in the ninth year of his reign—Ετει της αρχης ἐννατω. (Lib. ii. 6.) But, in the memoirs of his own life, Josephus informs us, that his father was born in the tenth year of the reign of Archelaus—Βασιλευοντος Αρχελαου το δεκατον. (Vita in initio.) Mr. Benson has taken some pains to reconcile these statements, but, we fear, without building his conclusions on solid premises. He is not correct in stating, that 'it will generally be found, that when Josephus in one of his 'histories speaks of an event having taken place, say thirty-five 'years after a former one, in his other he either speaks of it as 'having taken place in the thirty-fifth or thirty-sixth year after 'that former one.' No such general custom is observed by him. Nor, admitting the difference of usage in the Roman and Jewish regal dates, is the difficulty obviated which attends the preceding computations. It is not plain, that these calculations may be clearly reconciled to each other on the supposition 'that Josephus uses the Jewish mode of reckoning when he says that 'Archelaus was banished in the *tenth*, and the Roman when he 'says that he was banished in the *ninth* year of his reign.' In providing this solution, Mr. Benson has overlooked a circumstance which is material in the discussion of the difficulty. Both in the Antiq. Jud. and in the Bello. Jud. it is stated by Josephus, that Archelaus, a short time before he was cited to Rome,

* Antiq. Jud. xiv. 17.

dreamed that he beheld a number of ears of corn, ripe and full, and a number of oxen which devoured them. In the Antiquities, the number of the ears of corn is *ten*; in the Books of the Jewish War, the number is *nine*. And in the interpretation of the dream by Simon, the *ten* ears are, in the one place, explained as signifying ten years which Archelaus should reign, and the *nine* ears are, in the other place, said to signify nine years which he should reign.* Now, the dream was one and the same, and therefore, either nine or ten might be the number of ears seen by Archelaus; but not both numbers: which soever of the two accounts we assume as the correct one, the other, therefore, is not entitled to confidence, as the accounts are evidently inconsistent. For if the king saw nine ears of corn, Simon never could interpret them as denoting ten years or eight years; and in the explanation of the dream, the Roman mode of computation had no place. We notice these passages of Josephus for the purpose of shewing,—and this, we think, they do shew,—that the accounts of Josephus are themselves not always the most lucid, and that his chronological notes are uncertain and perplexing. Josephus, however, is the only author from whom much assistance is to be obtained in our attempts to harmonise the events of the Jewish history with the facts recorded by the Evangelists which belong to the political relations of Judea. In the agreements of the Historian with the sacred writers, we shall receive confirmations of their integrity. But in those cases in which the accounts of Josephus themselves are intricate and doubtful, the credibility of the Evangelists is not to be considered as being in the smallest degree in peril, because the results of comparison may perplex us, any more than it would be proper to impeach the veracity of the former, on the ground that the representations of the latter, differing apparently from his details, are intelligible and substantial. The result, we are fully persuaded, of the most rigorous comparison of the evangelical documents with Josephus, and with other profane annalists and memorialists, would be such as would establish their credibility. But it is not to be expected, that the Evangelists, writing for purposes very different from those which furnished to secular historians the motives of their writing, should have directed their minds even to the same circumstances precisely in the same way. It is not in Josephus, as we have already said, that a nice and invariable standard of chronology is to be found, adapted to the Gospel History.

In attempting to settle the chronology of the Gospels, the time of Herod's death is the first and principal date which the several writers who have engaged in the discussion, have undertaken to examine and fix. The only method which seems to be available

* See Antiq. Jud. xviii. 15. Bello. Jud. ii. 6.

for this purpose, is, to compare the duration of Herod's reign with the time of its commencement; and the only data from which the calculations necessary for this comparison can proceed, are, notes of time furnished by Josephus, who is the sole authority by which we can be guided on the subject. That Historian states, that Herod began his reign, having received from the Roman Senate, through the influence of Anthony, the kingdom of Judea, in the 185th Olympiad, when C. D. Calvinus for the second time, and C. A. Pollio for the first time, were Consuls of Rome. This consulship is, on the authority of Pagi and others, assumed as beginning on the 1st of January, and ending on the 31st of December of the year 4674 Julian Period. Writers whose conclusions considerably vary, are agreed in the admission of this date, which is so indefinite as to require the aid of other computations before the particular season of Herod's advancement can be fixed. The circumstances which occurred between the battle of Philippi and the nomination of Herod, are adduced by Mr. Benson as the reasons which require the commencement of Herod's reign to be assigned to the *latter* half of the 4674th year of the Julian Period.

'The battle of Philippi was fought in the October of the 4672d year of the Julian Period. After that battle Anthony went into Asia, and there conferred upon Herod and Phasael the title and authority of tetrarchs of Judea.[k] We may conceive, therefore, that this appointment took place in the latter part, say December, J.P. 4673, in the *second* year *after* this event, Pacorus the Parthian invaded and took possession of Syria. Dec. 4672+1 = Dec. 4673, which is therefore the *earliest* date that can be assigned for this invasion of Syria; but it most probably took place early in the Spring of J.P. 4674, the time universally chosen by the ancients for the commencement of their military operations.

'After the pentecost[m] which immediately followed that invasion, that is, after the pentecost on the 9th of June[n] J.P. 4674, Herod fled from Jerusalem to Rome, where he was appointed King of Judea by the Senate; and since we have already seen from Josephus that his appointment to that dignity took place *in* the year J.P. 4674, it is evident that the commencement of Herod's reign must be dated from some period between the 9th of June and 31st of December of that year. Various other circumstances are mentioned which would enable us to contract these limits still further, and perhaps to fix with precision the commencement of Herod's reign to the month of July J.P. 4674. But as the more extended period which I have stated above will be found sufficiently accurate for all the purposes of the

[k] Antiq. lib. xiv. cap. 22, 23. compared with de Bell. Jud. lib. i. cap. 11.

[l] Lamy Appar. Chron. Part I. cap. v. § 31.

[m] Antiq. Jud. lib. xiv. cap. 24. p. 495. A and B.

[n] Lamy App. Chron. Part I. cap. vi. p. 31.

present inquiry, I should be unwilling to detain, and perhaps confound the reader by a more particular discussion.' pp. 19, 20.

'Josephus is express in stating that, in the *second* year, Pacorus invaded Syria; but it is not easy to understand how the event from which he dates the irruption of the Parthians can be the appointment of Herod and Phasael to be tetrarchs. The period between October and the conclusion of December 4672 is, it would evidently seem, too short to admit of the occurrences which Josephus has described as taking place between the battle of Philippi and the appointment of Herod and Phasael. Some days would elapse before the armies broke up from Philippi; and the Jewish Historian, in agreement with the Roman writers, informs us that, after the battle of Philippi, Anthony marched into Asia, and was met in Bithynia by a deputation from the Jews of Jerusalem, complaining of the conduct of Phasael and Herod in usurping the government. Anthony proceeded to Ephesus, where he was attended by the ambassadors of Hyrcanus, who came to request the release of certain Jewish prisoners. On Anthony's going toward Syria, whither he next directed his march, he received Cleopatra in Cilicia, and was again waited upon by Jewish deputies of rank charged with accusations against Phasael and Herod. At Daphne near Antioch, he heard the cause, and deciding in favour of the brothers, appointed them to be tetrarchs. Now, that such extensive countries could be traversed in the manner in which Anthony would pass through them, and such scenes of pleasure and of business take place in the space of less than three months, probably in not more than two, is scarcely credible. The appointment of Herod, then, would seem to be fixed at too early a period in being determined to December J.P. 4672: it could scarcely have taken place before the Spring of 4673. The *second* year, therefore, we would consider as taking date from the battle of Philippi; and this would fix the invasion of Pacorus in the Spring of 4674, in agreement with Mr. Benson's period.

'The commencement of Herod's reign then is to be dated from the summer or the autumn of J.P. 4674; and he reigned according to Josephus thirty-seven years after he was declared King by the Senate of Rome, that is, he did not reign less than thirty-six, nor more than thirty-eight years.

'July J.P. 4674, the *earliest* commencement of Herod's reign, + 36 years its *shortest* duration = July J.P. 4710. Dec. J. P. 4674, the *latest* commencement of his reign, + 38 years, its *longest* duration = Dec. J.P. 4712. The month of Dec. J.P. 4712 is therefore the *latest* period to which we can assign the death of Herod, and July J.P. 4710 the *earliest* by the same method of computation.' p. 21.

But the death of Herod is generally admitted as having taken place *previously* to July 4710 of the Julian period. Mann, in

the first of his Two Chronological Dissertations, fixes the date of it to a period about nine or ten days after the eclipse which happened on the 13th of March J.P. 4710, about three weeks before the Passover, which fell that year on the 10th (11th Dawy) of April, that is, about the 21st of March J.P. 4710. Lardner's opinion coincides with that of Mann generally; for, though he is not so minute in his reckoning, nor so positive in his judgement, he evidently gives his support to that calculation which assigns the death of Herod to a date between the 13th of March and the Passover J.P. 4710.* Mr. Benson does not think the arguments which Lardner has alleged in support of the early date of Herod's death, conclusive. They are certainly strong, but not incontrovertible. They are grounded on the great improbability that, considering the diseased state of Herod at the time of the execution of the Rabbis on the 13th of March, he should survive a year after that time,—and on the assumption, that between the 13th of March and the 11th of April, there is a sufficient space of time for all the circumstances which Josephus has related between the execution of the Rabbis and the coming of Archelaus to Jerusalem at the Passover. On the other hand, Mr. Benson is of opinion, that there is *not* a sufficiency of time for the circumstances included in Josephus's history of the events which occurred between those dates. There is great difficulty in the determination of this point. It might seem on the first reading of Josephus's 17th chapter of the Antiquities, that the supposition of Herod's living twelve months after the execution of the Rabbis, is highly improbable. The execution of the Rabbis is considered on all sides as having taken place on the 13th of March J. P. 4710; and Herod was then living. The Passover of that year is computed to have fallen on the 11th of April; and it is certain that Herod died not long before some Passover. His disease had evidently made some progress before the execution of the Rabbis. Did his last illness then continue for so long a time as twelve months? It is scarcely credible that its duration was for so considerable a period. Mr. Benson is perhaps not perfectly correct in his observations on the disease of Herod. 'It was not,' he says, 'till *after* the 'ambassadors were sent off,' to Rome on the affairs of Antipater, 'that Herod's distemper seized him *at all*:' he adds, that Josephus himself expressly states, 'that the complaints of Herod 'did not assume a serious aspect, or seize upon his whole body, 'until *after* the execution of the Rabbis,' and that consequently, his disease could *not* 'have made so great a progress *before* 'that time.' But it is clear, that the distemper of Herod had

* Lardner's Works, p. 428 and cxxxix. Vol. I. Ed. 1788.

made considerable progress *before* the execution of the Rabbis; they engaged in their enterprise of removing the golden eagle, on the understanding that Herod's disease was then incurable—παραδανημενοι του Βασιλεως την νοσον θεραπευειν απορον ουσαν: and Mr. Benson would seem to affirm more than is supported by the expressions of Josephus in describing the disease of Herod in its last stage, when he represents that Historian as positively stating that the complaints of the king did not assume a serious aspect until *after* the execution of the Rabbis. In his remarks on the time probably consumed in the prosecution of the affair relative to Antipater by Herod's ambassadors at Rome, and on the mourning for the Rabbis at the Passover, Mr. Benson is more successful. And if the careful study of Josephus should be found to present circumstances in number and of consequence that would require more time than the twenty-eight days which occurred between the 13th of March and the 11th of April J. P. 4710, then, the death of Herod could not have happened sooner than a short time previous to the Passover of the following year. The circumstances are stated by Mr. Benson, and the time which they may be supposed to require, is carefully computed. Twenty-eight days, he concludes to be quite too narrow a space to comprise them all, and therefore, assuming the correctness of the examination, he considers the opinion of Lardner, that Herod died on the 11th of April 4710, to be positively refuted, and fixes the death of Herod in the Spring of J. P. 4711. As there are several other notices of time relative to the reign of Herod in Josephus, we should have been glad if Mr. Benson had included them in his computations, and stated the result. They would, we believe, be found rather in favour of the date which Lardner seems to prefer. But the dates which Josephus supplies in this case are, it must be acknowledged, not readily to be adjusted.

In Chapter the third, the Author inquires into the probable date of Christ's birth. Proceeding on the correctness of the arguments by which he has fixed the decease of Herod at some part of the interval between the 13th of March J. P. 4710, and the Passover J. P. 4711, and not finding any *direct* information in the Gospels as to the year or period of the year in which Jesus was born, he considers, 1. How long the birth of Christ *must* necessarily have preceded the death of Herod; 2. How long it *may* probably have preceded it; and 3. Whether this *probable* date corresponds with the other chronological marks in the New Testament. With regard to the first of these subjects of examination, the arrival of the Magi in Jerusalem is the most important circumstance which occurs in the narrative. Jesus was then born, and Herod was yet alive. The time between the birth of Christ and the arrival of the Magi, and the time of this

latter event compared with the time of Herod's death, are, therefore, the leading particulars in this part of the discussion. In his arrangement and arguments relative to these several topics, Mr. Benson is ingenious and lucid; but his reasonings are not quite satisfactory, and the basis on which he has constructed some of them, is insufficient for their support. In examining the point, How long the visit of the Magi preceded the death of Herod, the actions of Herod at the time, as they are stated in the Gospel, are the only data of which an inquirer can avail himself; and on these Mr. Benson assumes, that when the Magi arrived, Herod was in a perfect state of health both as to body and mind. This may be an allowable presumption; it is scarcely better, however, than pure hypothesis, since it would be difficult to shew why all the actions recorded of Herod in the narrative of Matthew, might not have taken place in other circumstances than those of perfect health. Such an argument as the following, is clearly unsound,

'When Josephus relates the execution of the Rabbis, he makes several allusions to the feebleness of the king, and carefully states the exertion and difficulty it required for him to attend the council, examine into the sedition, and pronounce the condemnation of the guilty. The narrative of St. Matthew on the contrary proceeds with uninterrupted continuity, and contains no intimation which could impress the mind of the reader with the idea that Herod was otherwise than he had ever been; no symptom of weakness, no phrase to mark the writer's astonishment and horror, when relating the massacre of Bethlehem, that though its perpretator was (to use the language of Josephus upon a similar occasion) μελαγχολῶν ἤδη καὶ μονονουχὶ αὐτῷ τὶ τῷ θανάτῳ ἀπειλῶν, προέκοψεν εἰς ἐπιβουλὴν ἀθεμίτου πραξέως.[1] Such a remark would have been natural in the mouth of the Evangelist, had Herod at that time been in a declining state. But he has not said any thing at all like it, and hence it would appear highly probable that Herod's last illness had not made that progress when the Magi arrived, which we learn from Josephus that it had made at the time of the execution of the Rabbis, on the 13th of March, J. P. 4710. The Magi, therefore, had arrived before that period.' pp. 57, 58.

Now, no reasoning can be more erroneous than that which is here employed to shew, that the illness of Herod had not made the progress noticed, because the Evangelist has not reprobated the cruelty of the Jewish king. Nothing is more admirable in the Evangelists, than their entire abstinence from invective. Such a remark as that which Mr. Benson has quoted from Josephus, would have been most unnatural in the mouth of the Evangelist. Had Matthew remarked in respect to the massacre of Bethlehem, as Josephus does in reference to the medi-

[1] De Bell. Jud. lib. i. cap. 21. p. 773.

fatal sacrifice of the Jews in the Hippodrome, that Herod, now in a dying condition and sinking under a most loathsome disease, formed a design of great atrocity, it would have been not only contrary to a manner of writing from which he never deviates, and therefore unnatural; but it would have been in violation of that spirit of forbearance which is one of the appropriate excellencies of the Gospels, and not the least of the many indirect evidences of their authenticity. The murder of John the Baptist was a most atrocious deed; yet the Evangelists who have noticed it, put it on record without a single exclamation of reproach.

We agree with Mr. Benson, that the time into which Herod so diligently inquired, was not the time of Christ's birth, which he could not have learned from the Magi, who were then prosecuting their journey to Bethlehem, but, the time of the first appearance of the star to those sages, which they might have seen for a considerable time before the birth of Christ and their own departure for Judea; and that, therefore, Herod's order for the destruction of the infants might include children of two years and under, though Jesus were born but a short time before the arrival of the Magi at Jerusalem. And we think with him, that the known character of Herod warrants our belief of the fact of the massacre related by Matthew: the cruelty at Bethlehem, how useless or how wanton soever, is not incredible. Mr. Benson, too, has made it probable, that the presentation in the Temple took place between the arrival of the Magi at Jerusalem and their arrival at Bethlehem; but we cannot perceive any absurdity in the belief, that the predictions and benedictions pronounced in the Temple at the presentation of Jesus were unknown to Herod. The principal circumstances included in the discussions of this chapter, are thus arranged by Mr. Benson.

"A little before the presentation of Jesus, the Magi arrived at Jerusalem in special search for the new-born King of the Jews. Herod, struck with the motive of their mission, and its coincidence with the general expectation then entertained of the coming of the Messiah, enquires of the learned and religious in what place the Messiah should be born. Having ascertained this point, he next enquires of the Magi the probable time of his birth as deducible from the appearance of the star, (an enquiry quite needless if he was already acquainted with the presentation,) and for this purpose he privately and particularly examines them, and commands them, when they had found the object of their search, to return and give him information. In the mean time, perhaps during the very period of this interview, Joseph brings his wife for purification, and his son for presentation to the temple, and then returns to Bethlehem, a distance of but six miles. Having received in the evening the offerings of the Magi, he is warned to fly from Herod, and sets off with his family for Egypt by night. In the morning, Herod, not finding the Magi return,

in order completely to relieve his suspicions, sends forth his emissaries to slay every child within the sphere of his suspicions, both as to place and time. But learning afterwards, from the report made within relative to the transactions which on the preceding day had attended the presentation of Jesus, that *he* was the object of whom he was afraid, and from the names of the children destroyed, that he had not been cut off in the general massacre, he continued seeking the child's life to the very day of his death. (Matth. ii. 20.) pp. 79, 80.

Mr. Benson supposes that the massacre of Bethlehem preceded, not only the execution of the Rabbis, but the very commencement of Herod's illness; because the last disease of Herod was attributed, as Josephus states, to the visitation of his crimes by the justice of God, and because he imagines, that it is difficult for any one who believes the Gospel, to suppose that to signal a cruelty had not a considerable share in the formation of that opinion. He therefore assigns the arrival of the Magi to a date preceding the *commencement* of Herod's illness, which may be referred to the 13th of February J. P. 4710. The presentation in the Temple took place on the forty-first day after the birth of Jesus; reckoning, therefore, forty days back from the time when the Magi are supposed to have arrived at Jerusalem, on or before the 13th of February, the birth of Jesus is to be fixed either on or *before* the 3d of January, J. P. 4710; that is, he must have been born at least one year before the death of Herod, supposing him to have died about the beginning of J. P. 4711. Such are the Author's conclusions; but it is obvious to remark, that the premises from which they are deduced, are founded on reasonings which must be considered as somewhat precarious in their nature. From other calculations, Mr. Benson endeavours to shew, that the month of April or May, J. P. 4709, may with probability be assigned as the time of Christ's birth. In this computation, he rejects the hypotheses of Mann and others, and is guided by the traditions of antiquity.

The Fourth Chapter of his work contains a review of the difficulties attending the probable date of the birth of Christ as fixed to the Spring of J. P. 4709; that is, about two years before the death of Herod; and the four sections into which it is divided, comprise considerations on the Taxing mentioned by Luke, Chap. ii. verses 1 and 2, negative and affirmative. This is a most difficult and perplexing subject of discussion. The resources of criticism have been tried, we might say almost to exhaustion, and yet, the passage Luke, Chap. ii. verses 1 and 2, presents to a Biblical critic a trial of his strength. In the construction and interpretation of the sentence—Αυτη η απογραφη πρωτη ἐγενετο ἡγεμονευοντος τῆς Συριας Κυρηνιου, there is, says Valckenar, '*nodus, qui Homines literatos a tenuis literis valde habuit exercitatos, quique difficulter solvi, secari facile poterit;*'

and those persons who have perused the accumulated opinions of expositors on the text, will perhaps judge with that distinguished Scholar, '*Si quis pleraque legerit ad h. l. collata, ab illa lectione incertior redibit quam accesserat.* The reading of the Common Version—"This taxing was first made when "Cyrenius was governor of Syria," does seem the obvious and direct sense of the words; but Cyrenius did not enter upon the government of Syria before J. P. 4720; and a taxing made in the year of Christ's birth must, 'therefore, have been made several years before Cyrenius was governor of Syria. To remove the historical difficulty, such renderings of the passage have been proposed as, 'in strict consistency with the rules of 'grammar and the genius of the Greek language, are altogether 'inadmissible.' After passing this sentence upon all the attempts of his predecessors, Mr. Benson endeavours to make out a construction and meaning which, we fear, will only add one more to the numerous instances of the ingenious, but unsuccessful application of criticism to this vexatious passage.

* Amongst the various instances brought forward to prove that πρῶτος is sometimes taken in a sense of priority, is the following from 2 Sam. xix. 43. πρωτοτοκος εγω Ἠσυ. Now if there is any part of the verse in question in which ἤ might naturally be conceived to have been omitted, and to which if it be restored, the construction will be easy, and the meaning unexceptionable, it will at least be a probable argument for supplying it in that place, and supposing it to have been inadvertently left out by some careless transcriber. But it is evident that nothing could be more easy than the omission of the particle ἤ between εγαντο and ηγεμονευοντος, because the latter word beginning with the same letter, the eye of the copyist might inadvertently glide from the one to the other, without his ever stopping to consider the meaning of what he wrote; nay, had he even paid the deepest attention to the sense of his author, he might nevertheless, with the very best intentions, have purposely made the alteration; for there is no necessity for supposing a transcriber to be perfectly acquainted with the history of the period to which the work he was copying related. Perceiving, therefore, that the expression was peculiar and uncommon, and perhaps considering from this peculiarity that it was erroneous;—perceiving also that by the omission of the single letter η a sense perfectly plain and obvious would be obtained,—and considering that, as the following word began with the same letter η, it might probably have been added by the former transcriber,—perceiving and considering, I say, all these things, it is by no means unnatural to suppose, that some early copyist intentionally omitted the particle to avoid the peculiarity. These arguments will acquire additional force if we adopt the reading of the Cambridge manuscript. In that M.S. the arrangement of the words is this:—αὕτη ἡ ἀπογραφὴ εγενετο πρώτη ἡγεμονευοντος, κ. τ. ἑ.—where every one must perceive that πρωτη ending, and ηγεμονευοντος beginning with an η, had a third η been inserted between these two, nothing could have been more easy than for a careless

transcriber to have passed it unobserved, or for an ignorant or conceited one to have considered it an interpolation. Having now proposed one of the slightest possible alterations, and, slight as it is, having produced several circumstances which render it not altogether incredible, I shall next proceed to shew, that, presuming it to be as just as it is necessary, it fully resolves every doubt, and gives to the passage a sense easy and unembarrassed—αὕτη ἡ ἀπογραφὴ πρωτὴ ἐγένετο ἡγεμονεύοντος τῆς Συρίας Κυρηνίου.—"This taxing took place before that which took place when Cyrenius was governor of Syria." pp. 128—130.

This proposed correction is liable to several objections. In the first place, it is purely conjectural. Next, it is not so evident as Mr. Benson imagines, that the passage in Luke is in sufficient conformity, both in construction and meaning, to the passage in 2 Sam. to be justified by the resemblance: the ordinal in the compound πρωτότοκος is there used in its common acceptation, and is the predicate of the proposition, of which ἐγω or σὺ is the subject. An ellipsis of ἐγένετο might be allowed, perhaps; but the ellipsis which Mr. B. would supply, is not, we apprehend, to be admitted. The insertion of the ἡ would require the insertion of the word which it connects with the preceding noun, and therefore, the addition of ἡ to the text, is not all that is necessary to the grammatical form of the sentence. The reading of the Codex Bezæ is not correctly given by Mr. Benson, but the amendment which he suggests, founded on the text of that manuscript, p. 127, is more eligible than the one which he has adopted. αὕτη ἡ ἀπογραφὴ πρώτη ἐγένετο ΤΗΣ (ἀπογραφῆς) ἡ. τ. Σ. Κ. is at least in better Greek construction. Of all the interpretations given of this very difficult passage, that which Campbell, after Calvin and others, has adopted, appears to us the most eligible, though it must be granted that it is not perfectly satisfactory. Probable solution is all that we can hope to obtain as the result of our investigations of a passage, the precise meaning of the author in which cannot for a moment be supposed to have been, what the most obvious construction of the words would express; namely, that an enrolment about the time of Christ's birth, was made when Cyrenius was the governor of Syria. There are difficulties attending the opinion of Calvin, Wetstein, Chandler, Campbell, Middleton, and others; but it may perhaps not be remote from the original purpose of Luke, to state, as that opinion would make him state, that the enrolment made about the time of Christ's birth, was carried into effect at a subsequent period under the presidency of Cyrenius. Mr. Benson does not refer to this interpretation, though he has noticed several of the explanations offered by other writers; nor does he seem to regard his own amended

ersion with much confidence, since he concludes his consideration of the case with the following excellent remarks.

'I confess then, that, without an alteration, I cannot reconcile the statement of this passage with the historical records which remain to us of that age; but there may be those who will deem this mode of solution to be equally, if not more objectionable, than those distorted translations which we have ventured to condemn. We must therefore see whether there is reason to suppose that the Writer himself was under a mistake.

'To settle this matter at once in the negative, and give an answer which may apply not only to the present, but also to every other similar difficulty, it may be useful and sufficient to observe, that the dates of St. Luke are of such a character as to preclude the possibility of our supposing that the Evangelist was either an impostor by design, or mistaken through ignorance. It is the custom with deceivers to dwell upon broad and general facts alone, to take those leading and universally acknowledged characters and dates which every one will perceive, and no one doubt. This they do because, as I have before observed, their object is *immediate* success, which would be checked rather than promoted by a contrary mode of proceeding. Examine then the Gospel of St. Luke by this rule, and mark the difference. Instead of loosely stating that it was in the reign of Tiberius that the word of the Lord came unto John, he discriminates the very year of that reign, and leads us to the very portion of the year by coupling it with the government of Pontius Pilate: instead of recording only who was the Roman Emperor at the time, of which no one could be in ignorance, he adds the insignificant tetrarchy of Lysanias and Abilene; a ruler and a dominion which it has demanded the scrutinizing enquiries of learning to elicit from the scanty documents of the history of that age. Instead of contenting himself with one undisputed fact, he has drawn together several from different sources, and of different kinds. But the most unequivocal mark of his veracity is in the notice which he has taken of *two* Jewish High Priests. That there was one, and one only, in every period of the Jewish Commonwealth, who was in the actual possession of that high and important office, is notorious to every reader of the Holy Scriptures; yet St. Luke has bestowed the title equally upon two.—Why he has done so, it is not my present purpose to decide; but I ask, whether, if his intention had been like that of every impostor, to conciliate the belief of his readers, he could have ventured upon the assertion of such an anomalous fact, even though aware that the statement was perfectly correct.—But St. Luke has simply stated the circumstance with the confidence of a man at once acquainted with the truth, and conscious of his own honesty; and by that proceeding has established his claims, with every candid mind, to the title of a contemporaneous and faithful historian.

'If St. Luke was not an intentional deceiver, he was not an ignorant writer. What is the declaration of his preface? That he had enquired diligently into the subject of his history. This, under our present hypothesis, is the testimony of an honest man; and we know

that he had opportunities enough of obtaining all the knowledge he wanted or might wish. It is not therefore lightly to be supposed that he would immediately proceed to falsify his declaration by collecting a multiplicity of dates of the correctness of which he was not thoroughly aware.—I say, that to imagine St. Luke to have been ignorant of the time and nature of the transactions he relates, or inattentive to the acquisition of the best information in his power upon a circumstance so intimately connected with the subject of which he was treating, is, from the reasonings already insisted upon, the most improbable, and therefore the last supposition we should embrace. The taxing of Cyrenius was too recent, and from several memorable and calamitous causes, too deeply imprinted upon the mind of every Jew, to be forgotten or mistaken. It is therefore infinitely more probable that both the present and every other difficulty with which his Gospel is clogged, should there be any to be found, which are absolutely irreconcileable with other writers, are irreconcileable rather on account of our ignorance than his. The loss of historical documents, and the imperfect records which have reached us of those times, are much more likely causes of the apparent contradictions which may (I will not say do) exist, than any presumed inattention or want of information on the part of the Evangelist himself.' pp. 133—138.

The question, To what Taxing does the Evangelist Luke (Ch. ii. vs. 1 and 2) probably allude? is the subject of examination, p. 142 to 159; and this section is one of the most ingenious and satisfactory in the whole volume. In the 17th book of the Antiquities of Josephus, the following circumstance is stated:—'When the whole Jewish nation took an oath to be 'faithful to Cæsar and the interests of the King, the Pharisees, 'to the number of above six thousand, refused to swear. The 'King having laid a fine upon them, the wife of Pheroras paid 'the money for them.' Lardner had noticed the great variety of circumstances which attended this oath as recorded by Josephus, and their agreement with the history of the Evangelists relating to the birth of Christ; but Mr. Benson has much improved upon the notices of Lardner, as he has also corrected some of his comments, and has made it highly probable, that the oath mentioned by the Jewish Historian, and the [illegible] mentioned by the Evangelist Luke, were the same. In the subsequent section, the Author enters upon a computation from which he assigns to the oath, the same date which his previous and independent reasonings had concluded to be the most probable date of Christ's nativity, namely the Spring of J. P. 4709. The notes of time which occur in the third Chapter of Luke's Gospel, are those to which the greatest importance has been attached by the writers who assert the spuriousness of the narratives of the Miraculous Conception. 'From Luke iii. 1 'compared with ver. 23. it appears that Jesus was born fifteen 'years before the death of Augustus, that is, at least two years

after the death of Herod, a fact which completely [illegible] the whole of the narrative contained in the preliminary chapters of Matthew and Luke.' This daring passage from Mr. Belsham's "Calm Inquiry," came under our reprehension in our review of Dr. Smith's work. Such a statement could not escape the notice of the Author of the "Chronology of our Saviour's Life," who has taken laudable pains with the several points of the alleged contradictions; and so strongly has he established the probabilities which are requisite to sustain the credibility of the Evangelists in the whole of the objectionable portions, that, apart from the importance, real or imagined, of the miraculous conception, the fact itself as related to the death of Herod and the reign of Augustus, may be received as the fair conclusion from the whole comparison of facts and circumstances necessary to guide our decisions on the subject.

Jesus was about thirty years of age at his baptism (Luke iii. 23); a period which includes a part of the time of Augustus's government of the Roman Empire and of the government of his successor Tiberius. Now, if it were indubitably certain that, without having been in any manner previously distinguished as a possessor of dominion in the empire, Tiberius had succeeded to power on the death of Augustus,—if the case of Tiberius were similar to the case of succession generally, it would be an indisputable conclusion, that if Jesus at thirty years of age was living in the fifteenth year of the reign of Tiberius, he had also lived fifteen years in the reign of his predecessor. But, as the fact is unquestionable, that Tiberius was colleague with Augustus, possessing equal power with him in the provinces and in the armies, for some time previous to the death of the latter; there is certainly ground for the reasonable presumption, that in the dating of Tiberius's reign by the Evangelist, such a computation was adopted as is at once agreeable to truth and in perfect harmony with all the facts included in his narrative. The whole circumstances being as they are, it is impossible to adduce any proof that the dates in Luke's Gospel are incorrect, or that any of the facts of the gospel history are excluded from the benefit of an agreement with them. The whole question of accordance between dates and facts in this case, must be resolved by the determination of the fifteenth year of Tiberius, as being the fifteenth year of his sole government as Emperor, or the fifteenth of his government dated from his nomination to supreme authority in the provinces and armies. Lardner has treated this subject at great length, and concludes for the latter mode of computation. Mr. Benson follows on the same side, but in arrangement and precision of inference he evidently has the advantage; and though the question is not freed from all obscurity, yet, we do not perceive that the statements and conclusions are

in any respect insufficient to sustain the veracity of the Evangelists in respect to the fact, that the birth of Christ was antecedent to the death of Herod. There is the indubitable fact, that Tiberius was admitted to a participation of the government in the provinces and in the armies, in the life-time of Augustus. There is, in the next place, the presumption that Luke was a resident in the provinces; and, thirdly, the fact that he has not designated the period in question as being the sole reign of Tiberius, but has adopted a descriptive word which admits of the strictest application to the government of Tiberius as referrible to his being the colleague of Augustus. We recommend the following observations of Mr. Benson to the attention of our readers.

"Had St. Luke indeed declared positively that it was in the 15th year of the *sole* empire of Tiberius that the word of God came unto John, or had he used the word *reign* or *empire* at all, I should not have ventured to defend the position which I am now advocating. But the word of the Evangelist, though translated *reign* in the authorised English version, does not imply a sole, or supreme, or independent sovereignty. St. Luke does not say, Ἐν ἔτει πεντεκαιδεκάτῳ τῆς βασιλείας or τῆς ἀρχῆς, but τῆς ΗΓΕΜΟΝΙΑΣ Τιβερίου. Now, though the word ἡγεμονία itself is not to be found in any other passage of the New Testament, the cognate words ἡγεμονεύω and ἡγεμών are frequently to be met with, and wherever they do occur, they imply universally, and without any exception whatever, a *subordinate* and not a supreme authority. Whenever a supreme and independent magistrate is spoken of, his title is always βασιλεύς, which has been explained to us as clearly as any word can be explained by two of the Apostles themselves.— Τῷ βασιλεῖ τῶν ΥΠΕΡΕΧΟΝΤΙ, says St. Peter: ὅτι βασιλεύει κύριος ὁ θεὸς ὁ ΠΑΝΤΟΚΡΑΤΩΡ, says St. John. The term Βασιλεύς is also on one occasion particularly applied to the Roman Emperor, οὐκ ἔχομεν βασιλέα εἰ μὴ Καίσαρα. Lastly, there is a distinction made between ἡγεμών and βασιλεύς both by St. Matthew and St. Mark; the nature of which distinction is carefully and clearly pointed out by St. Luke, the author now under our consideration. Paul was summoned to defend himself before Agrippa the King, and Festus the Governor of Judea. Agrippa was in his dominions a supreme and independent monarch. Festus held his authority under the Roman Emperor. After St. Paul had made his address, St. Luke observes that 'the King and the Governor rose up,' ἀνέστη ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ ὁ ἡγεμών, thus placing between the words βασιλεύς and ἡγεμών the same difference which subsists between a supreme and a subordinate power. The same distinction is, as far as I have observed, very scrupulously adhered to by Josephus. Βασιλεία or ἀρχή is the term he applies to an Emperor or King; ἡγεμονία and its cognates always refer to a power held under another as its supreme source, to a governor and government. From these remarks I think it is very highly probable that St. Luke did not, when speaking in the third chapter of his Gospel of the 15th year of Tiberius, intend to date from the commencement of his sole and independent *empire*,

but of some subordinate and dependent *government*. Had he meant his sole empire, he would have employed the word βασιλεια and not ἡγεμονια.' pp. 210—212.

The proconsular government of Tiberius is, according to Mr. Benson's computations, to be dated as commencing from the latter end of J. P. 4724. The fifteenth year of his government, therefore, began in the Nov. or Dec. of J. P. 4738, and terminated in the Nov. or Dec. of the following year, 4739. In some part of the interval between May and October of this year, John the Baptist began his ministry; and the baptism of Jesus took place in the month of November, J P. 4739, in which year, previously to the Passover, Pontius Pilate became governor of Judea. Such are the distributions of time which the Author's system of Chronology includes. The reasons on which he founds them are too copious to allow of being transferred into our pages, in their connected state, and we should not be able to do him justice by the insertion of detached passages or abridged arguments.

The duration of our Saviour's Ministry, is the subject of the first Section of Chap. VII. which attempts to settle the probable date of the Crucifixion. It would altogether exceed our limits, to notice the various authors who have written on the duration of Christ's Ministry, or to follow Mr. Benson in his examination of the question. Some of the ancients, it is well known, considered the entire series of transactions recorded in the life of Christ as comprised in one year, or one year and a few months. The stream of modern opinion runs in a different direction, and from three to four years are allowed by the greater number of Expositors as necessary for the occurrence of the several events described in the evangelical records. But Mann, in his "True Years of the Birth and Death of Christ," revived the opinion that but one year was taken up by the ministry of our Lord; an opinion which cannot be maintained without such tampering with the Gospel of John, as every sound critic would avoid. To strike out passages in opposition to all authority, and to make transpositions at will, in order that a hypothesis may be supported, is a course which no fair principles can be supposed to sanction. Mr. Benson's conclusions are the following: That there is very little reason to suppose that the feast in St. John, Chap. v. v 1, is to be considered as a Passover; that there is no sufficient argument or authority for rejecting the Passover mentioned by him in Chap. vi. v 4; and that there is no intimation whatever in his Gospel that should induce us to imagine that he omitted to record any of the Passovers which occurred in our Saviour's Ministry. It therefore follows, that, as he has enumerated, as his Gospel now stands, only three Passovers, 'the *most probable* opinion is that which assigns 'to our Saviour's Ministry a duration of two years and a half.'

The crucifixion of Christ, Mr. Benson concludes, occurred at the third Passover in his ministry, in March or April A. D. 4742.

The volume which we have noticed thus at length, is highly creditable to the talents of its Author. It is a work pregnant with proofs of his research and labour, of his intelligence, and of his ability as a reasoner. The discussions which it comprises are sometimes of a very fine and delicate texture; but they relate to subjects which are necessarily obscure, as they include circumstances for which the connecting data are not readily to be obtained, if indeed the most successful researches can ever lead to the discovery of them.

Art. IV. *Farewell Letters* to a few Friends in Britain and America, on returning to Bengal in 1821. By William Ward, of Serampore. 12mo. pp. 312. Price 6s. London. 1821.

THERE was a time, and that not very remote, when the name of a Baptist Missionary would have been pronounced by the majority of even well informed persons in this country, with little respect or complacency,—when tolerance was the utmost that was thought due to their well meant labours. It is satisfactory to witness the complete revolution which has taken place in the public sentiment, since their astonishing achievements in the Oriental languages have procured for them the applause of the literati of Europe. Of the fifty languages of India, twenty-five have already been conquered by these indefatigable labourers in the best of causes, among which are the Chinese and the Sŭngskrit, the two most difficult languages in the world; and in each of these twenty-five dialects, the Holy Scriptures, either in whole or in part, have been already printed. As both the Hindoos and the Mahommedans have always been taught that their systems are founded on Divine revelations, Christianity could never have taken deep root in India, had not the Missionary been prepared to exhibit the Christian Records to the natives in their vernacular tongue. The first anticipations of the venerable Father of the mission, extended little further than that he might live to translate the Holy Scriptures into the language of Bengal. And had he, remarks Mr. Ward, 'given the word of God to these Twelve Millions of people 'only, who had never before seen it, and to all the generations 'of their descendants, he would have been the instrument of 'doing a good which it falls to the happy lot of few men to be 'able to accomplish.' Dr. Carey wrote with his own hand, the five octavo volumes in which the Bengalee Bible is comprised, and was proceeding in the same unwearied course with the Sŭngskrit, till he was reminded by a pain in his side, that his pŭndit could equally well perform this part of the labour. It was not long after the Sŭngskrit had proceeded through the

press, that learned Hindoos from various parts began to solicit employment in the college of Fort William; and as but few could be engaged, they were glad to accept of employment at Serampore. The Sŭngskrit New Testament being put into their hands as the standard work, they were directed to give a version of this New Testament in their respective vernacular tongues. The number of these native translators, when the Governor-general and the Bishop of Calcutta, with their ladies, recently visited the Mission-house at Serampore, amounted to more than thirty. From the perusal of the New Testament alone, several very interesting conversions are stated to have taken place.

'A number of years ago,' says Mr. Ward, 'I left a New Testament at Ramkrishnŭ-poor, after preaching in the market place. To the perusal of this book is to be traced the conversion of Sebŭkram, now an excellent and successful preacher; of Krishŭ-das, who died happily in his work as a bold and zealous preacher; of Jŭgŭnnath, and one or two other individuals. Mr. Chamberlain, some years ago, left a New Testament in a village; and by reading this book, a very respectable young man of the writer cast, Tarachŭnd, and his brother, Mŭt'hoor, embraced the Gospel.' 'Tarachŭnd is one of our best Christian Hindoo poets: he has composed more than a hundred hymns found in our Bengalee hymn-book, and a pamphlet, placing in striking contrast heathenism and Christianity, which I hope will be the means of diffusing much Christian light. His brother is employed as Persian interpreter in the Dutch court of justice at Chinsurah.'

'I have seen the New Testament lying by the sick bed of the Christian Hindoo, as his best companion; and the truths it contains, have been the comfort of the afflicted, and the source of strong consolation and firm hope in death to many a dying Hindoo.'

About fifty *native* preachers, among whom are some Brahmins of the highest rank, are now employed in superintending stations, or as assistants to the Missionaries in itinerating; and several large societies have been gathered wholly by their means. More than a thousand adults have been baptized by the Baptist Missionaries, the greater part of whom were formerly Pagans. About twenty thousand heathen children are under instruction; and such is the anxiety of the natives to obtain it for their children throughout Bengal, that rich Hindoos have become annual subscribers to the native schools; and adds Mr. Ward,

'Before I left Serampore, almost daily deputations from the villages all around, and from the distance of sixteen and even twenty miles, were arriving and entreating us to set up schools in their villages, promising to supply schoolmasters, and even to turn their family temples into Lancasterian school-rooms.'

The institution of the Native Missionary College at Serampore, is a most important measure, as connected with the system of making India evangelize itself and the surrounding nations. The present Governor-general, who, as well as his Mar-

chioness, has manifested a most benevolent solicitude to promote the civilization and instruction of the natives, is its patron.

'In fact,' says Mr. Ward, 'a moral revolution more grand and important has taken place in British India, within the last twenty years, than is perhaps to be found in all the annals of the Church, the apostolic times excepted. "And still it spreads:"—the translations are daily advancing; education is extending its operations in the most rapid manner; and converts from these heathens are almost daily added to the Christian Church; and these converts bring their books and their gods, and cast them to the moles and to the bats, and renounce their covenant with death. Every thing indicates the approach of a vast change in the appearance of this spiritual desert; a change full of promise to the teeming millions of Asia.'

Most of our readers, we apprehend, are aware of the very extraordinary facts connected with the simultaneous efforts of the London Missionary Society's labourers in the South Seas. The moral aspect of Otaheite at this time, the animating prospects which have suddenly opened in the Island of Madagascar, the prosperous state of the African mission stations, and the immense field of exertion which spreads itself before us in the East,—all these circumstances taken together might seem sufficient to rouse and fix the attention of the most unreflecting observer, to satisfy, or at least to silence, the most sceptical, and to quicken the languid circulation of the most phlegmatic believer.

This is one side of the picture. It is well to hold it up for the purpose of shewing that there is nothing chimerical in the design in which those admirable men have embarked, who have separated themselves to the work of evangelizing the heathen; that no insurmountable difficulties embarrass the undertaking; and that inadequate as is the human instrumentality employed to the stupendous task, and inconsiderable as appear the first-fruits of their labours, when reduced to figures and contrasted with the millions of heathen,—still, there are, abstracting from this consideration, a grandeur in the scale of exertion, and a magnitude in the result, which leave far behind the schemes and achievements of secular politicians, and cast reproach on the inactive spectator.

But it is not for the purpose of either challenging admiration for what has been accomplished, or of flattering the religious public with this pleasing promise, much less for that of soothing the imagination into complacency, that Mr. Ward has been induced to publish these details. There has been somewhat too much of this. Speaking of the annual meetings held in the metropolis, Mr. Ward says:

'Instead of fasting and prayer at these great seasons, we keep a re-

ligious jubilee, although 600,000,000 of the beings to whom it refers, die every thirty years "without God, without Christ, and without hope in the world!" We meet with the feeling of conquerors when, in fact, the whole country remains in the hands of the enemy.....
'In Hindoostan, millions are to be taught. The labourers are lost among this dense population like a drop in the ocean.'.....' Ah, my dear sir, I can never convey to your mind that awful feeling of Christian solitude—that overwhelming loneliness which I have sometimes experienced, when standing, 15,000 miles from a Christian land, among Forty or Fifty Thousand mad idolaters, hearing their shouts and seeing their frenzy. How piercing the thought, that this was an exhibition of the mental and spiritual condition, this the brutal worship, and this the preparation for eternity of 500,000,000 of the human race! Oh! under these impressions, the Christian Church becomes almost invisible; and the work to be accomplished appears so prodigious, that nothing but the recollection of the promises, of Calvary, and of Pentecost, preserves the mind from absolute despair.'

The Letters, twenty-six in number, comprise remarks on the following subjects: On the present spiritual state of the world, and the causes which have led to the neglect of the command of Christ to preach the Gospel to every creature; on the future state of the heathen; on the philosophical systems and popular superstitions of the Hindoos, the degraded state of female society among them, and the cruelties and impurities connected with their worship; on the concern of many of the Hindoos respecting a future state; on the necessity of a greater union in prayer for Divine Influence; on the triumphs of the Missionary cause in India, the progress of Translations and Schools, and the great moral changes in the East; on the effects of conversion in the Hindoo; on the certainty of the final triumphs of Christianity; on the importance and duties of the Missionary life. The last eight letters contain some interesting details relating to the history and present state of the Mennonite churches on the Continent and in America; the state of religion in Holland and in the United States; and the constitution and present circumstances of the American Episcopal church.—These Letters are obviously addressed to religious readers: it is needless, after enumerating the topics, to say, that to them they will be extremely interesting. They breathe the pure ardour, the simple-mindedness, and the "excellent "spirit" of a genuine Evangelist. The strain of the volume is, throughout, a solemn and touching appeal to the professed disciples of Christ of every name, on behalf of the unevangelized heathen; and the Christianity of that man must be of a very doubtful character, who can rise from the perusal without feeling at once humbled and excited by the convictions which it is adapted to leave upon the mind.

The remarks on the causes of the neglect of the commission of Christ, claim peculiar attention as proceeding from a *looker*

on; one whose circumstances, too, peculiarly qualify him to form an unprejudiced opinion. Mr. Hall has enumerated among the indirect benefits which may be expected to arise from Missions, 'a more pure, simple, apostolical mode of presenting the Gospel.' 'The situation of a missionary retired from the scene of debate 'and controversy, who has continually before his eyes the objects which presented themselves to the attention of the Apostles, is favourable to an emancipation from prejudice of every 'sort, and to the acquisition of just and enlarged conceptions 'of Christianity.'* Coming, then, from a person of Mr. Ward's character, we should hope that the observations he makes on the theories and practices which seem to him at variance with the missionary spirit, will be received by those whom they chiefly concern with kindness and deference. The letter in which they occur, is addressed to a gentleman in America; but they cannot have been intended to apply exclusively to the state of things in that country. There is a numerous section of the religious world (as it is termed) in this country, to whom the application of the following remarks will be obvious.

'Those views of the Divine sovereignty which diminish, in the mind of the recipient, all compassion for the unconverted, and every influential impression of the absolute and inseparable connexion between the end and the means, must necessarily produce an indifference to the use of means where vigorous effort is required, and where expense is to be incurred.....It is possible so to preach on the subject of election, as to please a congregation by bringing them to indulge the most contracted ideas of the kingdom of Christ, exhibiting it only in connexion with the awful displays of Divine justice, instead of expanding the mind, and stimulating it to exertion, by exhibitions equally Scriptural, and in which we behold the whole world brought into the fold of Christ. The baneful effect on missions of such partial displays of this Scriptural doctrine, (given to comfort believers, but believers of an order of piety to which few in our day attain,) need not be enlarged upon.'

'The fact is,' says Mr. Ward, 'that most of the professors 'in England, &c., labour under a preaching surfeit.' Without stopping to inquire whether this is not rather too strongly put, we must admit that there is such a thing in religion as a spiritual *plethory*; the obvious cause of which is to be found in a strong appetite for doctrine, accompanied with habits of moral inactivity. Persons whose temper and attainments lead them to require "strong meat," stand in peculiar need of being excited to hard labour: if not, they will be in imminent danger of growing lethargic. High Calvinism, or we would rather say *strong* Calvinism, may be imbibed not only with impunity, but

* "Address to Eustace Carey." p. 37.

with the most salutary effects, so long as the active powers are kept in constant play, and the affections retain their healthful vigour. But, to a recluse, to one whose affections are in a morbid state, or whose religious views terminate on himself, the stimulant becomes positively deleterious, and deposits a sediment of the most fatal kind. It was of religious knowledge that an Apostle said, "Knowledge puffeth up, but charity "(benevolence) edifieth." In relation to the same knowledge, it is said, "Though I understand all mysteries and all know-"ledge, and have all faith, and have not charity, I am nothing."

The effect which Mr. Ward attributes to the sort of preaching he alludes to, must have struck all persons conversant with the religious world in its different varieties: it is the certain symptom of the disease which such preaching induces; namely, 'contracted views of the kingdom of Christ.' The preaching in question, like much which is erroneously stigmatised as Antinomian, is not, in its letter, at variance with any one doctrine of Christianity; and it embodies truths of the first importance, which other preachers are too apt to overlook. This gives it its pungency and its success. But then, it so rivets the attention of the hearer to some one or two points, that these soon come to occupy the whole field of vision. The changes are rung on a few favourite ideas till the mind becomes contracted to that narrow scale, and learns to judge of every thing that is offered to it in the shape of doctrine by that arbitrary standard. For the nicest shades of colour in doctrinal truths, persons of this class have a microscopic eye; but they "cannot see afar off." The Christian Temple is too spacious an area for them to range in; they must have their private chapel hollowed out in one of its side-walls for their *adytum*, and there alone they feel safe. They are not content to cut off all communication between themselves and the court of the Gentiles; they have their *ecclesia in ecclesiâ*, from which not only the unbeliever, but the novice is excluded. In such a state of feeling, the heathen have little chance of being remembered with much interest.

There are some persons, indeed, we are told by an able advocate in the cause of Missions, who go so far as to consider undertakings of this nature 'as a species of impiety; as presumptuously anticipating the purposes, and infringing on the prerogatives of Heaven. In apology for their indifference to all exertions of this description to evangelize and save the world, they argue, that the work is God's; that the evil to be deplored is such as none but God can remove; that known to him are all his works from the beginning of the world; and that when the period arrives, destined by himself for the execution of the great design, he will arise in his might, and plead

'his own cause.'* This religious fatalism, the joint offspring of selfish indolence and a spurious orthodoxy, which, while it seems to adore the sovereignty of God, really impugns his character as the Moral Governor,—were it palpable enough to be made to feel the force of all that is powerful in argument, or persuasive in eloquence, would have received its death-blow from the gigantic "Discourse" of Mr. Foster.† Perhaps, Mr. Ward's simple statements may come more directly home to persons of moderate intellect, so as to induce in some of the better disposed who have laboured under this unhappy mistake, a conviction of its impiety.

It is, however, most important to bear in mind, that 'the 'most assured belief in the Divine decrees, has not *necessarily* 'the effect of paralyzing the active powers.' If we have any fault to find with the venerated Author of these Letters, it is, that he has not sufficiently guarded his remonstrance against the unscriptural, that is, the exclusive mode of exhibiting this doctrine, by this needful remark. We are tempted to avail ourselves here of the language of Mr. Foster in the Discourse already adverted to. He says: 'There is no denying that such is the 'tendency of the belief in question, in cold, inanimate, indo-'lent spirits that are really indifferent to the objects placed in 'view. And so, for *any one* of the whole list of religious truths, 'there is some particular state of mind which is apt to take 'from it an injurious effect. But let there be an earnest interest 'about the objects in question, and then the zeal and activity 'will be promoted rather than repressed by the faith in all-com-'prehending and absolute decrees. Accordingly, it has been, 'we think, for the greater proportion, by decided predesti-'narians, that the most ardent and efficient exertions of religious 'innovation have been made upon the inveterate evils of the 'world..... It was in the element of this doctrine of decrees, 'that they felt their impetus the mightier, their weapons the 'sharper, their aim the surer.'

From truth, from the *whole* truth, nothing but good can proceed. The morbid fear of these doctrines entertained by many who believe in them, arises from not sufficiently distinguishing between their genuine tendency, as imbodied in the Apostolic writings, and their effect as presented in a dry scholastic form, or dwelt upon as detached dogmas. Let but the Christian minister take these doctrines as he finds them in the Scriptures, and use them in the same way that the Apostles made use of them, and he needs feel no solicitude about their tendency. All that

* "Christian Missions vindicated and encouraged." A Sermon. By Thomas Edmonds. A.M. p. 22.

† See especially pp. 67—94.

as appalling in these doctrines, arises either from a misapprehension of their nature, or from the *facts to which they indirectly relate, and which have an existence quite independent of any doctrine we may receive respecting them.* It is a most unhappy practice, to mix up speculations concerning moral evil, with the Scriptural doctrine of Predestination. This has led many persons to reject the doctrine, as a way of evading facts, which, however, still return upon them in all their difficulty, because they are facts; facts which, till we begin to speculate, present no difficulty; facts which those take the best means of reconciling with their duty and their peace of mind, who, instead of denying, with the sceptic, their existence, or, with the Antinomian, shutting their eyes to their personal implication in them, and, regarding them with an indolent, heartless, callous composure, borrow from them an impulse to strenuous benevolent exertion, while they maintain a legitimate tranquillity of sentiment by the energies of prayer.

In the Letter on the religious anxiety of the Hindoos, Mr. Ward cites as an illustration of St. Paul's ardent and self-devoted zeal, the expression in Rom. ix. 3: "I could wish myself ac-" cursed from Christ—for my brethren." This, though the usual, is, we are fully persuaded, an erroneous interpretation of the words. Dr. Dwight has remarked that it ruins the meaning of the passage, and that it is not warranted by the original text. The declaration in the Greek is not, "I could wish," but, "I " wished;" the verb being not in the optative mood, but in the indicative. This remark did not, however, originate with him. The words ought to be included in a parenthesis, and may be with strict propriety rendered, "For I gloried in being separate " from Christ." The monstrous position which some eminent divines have attempted to found on this passage, that a willingness to suffer perdition is a part of Christian resignation, renders it the more important to point out the palpable impropriety of the common reading.*

The Letter on the necessity of prayer for Divine Influence, and that on the certainty of the triumphs of the Gospel, are peculiarly striking and valuable. We earnestly recommend them to *public* as well as private perusal. We are withheld from making further citations, only by the persuasion that the volume itself will soon be in the hands of all our readers to whom they would be acceptable. It will be a very suitable addition to the vestry library.

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* See Dwight's *Theology.* Sermon xcv. Vol. iii. p. 406 *et seq.*

Art. V. *Woman in India.* A Poem. Part I. Female Influence. By John Lawson, Missionary at Calcutta. 12mo. pp. 32. Price 2s. London. 1821.

THE design of this poem is to advocate the cause of the miserable females of India. We notice it, therefore, in immediate connexion with the subject of the preceding article. Of Mr. Lawson's poetical talents we have already expressed a favourable opinion in our review of his "Orient Harpings." The present production, if not quite equal to the best parts of that volume, will do him no discredit; and the subject is full of interest. The completion of his plan, Mr. Lawson states, 'will 'much depend on the doubtful circumstances of health and 'public opinion.' We have little doubt that, if his health allows of it, he will be encouraged to proceed, but we should recommend the publication of the entire sequel, in preference to sending out detached portions. We subjoin an extract from the present Part, which is altogether introductory: the lines are the genuine effusion of parental sorrow.

'O she is gone!
The cherub hasted to its native home.
All-wasting death has triumphed o'er my child.
Sweet withered lily! thou wast riven, and flung
Across my shaking knees, a lovely wreck
Of innocence and beauty. Long I saw,
Long, long, the fearful presage hang about
Her beauteous features, darkening round her eyes—
But they would smile with gladdening love upon me.
To me thou wast a plaything beyond price.
Health in thy countenance, and sprightliness
In all thy motions, made thee like a being
Of fancy, sporting in a pleasant dream!
O 'twas too like a dream! Thy yellowish locks
Of shining hair, parted with infant grace
Upon thy snowy forehead, and thy smilings,
Pleading expressively when thou wouldst play
With my fair sea-shells tinged with blushing stains
Like thy own ruby lips, and thy clear voice
So musical and merry, with thy arms
All plump and white entwined around my neck,
Glow on my anguished mind, while I remember
Thy labouring breath when dying; and thy pale,
Shivering, and sickly hands, which could no longer
Grasp the cold cup of water; and that look,
That plaintive look which spoke a thousand words
Of calm unutterable fondness. Mute
Became thy little tongue, for ever quenched
In settled dimness were thy sorrowful eyes.
Upbraid me not! speak not of the great soul,

Nor shame these burning tears! May not stern man
One moment weep—I could not then control
The tumult of my heart, when death had done
Such deadly work.

'Stay! stay thy heavenward flight!
My girl, O breathe again! I'll bear thee far
From this ungenial clime, and lay thee down
Midst fragrant honeysuckles, where the fields
Are flush with all that blooms to give thee health.
Thy fingers too shall pluck the earliest violets
Clustering together in their green recesses,
While the fresh scent of earth shall strengthen thee,
And thou with God's good blessing shalt rejoice,
And bound with infant merriment upon
The beautiful meadows, and shalt laugh to see
Thy dimpled likeness down in the glassy brook—
O, that was wildly spoken, for I clasp thee
Cold, cold and lifeless to my bursting bosom!
Still I would smile upon thee, O my love,
And think of thee sped to thy better home—
Nightly thy prayers were innocently lisped,
Well taught by her who brought thee forth. Farewell!
Thou blossom of my hope!—but not for ever,
For I have heard thee talk of holy angels
Walking upon the cloudy plains on high;
Oft have I heard thee sing their blessed song,
Faint hallelujahs swelling on thy lips,
The tender preludes of maturer hymns.
As on some fretful night, when the sweet stars
Shine but at intervals from their wide fields
Above, presaging conflict of the skies;
Though in the tangling brake the sudden gust,
Biting and bleak, ruffles the untried plumes—
Though the sad aspect of the hastening clouds,
Like the disastrous rout of vanquished troops,
Checks the incipient kindlings of new life—
The youngling bird yet twitters now and then,
Half slumbering, half awake, and lifts the wing
With dreamy pleasure to the blowing gale,
Anticipating the broad burst of day;
Then, while the dawning light climbs o'er the arch,
And flings its gold upon the dreaded tempest,
Spurns the cold earth, and warbles in the heavens.'

pp. 13—17.

Art. VI. *Immortality: a Poem.* To which is added, The Pastor: a Poem. f.cap 8vo. pp. 80. Price 3s. 6d. London. 1821.

THERE are a great many different kinds of immortality, and immortalities of various lengths of duration. There is the poet's immortality, and the lover's immortality. Every one remembers the couplet of the reverend Satirist.

> 'But say, my all, my mistress, and my friend,
> What day next week th' eternity shall end.'

The same question might be put with regard to many deathless honours, and immortal things. For instance, we dare not promise the present Author that his will be other than a very mortal Immortality.

We are not displeased, however, when a young poet chooses a theme above his powers. The judgement is, of all the faculties, the latest in its development. Putting aside the incurable fault of a vague, indefinite, untractably sublime subject, on which the poet rides like a dwarf on a giant's shoulders, or, rather, to borrow a more splendid comparison, which places him much in the situation of Phaëton when undertaking to guide the coursers of the Sun,—putting aside the inevitable consequences of the Author's too ambitious choice, the poem exhibits marks of very respectable talents, and contains passages worthy of many a successful prize poem. Perhaps, we may say that the execution is uniformly better than the conception. The thoughts are sometimes crude, and the meaning indistinct; but the verse is musical and spirited, and gives strong indications of abilities that may ripen into a competence for much happier efforts. We subjoin an extract in proof of this assertion, and shall be glad if it procures for the poem the notice of our readers.

> 'Angel of bliss! thy wonder-working pow'r
> Can soothe life's darkest, most tumultuous hour;
> Can laugh at fear, and dull the edge of pain,
> 'Till Death shall barb his darts and strike in vain.
>
> 'When the wild demon, Persecution, flew,
> And o'er the church his cursed shadow threw;
> When in sepulchral caverns underground
> The hunted remnant of the saints was found,
> Bereft of wealth and home; no murm'ring cries,
> But shouts of jubilation, rent the skies.
> Lo! by the torch that feeble lustre sheds
> On slimy walls and on their flinty beds,
> The congregated host at midnight throng,
> And holy rapture burns within their song.
> They, fir'd with zeal no mortal threat could shake,
> Smil'd on the rack, and triumph'd at the stake!

Then, Immortality, that awful hour
Reveal'd the wonders of thy magic pow'r.
With the fierce flames that round their temples play'd,
Thy heav'nly fingers wreaths of glory made.
And gazing tyrants with suspended breath,
Saw their pale victims conquer ev'n in death.
'Prophetic angel! soon thy page shall close,
And mark with joy the period of our woes!
O'er the wide world the gospel tidings roll,
And life's bright streamers flash from pole to pole!'
'Fly, ye glad heralds! fly, and bless our race!
Each barb'rous shore, each desart ocean trace!
Great God! Thy kingdom and thy power be known!
Scatter thy foes, and make the world thy throne!
'Tis done! lo, Heaven its awful mandate sends!
And to the cross the humbled crescent bends.
Lo! ancient idols from their bases nod,
Fall to the dust, and own the Sov'reign God!
Lo, war's wild demon immolated lies,
On his own altar bound a sacrifice.
The wond'ring negro feels his fetters fall,
And leaps, exulting at the heavenly call.
Earth one vast temple,—all her children raise
One mingled voice, one holy song of praise.'

The Pastor is a very pleasing sketch; it is written in the Spenserian stanza, in the management of which the Author discovers no small facility of versification. The sentiments do credit to his feelings, and the subject lies more within his compass.

Art. VII. *Daily Bread;* or Meditations, practical and experimental, for every Day in the Year, by more than One Hundred of the most eminent and popular Ministers of the last Half Century, and a few other Writers, the whole adapted either for the Family or Closet, and containing the Outline of 366 Discourses. T. Williams, Editor. 12mo. pp. 610. Price 8s. 6d. London. 1820.

MANY of the articles contained in this volume, are stated to have been given to the Editor by the ministers whose names are affixed to them; others were taken down from them as delived from the pulpit. Among this class of contributors occur the names of the Rev. Messrs. Beddome, Bogue, Burder, R. Cecil, Hitchins, Jefferson, Lambert, Parsons, Pearce, Peckwell, T. Priestley, Styles, and Ryland. The outlines of several discourses of the Rev. Andrew Fuller, and Dr. Mason of New York, were furnished by a friend. The remainder, including some originals, have been drawn from various sources. The average length of the meditations is two pages. In order to

compress them into this compass, great conciseness has been observed; and sometimes it has been found requisite to subject the papers to abridgement. The Editor has evidently bestowed no small pains on the compilation, for which, we have no doubt, he will be amply rewarded by the sale of the work among that numerous class of religious readers for whose use it is mainly designed, and to whom his labours will be highly acceptable. We take almost at random the following specimen: it has the signature, A. Fuller.

'DEUT. vii. 2, latter clause.—*To know what was in thine heart, whether thou wouldest keep his commandments or no.*

'There is in every situation which we are called to pass through, a peculiar duty, a commandment attached to that situation, and God leads us into it, to see whether we will keep his commandment in it or not: and we may lay it down as an axiom, that so much as there is of obedience to God, under the circumstances in which we are placed, just so much true religion we have, and no more. We often hear it pleaded, "My circumstances were peculiar;" but there is a commandment to every situation; there is no part of the road through which God leads us, which has not a direction attached to it; and he leads us through the situation, that it may be manifest whether we will obey him or not.

'Let us instance a few particulars. We have seen them that have prospered in the world, and risen insensibly to opulence; we marked their gradual rising, and have been ready to say, "Take care, my friend, be not high-minded, but fear; trust not in uncertain riches, but in the living God;" there is the commandment for them, and we can see it very clearly. But perhaps God, by and bye, leads us that way. We have often said in our hearts, if not in words, "Oh, if I had such a one's fortune, what good I would do with it; I would contribute to this liberal object, and to that great design!" Alas! we know not what is in our hearts, till God proves them by his providence.

'Again, we have seen poor people murmuring under poverty; have witnessed their discontent; have seen many fretting themselves, as well as grieving others, under affliction; and we have said, "It does not become you to act thus,—were I in your situation I should endeavour to reconcile my mind to my situation." We have perhaps seen them ungrateful to us when they ought to have been thankful; and we have thought, "Surely this should not be." Ah! we have seen their disobedience, but we are not yet out of the wilderness. God may see occasion to strip us of our property, or our family, and make us dependent upon those about us. Poor short-sighted creatures! if God should then lead us about, we may find something in our hearts, which we did not suspect till the day of trial. Asaph was led about; he did not seem at all to suspect himself till he came to the trial, but when he came to see "the dregs of a full cup wrung out to him," we find him indulging atheistical thoughts, that it were

better to be God's enemy than his friend. In short, he proved to be in the day of trial what he confesses himself—"I was even as a beast before thee." Alas! who knows what is in his heart till it is tried?

'But, further, we have seen persons that have passed through strong temptations, and peradventure they have been overcome: persons who maintained a fair character for a considerable time, but they have been brought into perilous circumstances, and they have fallen. Ah! there is many a secret wickedness in the human heart, which only waits for circumstances to draw it forth. Well, we have seen this. Some long-standing, highly respected Christians have fallen sadly, and brought dishonour upon the name of Christ. We have censured them, and they have deserved it; but if the Lord should lead us into the same temptation, bring us into similar circumstances, place us upon the spot on which they stood, take off the restraint upon the evils of our minds, who knows what characters we may prove? We are kept out of more evils by God's keeping us out of temptation, than by any other means. Providence keeps us from more open vileness, perhaps, than grace (does.) Again, we have often, I dare say, seen persons of our acquaintance, who have been unkindly and injuriously treated; we have marked their tempers; perhaps seen them unforgiving and resentful. We have seen the evil, have noticed what was the commandment in their case, perhaps have been able to give a word of counsel, "Do not be unforgiving; do not be revengeful." Well, all this is well; but perhaps God may lead us about that way; we may be treated unkindly, cruelly; then he will prove what is in our hearts; then is the time to prove whether we can obey the commandment of which we reminded others.

'Finally, perhaps, we have been ready to say, "O, if I had more time! if my family was grown up; if my business was less fatiguing, or if my circumstances were more easy; if I could get into such a one's situation, then I should read more; I should pray more; I should be more spiritually minded; I should be better than I am." In other words, we lay almost all our faults upon our circumstances, and not upon ourselves. Now, it may be the Lord leads us into those very circumstances in which we thought how much better we should be, in order to prove to us that the fault lies, not in our situation, but in our heart. Thus God sometimes leads us through a whole round of situations and circumstances, that it might be manifested whether we will keep his commandments or no. Every situation has its commandment and its trial, and we shall one day recollect with gratitude, that this is the way which the Lord our God has led us.'

pp. 197—199.

Art. VIII. *An Introduction to Modern History,* from the Birth of Christ to the present Time. By W. Jillard Hort. 2 vols. 24mo. Price 10s. 6d. London. 1819.

AS we are not inclined to make these volumes a text for a general dissertation on History, we can have little more to say of them, than that they are fairly executed, and sufficiently adapted to the purpose of giving a rapid view of the principal

events of the story of the world from the birth of our Saviour. We are not, indeed, quite sure that we fall in with the system of summaries and outlines. We have a strong suspicion that the mind, even at an early age, is more likely to be attracted by details than by abstracts, and that the combined pliability and tenaciousness of the memory will then lend a more retentive, as well as a more eager attention to a multiplicity of interesting facts, than to a barren classification of events. We are at the same time fully aware of the difference between private and public education, and of the impossibility, in the latter, of acting on any other than general and systematic plans: the framework alone can be laid down; it must be left to maturer years for its completion. In this view, we think this work well suited to its object, and, as far as we are able to judge without a minute collation of dates and authorities, sufficiently accurate. We have, indeed, noticed two or three statements in which a more careful balance of evidence would have suggested a somewhat less decided turn of phrase; as when Las Casas is affirmed to have proposed the alleviation of South American servitude by the adoption of the negro slave trade. This charge should not have been so peremptorily stated, since it rests on the doubtful authority of Herrera, and has been successfully repelled by the Abbé Gregoire. Again, it is asserted without qualification, that Agricola was 'put to death' by Domitian; but this expression conveys the idea of an avowed execution, whereas the imputation is only matter of strong suspicion, and, at the utmost, extends only to the secret administration of poison. '*Augebat mise-rationem*,' says Tacitus, '*constans rumor, veneno inter-ceptum. Nobis nihil comperti affirmare ausim.*'

Art. IX. *Sketch of a Plan for Settling in Upper Canada, a Portion of the Unemployed Labourers of England.* By a Settler. 8vo. pp. 26. Price 2s. London. 1821.

IN addition to the books noticed in a former Number containing information respecting Canada, Mr. C. F. Grece's "Facts and Observations" will convey to the Emigrant much serviceable detail. According to the concurrent testimony of various respectable witnesses, the inducements presented by Upper Canada, at least to an Englishman, would seem to entitle it to his preference. 'It contains many millions of acres of fertile unoccupied land, with a climate suited to all agricultural pursuits. It possesses the same laws, the same manners, and, above all, the same constitution as England.

The present Sketch holds out to parishes the opportunity of permanently relieving themselves of their redundant population by a temporary advance of capital, bearing interest, that shall place in independence those who are now subsisting on parochial

relief. The Writer calculates that the sum of £200 advanced to each family, will enable them to acquire prosperous settlements in two years, and within ten years to repay the advances. On the accuracy of his calculations and the impartiality of his representations, persons interested in the subject will, of course, not implicitly depend; but they bear the marks of fairness. The phrases, 'under favourable circumstances,' 'with common industry,' &c. will suggest the necessity of some slight deduction as an insurance against *un*favourable circumstances. It will be requisite also, that agricultural settlers in our distant colonies, should be secured against the possibility of not finding *a market* for their produce. The calculations which take this trifling circumstance for granted, must depend for their correctness entirely on the regulations imposed by Government on the trade of our colonies. The existing statutes restrain the Canadians from trying to obtain a market and making purchases in foreign countries; and the operation of the Corn-laws has been, under certain circumstances, to restrict them from buying and selling at all. Hence, it is the matter of complaint at this moment, that their surplus wheat is lying in their granaries without the possibility of obtaining any price, while the same article is selling at New York at a dollar *per* bushel. It will be in vain that our colonies present natural advantages to the Emigrant, if the impolitic restrictions on commerce, and the general vices of our colonial system, counteract those advantages so as to render a settlement in the United States a preferable measure.

It does honour to the present Writer, that his "Sketch" includes the setting apart of a portion of the projected colony for *an Indian reserve.*

'It is felt that wrongs most unprovoked, and never yet *nationally* attempted to be repaired, have been perpetrated upon them. The kind exertions of the few have always been accompanied, and have been thwarted by the more extensive activity of wrong policies in governments, or by brutal selfishness in individuals; and so, till now, the rightful owners of a deserted soil have been crushed; the well-meaning amongst us considering their case as hopeless, the crafty pretending it to be so.'

'The executive government of the United States appears to be taking steps towards an important revolution with respect to the Indians of North America; and it may be found necessary by the British authorities, to reconsider the principles upon which our own intercourse with them has been hitherto conducted. The only way in which their cause can be connected with the present Sketch, is that a portion of the projected colony may be set apart for an Indian reserve. This may be thought right even if a title no longer exists in any tribe, as is probably true, to the lands now about to be settled; it may prove good policy, and a wise benevolence, to hold out to wanderers a link of connection with humanized society. The suggestion

is made after some consideration; and the necessary details of management, are neither many nor complicated. The policy of England has, with some exceptions, been to add her conquests to herself integrally, and no good reason can be given against many of the Indians in Canada becoming gradually integral portions and members of the British community. It is in form only that they can be said to be independent nations. This suggested reserve of a place of national hospitality, has reference to the forming of a connection between Indians in Upper Canada and ourselves, as fellow subjects of the same government. That something of this kind ought to be attempted, no man of right feelings will deny; and that the Indians themselves are thoroughly incapable of being worked upon by these principles of treatment, no man acquainted with their history, can venture to assert. It is the orator, and not the man, who says that under all circumstances uncivilized tribes will meet the nations of Europe with hostility, rejecting even friendship prior to any experience of our good or bad qualities. The fact is not so; it is true that bands of hunters will not suddenly become sowers of corn, and be confined to narrow districts, and to close mechanical occupations, but the numerous intermediate steps between highly cultivated society, and wild habits, have been taken by great numbers of American Indians most rapidly. In the small island of Nantucket, alone, in New England, there were in 1720, eight hundred Christian communicants of these people, in three congregations. Gospels and grammars were printed in their language, and domestic implements of all kinds were prepared in their then fixed villages, for sale to the European settlers. It is probable that an uniform adherence to just principles towards them, would have changed entirely the modes of life of these noble people. They who are in contact with us, know now thoroughly, and they feel acutely the evils of their present forlorn condition; but no hand protects them from the manifest and unsparing superiority of those whose immediate interests, their own worst indulgences promote.

'The submission of a lunatic to the fixed countenance of his keeper is not more decided than that of a home Indian to some of their connections amongst the whites. That the relation should exist in this character, needs only be stated to be abhorred. The presentiment they have of the extinction of their race, is very melancholy. It was but lately, that the chief of a small tribe near the Rice Lake, said to an European settler, "You will soon drive us away, but when a solitary canoe sometimes passes by your dwelling, do not forget that the owner always received you at his with welcome."

'If the principles on which William Penn acted had prevailed; or if Franklin's advice to "treat the Indians with justice always, and sometimes with kindness," had been generally attended to, fewer European individuals might have enriched themselves in America, but the nations of Europe would have been less responsible than they now are for the permission of much crime.' pp. 21—25.

Art. X. *Rouge et Noir.* In six Cantos. Versailles and other Poems. 12mo. pp. 216. Price 7s. London. 1821.

THE poem which gives its title to this volume, is in what it has become usual to call the *Whistlecraft* style; a style imitated from the serio-comic romance-writers of Italy, and bearing all the marks of its exotic character. Mr. Frere and Lord Byron, themselves more foreigners than Englishmen, have misemployed their splendid talents in the attempt to naturalize it in our language. They have succeeded in making it fashionable for the present, but it will share the fate of other imported fashions which have not nature and good sense as their basis. John Bull is naturally grave: he can indulge now and then in a broad—perhaps an obstreperous laugh, but his features soon resume their serious air; and nothing is naturally more abhorrent to him than the eternal simper or the sardonic grin which is to be seen on the countenances of some of his neighbours. Mr. Bull has the reputation of loving a good joke, and of not being over-scrupulous on the score of delicacy in his amusements; the broader the farce the better.—Falstaff, Hudibras, and the heroes of Smollet to wit. But then, he has not been accustomed to laugh at every thing. He has kind-hearted tears to shed for human suffering, and does not understand how broken vows, and broken hearts, and profligate principles, and eternal misery can be made a subject for drollery. The Parisian *sang-froid*—he cannot well pronounce the word, and thanks God he has no synonyme for it in his native tongue. He does not like, and we trust never will like, to have his best feelings, his most ennobling sentiments, his religious hopes made the fuel of flippant or malignant ridicule. And till he does, he will never relish the polished *diabolism* of Don Juan.

There is a combination of humour and pathos which is thoroughly English; or, when we think of Goldsmith, who has so perfectly exemplified it, we ought rather to say thoroughly Irish. The humour of Burns, however, is not less chaste and natural. Cowper is playful rather than comic. Pope's is the perfection of wit. Swift has coarse but genuine humour. But in Fielding, Smollet, and Sterne, we have the most characteristic displays of true English humour, mixed up, however, with less innocent ingredients. The cold-blooded facetiousness of the Author of Don Juan is in perfect contrast with all these various styles, and though less coarse and broad, is, in fact, far more licentious than that of the most exceptionable of our comic writers. Colman and Peter Pindar are more profane in their language, but not in their spirit. Smollet and Swift have gone immeasurably greater lengths in nastiness; but the tendency of Lord Byron's anonymous poetry is to inflict a still more deep and

deadly taint on the imagination. Their descriptions only quicken the pulse and pollute the memory; his are adapted to harden the heart.

In our review of Mazeppa,* we adverted to the first portion of the poem to which we now allude. A third and fourth part have since appeared, of which, for similar reasons, we shall decline to take any further notice, considering it as very questionable policy to expatiate, even in terms of condemnation, on that which allures by its genius, as much as it offends by its impiety. It is next to impossible to read the worst productions of Lord Byron without admiration of his talents; and the admiration so extorted from us, is an unwholesome feeling. Admiration is a complacent sentiment, and such a sentiment indulged in such a reference, is a concession to vice.

The present Writer would, probably, not court a comparison with Lord Byron, on the score of poetical talent, and he may justly claim not to share in his condemnation. "Rouge et Noir" is one of the most unexceptionable poems of the style we have seen, and it contains some very spirited passages. Humour is not the Author's forte, nor is his wit always of the best kind; but he can be both playful and pathetic. The subject, indeed, is full of horrid interest—the Gaming-table. We give the Author's own account of the poem.

'The following trifle was written in the midst of the dissipated scenes which it attempts rather to sketch than to describe: imagination has had nothing to do with it, for almost every circumstance alluded to was witnessed: and every scene introduced, copied and coloured from life. Should it prove fortunate enough to afford half an hour's amusement to such as are in no danger of infection from the spirit of play which constitutes the epidemic of a Parisian atmosphere; or act as a preventive against the disease, in one case out of a hundred, with such as are in the way of contagion, it will be more than is expected, and all that is desired by the Author.'

In Paris, the *Rouge et Noir* tables are stated to rifle the public to the amount of 12,000,000 francs per annum, of which two thirds are 'paid to the government for its recognition!' This is worse than Mr. Vansittart's Lottery schemes, or the ale-house and spirit system, which makes the drunkenness of the lower orders so important an article of our ways and means.

'If then,' adds the Author, 'the *Parisian Administration*, as the proprietors are designated, can pay a direct tax of 8,000,000 francs, independent of the expenses of their several establishments, and make fortunes beside—to what must the *unincumbered* profits of the *London Administration* amount? For it will be necessary to apprise but few, that *Rouge et Noir* has found its way to England; or that

* Eclectic Review, August, 1819.

Pall Mall is hardly surpassed by the *Palais Royal* itself in the number of its *Maisons de jeu.*'

The first two or three pages of the poem have an unpromising *flatness*, which is not at all relieved by the unmeaning vulgarism in the fourth line of the first stanza. Canto I. is an attempt to explain the game,—not a very successful one; and the reader is almost tempted to think the Poet speaks reason when he says:

'I wish I'd left this *measure* to such hands as
Frere, Byron, Barry Cornwall—faith I do!
'Twas certainly, when I began these stanzas,
My purpose to describe the Game; but, to
Speak truth, this "old *ottava rima*," grand as
It may be thought, is like a tight new shoe,
Which pinches me so sore at every motion,
That I shall not attempt it, I've a notion.'

Canto II. introduces us to the Palais Royal.

'It is a focus where each principle
Of thought and act concentrate to a spot;
Where gold is most omnipotent, and will
Buy love or lace—there's nothing can't be bought;
A world in miniature, where equal skill
Is taught in sin and science—*both* are taught!
With dancing, fencing, metaphysics, cheating,
And other things which don't abide repeating.

'It is the heart of Paris, and impels
Warm poison thro' her wanton arteries;
The honeycomb of vice, whose thousand cells
Pour forth the buzzing multitude one sees:
Loose trowser'd beaux, and looser-moral'd belles;
With ancient quizzes underneath the trees
Reading the daily journals, or conversing;
And, here and there, a black-eyed *Grisette* nursing.

'Here new-come English ladies flock to stare
At all the wonders with their sleepy faces:
I'm often lead to think, I do declare,
The ugliest come on purpose to disgrace us:
Their clothes toss'd on with pitchforks as it were;
And *marching* more like grenadiers than graces;
Whilst Paris dames, who don't approve their fashion,
Survey them with satirical compassion.

'But, now and then, a form goes gliding by
Such as might hover round a poet's dream;
The cheek of rose, the large, the laughing eye,
As blue as heaven—heaven in its beam!
Lips that were made to smile, and make us sigh—
And limbs—but *these* might lead me from my theme;
In short, near such the French look sometimes sooty,
And Britain is again my land of beauty.

'And, though our countrymen dress well in general,
Some naturally lead us to suppose
(With faces that might compliment a funeral)
They come to Paris to wear out old clothes:
The natives might be led to think our men are
As shabby as themselves, to judge by those.
Some sport outrageous fashions out of date—
"Lax in their gaiters, laxer in their gait."

'But *Stultz* sometimes exports a dandy over—
Or, in more modern phrase, an *exquisite*;
(Being delicate they always cross by Dover)
To shew us exiles how a coat should fit.
Now don't mistake, or think I mean to cover
This *cast* with ridicule—O far from it!
I'm told they're lady-like and harmless creatures,
With something of hermaphroditish features.'

From the description of Frescati in Canto III., we borrow the following stanzas to complete the groupe.

'And here I've marked a sort of non-descript—
Half clown, half dandy:—but the Cheapside hop
Betray'd the cruel secret, tho' equipped
Tout à la mode Française from toe to top:
A metamorphosed cockney, who had slipped
His girths; but having from the shipwrecked shop
Saved something, strikes his creditors with wonder,
By turning *petit maître* and *French finder*.

'And some make magic fortunes, playing thus
At blindman's buff with hazard in the stocks;
And, if they do, they keep a pretty fuss——
Take consequential airs, an Opera box,
With other things too tedious to discuss;
The pity is, inveterate nature baulks
Their aim; because it follows not that when
Men grow in wealth they must grow gentlemen.

'Oh no! for tho' like Esop's frog they swell
To emulate our bulls of high degree,
Ay sometimes till they burst, they might as well
Attempt to quench the sun, or drain the sea:
The thing's impossible; for let me tell
Them plainly, the distinction seems to be
As wide between our "exquisites" and these
As 'tween a *lack* of guineas and *rupees*.

* * * * * *

'The camp may have it's fame, the court it's glare,
The theatre it's wit, the board it's mirth:
But there's a calm, a quiet haven, where
Bliss flies for shelter—the domestic hearth!
If this be comfortless, if this be drear,

It needs not hope to find a haunt on earth:
Elsewhere we may be careless, gay, caressed—
But here, and only here, we can be *blest!*'

'O, senseless, soulless, worse than both were he
Who, slighting all the heart should hoard with pride,
Could waste his nights in losel revelry,
And leave his bosom's partner to abide
The anguish women feel, who love, and see
Themselves deserted, and their hopes destroyed:—
Some doating one, perhaps, who hides her tears,
And struggles at a smile when he appears!

'Enough! Frescati is my subject now;
And many pass their night beneath its dome,
Who leave none *such* to sorrow o'er the vow
That binds them to a libertine; but roam
Because, (and 'tis some cause, we must allow,)
Altho' they have a *house*, they've not a *home;*
Exchanging frowns and yawns—connubial blisses!
For music, feasting, dancing, smiles, and kisses.

'So, what with gaming, taking ice, and billing,
Discussions on the *charter* or a feather,
Lounging on sofas, waltzing or quadrilling,
With casual observations on the weather—
"The winter here I think is vastly chilling"—
Poles, Turks, and Persians—all the world together,—
They keep it gayly up, the pillow scorning,
At least till six or seven in the morning.'

Canto IV., 'the Salon,' describes the gambling table. We n back to the first Canto for a striking picture.

'Nay, desperate Want itself comes here to game,
Altho' the turning of a card may be
As death: look on him! woman's grief were tame
Beside that speechless stare of agony.
The vilest passions which the heart inflame
Run riot in their brute ferocity;
And joy and anguish wear the ruffian die,
With all to wound the ear, and shock the eye.

'And oft, a looker on the scene alone,
(For, tho' you smile in doubt, 'tis not less true,)
My heart hath quailed to hear that horrid tone,
Half sigh, half sob—the deep breath'd "*Sacré Dieu!*"
Burst from a luckless wretch with eye of stone,
Convulsive cheek, and lips of death's own hue;
Throbbed as he broke away, to madness wrought,
Perhaps—but fancy shudders at the thought!

'Yet, whoso visited *the Morgue* next morn,
Had found, it might be, from the Seine's dull tide
Already dragged, a sight that well might warn—
Stretched on his back, the ghastly suicide!

His eye unclosed; his garments, stained and torn,
Hung from the drear and dripping wall, to guide
Some idle glance; perhaps, to fix upon
The cold stark features of a sire or son!'

The following portraits are, we doubt not, from the life.

——'I've met originals, however:—
Among the rest a man of parchment lip,
And eye so frozen that it made one shiver:
But, if a cold sardonic smile should slip
Athwart his features with convulsive quiver,
'Twas strangled, like a goblin, at its birth,
And seem'd the very antipode to mirth.

'Nor moved those vampire features, save, perchance,
When some estated prodigal unrolled
The sheaf of *billets* which he eyed askance,
Or rashly piled the stake of minted gold;
But then his sunk sepulchral eye would dance
Delighted, just as if it soothed the old
Transgressor's spleen, beholding such an one
Undo himself, as he had been undone.

'Such is the blighted slave whose life hath passed,
Heartless and hardened, in this atmosphere:
A being by his demon-passion cast,
Like Cain, from social haunts and all that's dear;
Without one human feeling to the last,
Beyond that avarice which drags him here;
Till, like a bar consumed by inward rust,
The heart, before the frame, is turn'd to dust.

'To such a close the gamester's progress leads—
Rank, feeling, wealth, and reputation gone;
And Fortune seldom favours him who needs—
O no! the rich, the fool, the knave hath won;
But he whose heart at every venture bleeds,
Who plays for life and death, departs—undone!
As if some scoffing devil mounted guard,
Lest chance itself should turn one winning card.

'Behold yon stripling—howsoe'er he stakes,
Dame Fortune veers obsequious to his whim;
Nay, older sinners take the side he takes,
And absolutely win by following him:
Note the triumphant smile with which he shakes
The rattling *ivory!* whilst his eye-balls swim
Like one in love or liquor, wild and warm,
And quite resolved to take the fates by storm!

'Now mark his mid-aged neighbour—foiled and crossed—
Some unexpected turn is sure to mar
Each hope of winning when it flatters most,
As if mischance had smote him with her star!

Born to estates a title's flaw hath lost—
Forced from his own good hall to wander far—
A trembling hand the latest stake hath spread,
And morn may hear his infants cry for bread.'

The last line of this Canto, which closes a suitable apostrophe he 'accursed game' with a fool's laugh, is an instance of the tched taste into which a writer is in imminent danger of being rayed by aiming at the serio-comic.

Cantos V. and VI. are entitled The Sharper, and The Guil-ne. They contain some very graphical sketches, and some y serviceable hints to those who are designing a trip to Paris.

'—'tis a wild-goose chace
For those who contemplate economising,
To post towards Paris—quite as well repair
To Fetter-lane in search of country air.

'Avoid it! if for nothing but to shun
This all-involving snake, this *Rouge et Noir*,
Which, fell as those that folded Laocoon,
Strangles the firmest resolution; for
I can't just now recall a single one
Who had the means to play, and did not; nor
Five who escaped its gripe before they knew
The odds 'tween *sans souci* and *sans six sous*.'

On the whole, we shall be well pleased with some more sketches rom the same hand, provided he will laugh only in the right lace, and weed his wit of vulgarisms.

The Miscellaneous Poems are all of them elegant, and bear narks of an accomplished mind. Some of them might have lumbered in the portfolio, without rendering the volume less aluable; but these, probably, recommended themselves to the uthor by the recollections connected with them. There are bundant indications of taste and feeling in his poetry, and in uch cases we are not fastidious critics. We shall make room or the poem that has most pleased us.

'To an Infant.

'When cherub smiles give place
To full and flowing tears,
My Infant! in thy face
I see the chart of years:
Each smile a joy bestowing,
Each tear a grief foreshewing.

'But, young one! it appears,
They differ in amount;
One minute tells more tears
Than a day of smiles can count.
How many clouds we gaze on
For one the Iris plays on!

'By day the sunbeam glows,
But soon its rays must set;
Thro' morn and midnight flows
The sobbing rivulet.
Thus joy a while keeps glowing,
But grief for ever flowing.

'My cup of hope is quaff'd,
Yet this I'll hope for thee—
Be thou the green young graft
Upon the leafless tree;
And hopes 'twere vain to nourish,
Be found in thee to flourish.

'Thy years a halcyon train
Of blessings smiling round;
That bliss I sought in vain
To find—by thee be found:
May love and friendship bless thee,
Nor woe nor want oppress thee.'

'Tho' others' emblem be
The deadly cypress shade,
Be thine the citron tree
That knows not how to fade;
But through each change of weather,
Bears fruit and flowers together.

'Thy childhood be as gay
As spring-tide just begun;
Thy youth a bright May day,
And ardent as its sun;
Thy prime, midsummer—sweeping
O'er harvests ripe and reaping.

'Nor let thy sun's decline
One noble thought assuage;
But rather, like old wine,
Grow generous with age.
Thro' life thy soul be chainless,
In death thy name be stainless.

'And when he who writes this verse,
Shall smile not nor repine,
Be thou beside his hearse—
He could not look on thine!
And, when thy shroud is o'er thee,
May a son of thine deplore thee.' pp. 164—7.

Art. XI. *A Medical Guide to the Cheltenham Waters*, containing Observations on their Nature and Properties; the Diseases in which they are beneficial or hurtful; with the Rules to be observed during their Use. By William Gibney, M.D. Graduate of the University of Edinburgh; Member of the Royal Medical Society; one of the Physicians to the Cheltenham Dispensary, &c. 12mo. pp. 162. Price 4s. 6d. London, 1821.

PUBLICATIONS of this nature have been so often made the vehicles of disgusting egotism and sheer quackery, that it is with no small degree of pleasure we are able to present to our readers so unassuming, impartial, and respectable a work as that before us. The Author has not attempted to shew us that the Cheltenham waters will do *every thing*, but he shews that, under suitable management, they will do *much*; and points out, with considerable perspicuity and conciseness, those maladies, and the peculiar stages of such maladies, as are likely to be benefited by their administration. And, with not less candour, the Author states explicitly, the principal forms of disease in which the waters would be either useless or positively injurious. We are disposed to recommend this little work not only to our general readers, but to Dr. Gibney's brethren in the profession, as furnishing an accurate view of the cases which might be advantageously removed to Cheltenham; to which place, we are persuaded, many patients are sent without any such distinct ideas of the properties of the waters, or any such definite directions for their use, as every practitioner ought to possess, and every patient to receive.

Dr. Gibney is fully aware that the change of scene and of habits which accompanies a residence at Cheltenham, has a very important share in producing its salutary effects; and yet, perhaps, the Doctor may be unconsciously inclined to expect more from the waters themselves than persons at a distance, and without his natural predilections, would be apt to anticipate. But the character of integrity is so prominently stamped on the present work, that even should the merits of the Cheltenham waters have been extolled to the very extent, or even somewhat beyond their *ne plus ultra*, we feel persuaded that the statement is founded on decided conviction.

In treating of the *cutaneous affections* which indicate, or contra-indicate, the use of the waters, the Author employs the vague term *herpetic* with less precision than we could wish. The genus *herpes* having been distinctly included in the order of *Vesicles*, by the incomparable Willan and his indefatigable coadjutor, it is particularly desirable to avoid, even in popular language, any expressions which may serve to perpetuate an indistinct nomenclature of Disease. We would, indeed, suggest to the Author, in the event of a second edition, the propriety of

defining rather more exactly the characters of some other cutaneous complaints to which he alludes. The exchange, also, of such words as œdema, idiopathic, strumous, synovial, &c. for simple English terms, or the addition of short notes by way of explanation, would render the work still more intelligible to general readers. It is but justice, however, to add, that Dr. Gibney has usually expressed himself with great simplicity, and has evidently endeavoured to avoid the technicalities of the science.

Art. XII. *The Design of the Death of Christ Explained;* and its Influence in constraining Christians to "live to him who died for "them," enforced: in a Sermon. By William Ward, Serampore. 8vo. Price 1s. 6d. London. 1820.

WE must not pass over this very striking Sermon. Having, however, noticed so much at large the Author's Farewell Letters, to which this Discourse would form an admirable appendix, we shall content ourselves with stating that, by its unaffected eloquence, not less than by its momentous topic, it recommends itself most powerfully to the classes to which it is especially addressed; 'to parents and heads of families, to Sun-'day-school teachers, and to the pastors and members of Chris-'tian Societies formed on the independent plan, throughout 'Great Britain.' The concluding passage would amply justify language of still higher encomium. We most earnestly recommend it to the perusal of our readers.

'We need not enter into the proofs, that a life founded on principles so mean and selfish must end in disappointment. The fact is, no man will have been found too cunning for God: "whatsoever a man soweth, that shall he reap." Men, all men, will be for ever and ever what they were through life. Not a grain of the seed sown in time, but what will bear in time and through eternity its own fruit. The tree which thou now plantest, O immortal, of its fruit shalt thou partake for ever. Nothing which now obtains a seat in thy heart, or becomes an overt act, can be indifferent, since it must and will live for ever. By the merits of Christ believers will attain to life eternal, but the history of that life eternal will bear the motto, "Whatsoever a man soweth—that—that shall he reap." "One star differeth from another star in glory, so also is the resurrection of the dead." And thus a life of selfishness invariably ends in disappointment in some shape or other. There is an inseparable, an eternal connection between actions and their fruit, and no wit or cunning of men can dissolve it. "He that soweth sparingly shall reap also sparingly, and he that soweth bountifully shall reap also bountifully." "He that soweth to the flesh, shall of the flesh reap corruption, but he that soweth to the Spirit, shall of the Spirit reap life everlasting."

'But, he who has lived to himself, shall "arise to shame and

everlasting contempt." 'I set before thee a heavenly life, a glorious 'career of Christian benevolence; and my grace should have been 'perfected in thy weakness. But thou preferredst a partial view of 'thy own interests, and thou livedst to thyself. Absorbed in secu- 'lar engagements, thou raisedst a noble mansion; thou elevatedst 'thy family to the highest dignities, and the name of thy house has 'survived the ravages of centuries. But see—the world is on fire! 'Behold! a new earth and a new heaven! What share hast thou in 'this new creation? Is there one soul on those thrones which thou 'hast instrumentally raised thither? Is there one scene to the beauties 'of which thou hast contributed? None. All thy labours—all thy 'projects, have perished in the great conflagration, and thou art left 'alone, since all earthly connections are dissolved, for ever to reflect 'on the inexpressible folly and turpitude of a life which has been con- 'sumed on a base and fruitless effort to make self the object of adora- 'tion and service, while the Deity and all the creatures have been made 'to "serve with thy sins." Go, infatuated wretch, eternity is before 'thee: a god for a moment, a miserable reptile for ever. Hadst thou 'lived to me, I had made thee a "son and an heir of God." Thou 'hast lived to thyself; thyself in ruins shall be to thee the only object 'of contemplation amidst the solitudes and unavailing anguish of 'eternity!'" pp. 33—34.

Art. XIII. SELECT LITERARY INFORMATION.

In the press, a Second Volume of Sketches of Sermons, preached to congregations in various parts of the united kingdom, and on the European Continent, furnished by their respective authors. Also, a new edition of Vol. I.

Mr. David Booth is preparing for publication, "A Letter to the Rev. T. R. Malthus, M.A. F.R.S., relative to the Reply (inserted in the 70th Number of the Edinburgh Review) to Mr. Godwin's Inquiry concerning Population;" in which the erroneousness of the Theories of Mr. Malthus will be more fully illustrated.

An edition of Matthiae's Greek Grammar, abridged for the use of schools, translated from the German, will be ready after the Christmas vacation.

The Rev. Mark Wilks is preparing an English edition of the Old Cevennol, by Rabaut St. Etienne.

The Rev. H. F. Burder has in the press, Mental Discipline, or Hints on the Cultivation of Intellectual Habits, addressed particularly to students in theology, and young preachers.

A Treatise on the Gospel Constitution, the last work of the late Rev. Wm. Bennet, with a short account of his life and writings, will soon be published.

Dr. Geo. Darling has in the press, a Treatise on Diseases of the Liver, and on some of the affections usually denominated bilious.

Memoirs of the Celebrated Persons composing the Kit Cat Club, with an account of the origin of the association, will soon appear in a large quarto volume, illustrated by forty-eight portraits from the original paintings by Sir Godfrey Kneller.

A new edition of the complete works of Demosthenes, with the various readings, under the direction of Professor Schaefer, is in the press, and will appear early in the next year, in six volumes, 8vo.

Mr. Pullen has been engaged for some time in arranging Pestalozzi's System of Mental Arithmetic, and expects to publish it in the course of next month.

The Solutions to the Cambridge Prize Problems, by Mr. Wright of Trinity College, is in a state of great forwardness, and will be published in the course

of October term. Mr. Wright is also engaged upon an edition of the complete works of Sir Isaac Newton, which will be published in parts; the Principia will appear first with a selection of the best notes.

The History of Tuscany by Pignotti, interspersed with occasional Essays on the Progress of Italian Literature, has been translated by Mr. Browning, and will be printed in the course of the winter.

Mr. Buchanan, His Majesty's Consul at New York, has made considerable collections during his successive journies through Upper Canada, respecting the History of the North American Indians, which with many other interesting materials and official documents will be shortly presented to the public.

Mr. Landseer is preparing for publication, Sabean Researches, with plates of sculptured signets, &c. It is expected to appear in the month of February.

Mr. Joliffe has prepared for the press, many additional Letters written during his Tour in Palestine and the Holy Land, which will shortly appear in a new edition of his Letters, in 2 vols. 8vo.

In the press, and shortly will be published, with notes, A Key to the Parsing Exercises contained in Lindley Murray's English Grammar, in which all the examples will be parsed at full length, and in the syntactical examples, the rules will be quoted. Intended for the use of all young persons who are studying the English language, but particularly for such as make use of the deservedly popular work of Mr. Murray. By J. Harvey.

Art. XIV. LIST OF WORKS RECENTLY PUBLISHED.

ANTIQUITIES.

Antiquities of Ionia. Published by the Society of Dilettanti. 2 vols. royal folio. 12l. 12s. boards.

*** The first volume is a second edition, with considerable additions; and either volume may be had separate.

The History and Antiquities of the Cathedral Church of Oxford; illustrated by engravings; with biographical anecdotes of the bishops, &c. By John Britton, F.S.A. Med. 4to. 1l. 4s. Imp. 4to. 2l. 2s. Sup. roy. folio, 4l. 4s.

BIOGRAPHY.

Memoirs of the Rev. Joseph Howell. By the Rev. Hugh Howell, Rector of Ballaugh, Isle of Man. 12mo. 3s. 6d.

Memoirs of Miss Mary Ann Burton, late of Kentish Town. 12mo. 6s.

MISCELLANEOUS.

The Works of the Right Hon. Edmund Burke, Vol. VII. Containing his Speeches in Westminster Hall on the Impeachment of Mr. Hastings. With an Introduction addressed to Lord Viscount Milton. By the Bishop of Rochester. 4to. 2l. 2s.

Incidents of Childhood. With frontispiece. 2s. 6d. half-bound.

Ralph Richards, the Miser. By Jefferys Taylor. 18mo. With a frontispiece. 2s. 6d. half-bound.

Essays on the Formation and Publication of Opinions; and on other subjects. 8vo. 8s. boards.

An Account of a New Process in Painting. In two Parts. Part I. Remarks on its general correspondence with the peculiarities of the Venetian school. Part II. Supplementary details, explanatory of the process: with miscellaneous observations on the arts of the sixteenth century. 8vo. 8s.

THEOLOGY.

Thomas Johnson's Reasons for Dissenting from the Church of England. 18mo. 3d.

A Sermon preached at the Coronation of King George the Fourth, in the Abbey Church of Westminster, July 19th, 1821. By Edward, Lord Archbishop of York. 4to. 2s.

Clavis Apostolica: or a Key to the Apostolic Writings; being an attempt to explain the scheme of the Gospel, and the principal words and phrases used by the Apostles in describing it. By the Rev. Joseph Mendham, A.M. Of Sutton Coldfield. 12mo. 3s. 6d.

TOPOGRAPHY.

A History of Brazil: comprising its Geography, Commerce, Colonization, &c. &c. By James Henderson, recently from South America. With 27 plates and 2 maps. 4to. 3l. 13s. 6d.

THE

ECLECTIC REVIEW,

FOR NOVEMBER, 1821.

Art. I. *A Tour through the Southern Provinces of the Kingdom of Naples.* By the Hon. Richard Keppel Craven. To which is subjoined, a Sketch of the immediate Circumstances attending the late Revolution. 4to. pp. 450. Price 2l. 15s. London. 1821.

WE know not why we should feel disappointed in a work which breaks no ostentatious promise held out to us by its title-page or preface. Yet, so it is, that our long experience as Reviewers has not yet taught us so to moderate our expectations on crossing the threshold of a goodly quarto, as to ensure us against being mortified at the meagre entertainment which is too commonly our portion. Men do not gather grapes from thorns or figs from thistles; nor ought we, in strict justice, to expect to find in a simple narrative of the tour of a man of fashion and pleasure over a given extent of territory, the striking incidents and lively interest of a romance. Here we have what we doubt not is a competent and faithful account of the scenery, climate, produce, population, history, and antiquities of a renowned and favoured, but by no means familiar portion of Italy; through which we have toiled with a perseverance similar to Mr. Craven's when scaling his Calabrian mountains or traversing the flats of Apulia. Those of our readers whose minds are imbued with classical literature, or who are addicted to the pleasures of antiquarian research, will find in these pages much information congenial to their taste. But, to general readers, we should fear, the matter of fact details and historical disquisitions with which the bulk of the volume is occupied, will be rather barren of amusement. The Author has not the art of compression, but it is not his fault that the tract through which he leads us is sometimes flat and cheerless, and the subject of discussion uninteresting. By the help of the banditti, the Carbonari, and some good stories, however, which enliven the dry itinerary, the volume, if not of the highest order of merit, will amply repay the perusal.

Mr. Craven states, that in undertaking this tour, he was 'actuated by views of curiosity and enjoyment, rather than by any 'particular object of interest.' 'The access to Sicily by means 'of a land journey,' appeared to him 'preferable to the generally 'practised mode of a sea voyage.' Leaving Naples, he crossed the peninsula into the province of Apulia, or Puglia, now subdivided into the provinces of Capitanata, Terra di Bari, and Terra d'Otranto. The whole of this district seems almost abandoned to the dominion of the banditti; its vast uninclosed plains occasionally interspersed with patches of underwood, the rare occurrence of large towns, and the magnitude of the farms, affording them every facility in their exploits. A defile on the post-road, called Ponte di Bovino, is so notorious for robberies, that every traveller who has passed it unmolested, thinks himself safe for the remainder of his journey. Far from confining themselves to the despoiling of travellers, or the robbing of the *procaccio*, or mail-waggon, the banditti have occasionally levied contributions on the landed proprietors, sometimes seizing their persons for the purpose of obtaining an exorbitant ransom.

'Some years back, a gang (or, as it is called, a *comitiva*) of these daring speculators having seized the *procaccio* going from Naples to the principal town in the province of *Basilicata*, with all the paraphernalia appertaining to the court of justice newly established there, thought it a very excellent joke, to put on the judges' robes and wigs, and go through the mock ceremony of a trial; the judicial forms of which most of them were but too well acquainted with. This self-elected tribunal pronounced sentence of death on the very first traveller who might fall into their hands; and the day did not pass without an opportunity of carrying it into execution.—At Orsara, a small village between Bovino and Troja, the usual amusement of the boys on a feast-day is, to divide themselves into two bands, one of which guards a little wooden cart filled with rubbish, representing the *procaccio*, while the other performs the more glorious part of the *comitiva* which attacks it, and which, it is needless to add, always gains the victory.'

The most celebrated troop of this kind in recent times, was the Vardarelli band, so named from their chieftain and his brothers, natives of the province of Abruzzo, who for more than two years infested Apulia, and were supposed to have collected immense wealth. Their troop, consisting of above forty men, well armed and accoutred, was trained to the most rigid discipline. They are said seldom to have attacked travellers; and their outrages were generally unsullied by cruelty, except in some cases of revenge for breach of promise; but this show of generosity, as well as the rewards bestowed on their spies and abettors, and the acts of charity by which they endeavoured to propitiate the poorer class, rendered them only a more destructive

scourge to the community at large. Their marches, generally performed in the night time, were so incredibly rapid, that the terror they inspired, was equalled only by the astonishment created by operations apparently supernatural. They have been known to have remained some days in one of the farms before the inmates of those adjoining were aware of their proximity. During their stay, they usually feasted on whatever the premises afforded, always compelling the inhabitants to partake of the fare prepared for them, through fear of poison. On removing from the scene of action, they would take with them what money could be collected, and as much grain as their horses could carry. Sometimes, the demand for forage, cash, provisions, and clothes, was made through the medium of a letter to the superintendant of the farm. Neglect, or even delay in complying with the summons, was punished by the destruction of the cattle, and the conflagration of the buildings. Frequently they would stop passengers, and exact the exchange of good fresh horses for their own jaded hacks; while more than once, they have merely bartered their silver against an equivalent sum in gold.

After repeated pursuits and several engagements, in which they baffled the Government troops sent against them, they threw themselves on the royal mercy, and obtained it. The whole band was allowed to form a regular corps, commanded by the same leader, who received a monthly salary, and engaged to secure the provinces which he had so long ravaged, from similar attacks for the future. But it could not be expected that so lawless a confederation should long continue faithful to their engagements, or that the inhabitants smarting under the infliction of outrages so recent, should ever look on the authors of them with any feelings but those of mistrust or revenge. They soon became involved in a contest with the natives of an Albanian village on the borders of Abruzzo, who, rising in superior numbers, killed the three Vardarelli brothers, with nine of the troop, and compelled the remainder to seek safety by flight. For some time they concealed themselves in the neighbouring mountains, declining the offers of Government to investigate the affair. On arriving at Foggia, Mr. Craven's attention was arrested by some troops drawn out as for a parade. He had scarcely observed this, when a sudden volley of musquetry, which he took for the crash of a falling building, was followed by a general flight of the inhabitants, uttering cries of terror and dismay. Having dismounted, he walked on, in vain addressing the fugitives, till a boy, laying hold of the horse's bridle, led him through obscure by-streets to an inn at the skirts of the town, where the whole party, horses and all, took refuge in a room on the ground-floor, still ignorant of the cause of alarm. It proved, that the remains of the Vardarelli band had presented

themselves that morning before the General commanding at Foggia; and that a disagreement, which led to a skirmish, had arisen concerning the terms of their surrender. This caused the panic that prevailed through the city. Four of the band, who had the presence of mind to spring upon their horses, escaped in different directions out of the town, though pursued by cavalry who fired at them as they fled. Another portion were made prisoners.

'A third division sought security in a cellar, which, having only one very low entrance, afforded them a defensible asylum for some time. Of this last desperate set, four, however, gave themselves up, and made known the number that remained. In order to terminate as speedily as possible the agitation which this event had spread through the city, two of those who had been last taken were sent in to their companions, with their hands tied, to persuade them to surrender, and to inform them, that if they persevered in an unavailable resistance, a straw fire would be lighted at the orifice, as the only means of hastening their compliance or destruction. The unfortunate men never returned. The threat was put into execution, and the aperture blocked up with stones. Two hours afterwards, the cellar was entered, and the lifeless bodies, covered with wounds, indicated the death they had received at each other's hands.'

From Foggia, Mr. Craven, after visiting Manfredonia, proceeded along the shores of the Adriatic, to Leoce, the houses of which, he tells us, are '*infinitely*' larger 'than those of the former city;' an application of the epithet that must be termed truly *exquisite*. Here he accepted the offer of the captain-general of the Neapolitan forces to accompany him in a short excursion in the Terra d'Otranto. The town which gives its name to the district, is a wretched sea-port, containing only 1600 inhabitants, and infested with the *malaria*. The castle, 'far from realizing the expectations created by the 'perusal of the celebrated romance bearing the same appellation, 'is now, what it ever was, a fort of no considerable extent or 'power.' It is not, however, entirely deficient in picturesque beauty, at least on the land side. The castle of Brindisi, now used as a prison for malefactors, is described as one of the most beautiful structures of the kind. Both at Brindisi and at Taranto, Mr. C. endeavoured to obtain satisfactory information on the subject of the Tarantula Spider. He assures us, that the disorder said to be produced by the bite of this insect, is well authenticated, although he could not collect any conclusive intelligence as to its real cause. The inhabitants of Brindisi have entire faith in the superstition, asserting that persons of rank have been attacked by the malady, and compelled to resort to music, as the only efficacious remedy yet discovered. The mark of the bite is not, it seems, discoverable at the time; but

its effects are alleged to be visible in the languor, weakness, stupor, and melancholy of the patient. In this stage of the disorder, the music employed never fails to excite a violent paroxysm of dancing of some hours duration, to which ensues a state of total exhaustion, and this brings a temporary relief; 'but the remedy must be repeated for several days, and sometimes resorted to annually at the same period, before it effects 'a radical cure.' The Tarentines, however, assert that none but the lowest and most ignorant of the peasantry, have of late shewn symptoms of the disorder; and that these were young women whose imaginations had been excited by previous exhibitions attending the cure of *Tarantismo*. Several of these females who had undergone the ceremony of the remedy once, expected to continue it some years after their marriage, but found themselves compelled by the threats, and sometimes blows, of their uncomplying husbands, to forego its repetition; nevertheless, they continued in good health ever afterwards. The expenditure attendant on the ceremonies observed in the cure of a *Tarantata*, which include a public entertainment, will sufficiently explain the husband's objection to the operation. To us there appears to be as little mystery in the nature of the disease, as in the *modus operandi* of the established remedy. The custom has, indeed, been plausibly conjectured to be the remains of Bacchanalian orgies.

On approaching the confines of Calabria, the altered face of the country announced a transition to regions the productions and inhabitants of which bear little affinity to those of the uninteresting tracts the Author had left behind him. This province abounds in every variety of striking scenery, and the original wildness and grandeur of its features have been heightened by the ravages of earthquakes. Of that of 1783, Mr. Craven has inserted some interesting particulars. The monastery of St. Stefano del Bosco, near the town of La Serra, was once the wonder and pride of its neighbourhood. It was not only the most ancient of the Carthusian establishments in the kingdom, having been founded by St. Bruno himself, but claimed the still higher distinction of having received his last breath, and become the depository of his mortal remains.

'The monks were eighty in number, and their yearly revenues amounted to nearly 100,000 ducats. The munificence of religious monarchs had enriched this Convent with every ornament which the excellence of art or costliness of material could supply; and every succeeding Abbot sought to commemorate his name by some useful or beneficial addition to its possessions. But a single convulsion of nature annihilated this splendid accumulation of riches, and a fabric which had grown in size and magnificence during seven auspicious centuries, was levelled to the earth in less than three minutes.'

'The Carthusian monks were employed in the ceremonial of receiving their superior, at that moment returned from a journey, when the hollow sound of internal fermentation, which usually rather accompanies than precedes the bursting forth of exterior violence, barely allowed a moment for escape through the cloisters. The fathers, partly through fear, partly through the difficulty of maintaining an upright position upon a surface which heaved like the waves of the sea, had all fallen prostrate the instant they were out of immediate danger. A short but dreadful interval succeeded, during which nought was heard but shrieks of terror uttered by those who fled, the agonizing groans of those who deemed escape impracticable, and the crash of materials, rent into detached masses, falling against each other to the ground. When the monks ventured to raise their eyes towards the walls, a dense cloud of dust was rising from the midst, as smoke from a furnace, but the proud monument of their order "had left but its name behind." ' pp. 265—7.

But, among the tremendous events produced in the progression of this earthquake of 1783, no one is so awful as that which sealed the doom of four thousand individuals, who had collected in one spot, in the hour of peril, around their feudal lord.

'The shock which all this portion of the Calabrian coast experienced on the morning of the fifth of February had been highly detrimental to the town of Scilla, and levelled with the dust most of the houses situated on the upper range. The castle had also suffered considerable damage; it was the residence of the Prince, whom advanced age and infirmities had rendered almost indifferent to the fate which appeared to threaten his existence, in common with that of the whole population. He had determined to await the event before the crucifix in his chapel, but was persuaded to leave the walls of a mansion which appeared scarcely able to resist further concussion, and seek his safety in flight towards the mountains, where he possessed a magnificent residence called La Melia; but the road that led out of the town was so encumbered with the ruins of the buildings which had been overthrown, that it was resolved to defer his departure until the following day, and a temporary and apparently secure asylum was sought on the strand of one of the two small bays, which are separated by the castle, and form harbours for the fishing-boats.

'To the largest of these on the southern side of the promontory, this nobleman retired, and prepared to pass the night in a felucca, which had been hauled up on the sand, with all the other vessels belonging to the place. Here all the surviving individuals had assembled, and, after a day of terror, hoped to pass a few hours of comparative ease and tranquillity. The Ave Maria had been said, in which the feudal despot and his vassals had joined with all the fervour of penitence and fear. The cries of motherless babes, and the lamentations of childless parents, had subsided with the commotions of the earth; while grief, terror, and even despair, lost their power of excitement, and all had sunk under the langour of bodily as well as mental exhaustion. Not a breath of air disturbed the stillness of the atmo-

sphere; not the slightest ripple was audible on the surface of the sea: it seemed as if the elements, mankind, and nature herself, had wasted their energies, and yielded to the necessity of repose.

'At about half past seven, a distant but loud crash proclaimed some new disaster, and awakened to a fearful state of suspense all the silent sufferers. A powerful recurrence of the morning's shocks had severed a large portion of Mount Baci, which forms the next promontory towards the south, and dashed its shivered mass into the sea. The darkness precluded an immediate communication of this event to the trembling population on the sands, and also shrouded from their knowledge the anticipation of its consequences. They were roused by the earthquake; but, extended on the beach, and out of the reach of all buildings, they thought themselves comparatively secure from real danger. A low rustling noise soon was heard, and gradually but rapidly increased to the roar of the most impetuous hurricane. The waters of the whole canal, impelled by the pressure of the fallen mountain, in a single wave had rushed with irresistible force over the opposite point of the Faro, which it entirely inundated. Thrown back towards the Calabrian coast, it passed with impetuosity over the shore of Scilla; and, in its retreat to the bosom of the deep, swept from its surface every individual who had thought to find safety in the bareness of its sands. One abhorrent shriek uttered by the united voices of 4000 beings, thus snatched to eternity, re-echoed from the mountains; and the tremendous wave returning a second and last time, rose to the elevation of the highest houses that yet remained entire, and buried many of them in masses of mud and sand, leaving on their flat roof and among the branches of the trees which grew out of the impending rocks, the mangled bodies of the victims it had destroyed. But these were not many; for the mass, including the Prince of Scilla, were never seen or heard of more.' pp. 297—9.

From Scilla, Mr. Craven proceeded to make the tour of Sicily, the particulars of which he has forborne to publish, from motives of rare and commendable modesty.

'As the interesting researches which Sicily offers to travellers of all descriptions have been so repeatedly laid before the public within the last ten years, it would be presumptuous and certainly useless, to swell the list of Sicilian Travels, by an account of mine.'

After passing between six and seven weeks in the Island, Mr. Craven returned to Reggio, the climate and air of which are pronounced to be the finest in the whole continental portion of the realm. Sicily, he remarks, 'boasts of some situations so 'extraordinary in their effect, that nothing in any other country 'can bear a comparison with them; but, as a whole, it yields 'in picturesque beauty to the southern extremity of Italy.' He gives the preference, too, to the Calabrian mountains compared with those of Sicily. From Reggio, he returned by a varied route to Naples. While detained at Nicastro by a thunder storm, which rendered doubly magnificent the mountain scenery,

his host endeavoured to relieve the tedium of delay by a legendary narrative, the wild character of which was well suited to the scene.

'At the time when the family of Marsato obtained the fief of Nicastro, which added the title of Count to the many other honourable dignities they already boasted, one of its possessors had married a female of the house of Concubiet, barons of Arena, a lineage more illustrious even than his own, as derived in a straight line from one of the companions of Robert Guiscard. The lord of Nicastro and his consort had for many years led an existence of uninterrupted happiness, in the full splendour of feudal grandeur. They were beloved by their vassals, respected by the neighbouring barons, and blessed with a numerous offspring.

'He was of a social hospitable disposition, and addicted to the pleasures of the chase; while the countess divided her time between the cares due to her family, the exercise of charity, the pursuits of study, and a strict observance of all acts of piety and religion. The winter season had set in with a rigour hitherto unknown in these latitudes; and though the Vale of St. Eufemia was verdant in olive and cork trees, the mountain forests were leafless, and the peaks of Reventino white with snow. The charities which the countess exercised at all times were now distributed with increased benevolence and liberality; while her husband gave particular injunctions to his gamekeepers and guards to watch over the cattle belonging to such of his vassals whose habitations were, from their lonesomeness or elevated situation, more exposed to attacks from the wolves infesting the pine woods, and now rendered doubly ferocious by hunger and cold.

'The keepers were out during the whole of the long winter nights, and on each successive morning brought to their master an account of operations so congenial to his pursuits and taste. One day they returned later than usual, with a terrific detail of their nocturnal rambles, and the boldest and most robust among them related, that having been accidentally separated from his companions, he found himself exposed to the most imminent peril through the attacks of three wolves, of more than ordinary strength and ferocity, which required all his experience and activity to elude; and which would probably have proved fatal to him, had not the arrival of the rest of his band put the infuriated animals to flight. Before this, however, he had engaged in single combat with one of them, whose foot he had cut off by a stroke of his cutlass and brought home in his game bag. The count rewarded him for his bravery, and eagerly required a sight of this trophy. The keeper obeyed; and the bag being turned inside out, produced, instead of a wolf's shaggy paw, a delicate white hand, apparently chopped off at the wrist. The domestics shrunk back in amazement, which was only equalled by the count's horror, when, on a nearer investigation, he descried on one of the slender fingers an emerald ring. He snatched it up hastily, and thrusting it into his bosom, rushed towards the apartment of his wife, whom being indisposed, he had not seen since the preceding evening. He found her yet in bed, and apparently in a state of greater suffering than the foregoing day;

but she received him with her usual complacency, and extended her hand to press his with conjugal affection. Observing no ring on it, he hastily inquired what had become of the emerald he had given to her some time before. She hesitatingly replied, that she usually wore it on her left hand, which he observed she kept carefully concealed under the pillow; these he eagerly threw from the bed; and tearing off a linen handkerchief which was twisted round her wrist, exposed to the affrighted gaze of her attendants a mutilated limb, deprived of its extremity. It is needless to add, that the countess was one of those unfortunate beings who paid the penalty of association with the powers of darkness, by a periodical metamorphosis into a brute form, under which she was condemned to wander at certain periods of the moon. The belief in this particular branch of popular superstition is common to all countries much infested with wolves, and has probably given rise to the peculiar mania called by Vossius, Lycanthropia.'

pp. 388—6.

What became of the lady *bisclaveret*, does not appear. Either Mr. Craven's host had not got his tale perfect, or the Author has preferred to leave the sequel to the reader's imagination. He states that he has since found a similar incident in a book called "Le Dictionnaire Infernal." He might meet with many such stories of periodical metamorphosis, transmitted to us from the Troubadours. The notorious transformation of witches in more northern latitudes into white cats, belongs to the same class of popular superstitions.

The population of the Southern portion of the promontory, that is to say, the fine provinces of Principato Citra and Ultra, and the two Calabrias, are said to have very extensively embraced the principles of the sect of Carbonari. It would be difficult, Mr. Craven states, to point out any particular province which, in this respect, now claims a preeminence; but, for a long period, these provinces were looked upon by Government with peculiar jealousy. 'If the Carbonari,' he says, 'do not constitute the positive numerical majority of the Neapolitan nation, 'which is a matter of some doubt, they include in their ranks 'that portion of the population which, from their acquirements, 'property, habits, and relative situation in the body politic, 'must ever give a decided preponderance to whatever part they 'assume.' The wide diffusion of their principles, which are said to prevail almost universally among the provincial militia, is to be accounted for by the advantages which the initiated enjoy from being members of so extensive a confederation; advantages, mainly consisting in the courtesy, sympathy, and assistance which every member of the body is sure of receiving from his brethren. That their efforts have been directed to obtain a representative system of government, is undeniable, but Mr. Craven represents them as by no means assuming an exclusive agency in the affairs of state: they are not, he says, to be re-

garded as a political faction, their principles being rather a modification of freemasonry. Decrees fulminated against such an institution, could have no other effect than that of multiplying its adherents. Of the difficulty of breaking the links of this well constructed chain, the following anecdote affords a striking illustration. Two itinerant traders in cattle were returning from Abruzzo, when they were stopped near home by a conclave of five brigands. The captain of the gang accidentally discovered that one of them was a Carbonaro, and taking him aside, asked him if his companion belonged to the sect. Being answered in the negative, he thought himself at liberty to despoil the one of his gains, while, out of sympathy with the other, he limited his depredations to the sum of ten ducats. The sufferer, having observed the secret conference which had ended so favourably for his fellow-traveller, suspected the truth; and after obtaining an avowal of it, determined on becoming a Carbonaro. He was initiated that very evening, and returned to his own house so elated with having provided himself with what he deemed an unfailing security against all future attacks of robbers, that he heedlessly informed his wife of the occurrences of the day. This imprudent disclosure raised a tempest of reproaches and lamentations on the part of the wife, who had imbibed the prejudices purposely disseminated against the sect among the lower orders, which he could appease only by suffering her to expiate his criminal imprudence by throwing into the fire his breeches, containing the diploma of his reception, and a catechism of the duties of his new profession. The next morning she went to the justice of the peace with the fatal documents which she had taken care secretly to rescue from the flames, as vouchers for the authenticity of her information. The justice of the peace, having heard her complaint, received the papers, and told her that he would give her husband so salutary a remonstrance that he would answer for his breaking off all connexion with the impious sect to which he had so imprudently attached himself; adding, that he would, moreover, pursue the miscreants with all the severity their conduct deserved. This satisfied the wife, who went home, and sent her husband to receive the promised admonition; but this consisted in a serious caution with regard to future discretion, and an offer on the part of the magistrate to preserve the papers in his own possession, as himself holding one of the highest distinctions among the ranks of the Society in question.

Mr. Craven affirms, that, contrary to the usual order of things, literature and general information are diffused through the remoter districts of the Neapolitan realm, 'in a degree disproportionately 'exceeding the quota of knowledge observable in the metropolis.' 'The peculiar habits of its more affluent inhabitants,' he considers as in part accounting for a fact, which any foreigner who has

never travelled beyond the immediate vicinity of Naples, will scarcely credit. Our Author supports the favourable statements of Mr. Eustace relative to Neapolitan literature. No country, he affirms, possesses more original historical documents than the Neapolitan states. In addition to numerous native writers who have exercised their talents on the history of their country,

'Each province has had its historian, and even the smallest provincial towns boast of printed accounts of their situation, productions, and antiquities. Perhaps, the most singular feature in Neapolitan literature, and that which undoubtedly proves a most praise-worthy degree of zeal, is the circumstance of the whole collection of their historians being reduced to, and printed in, the popular idiom peculiar to the lower classes in the metropolis, which may be considered as the most corrupt, and, in fact, only vernacular Neapolitan dialect. There are, however, several original productions written in Neapolitan, besides versions of the most eminent Italian poets; and what is more extraordinary, one of the Iliad, which is singularly esteemed.' pp. 407—8.

'The moral aspect of the kingdom, is altogether dark and cheerless. The facility with which, in cases of petty offences, the culprit may elude pursuit, or purchase impunity by a trifling bribe, the consequent want of veneration for the laws, the indifference with which the effusion of blood is regarded, and the demoralizing influence of the doctrine of human absolution, afford a sufficient explanation of the lawless habits and ferocious dispositions of the inhabitants, without having recourse to the climate and volcanic atmosphere as the cause of moral peculiarities. There is, however, another circumstance which Mr. Craven adduces to account for the quarrelsome and even sanguinary temper of the inhabitants of the Vesuvian towns, which throws additional light on the subject.

'The nature of the food of the common peasants, and the heat reflected from the black shining sand which surrounds the base of the mountain, subject them to a degree of thirst which appears incredible to a foreigner; and this they are mostly compelled to quench with cheap heating wine, in the absence of good, or scarcity of bad water. I have been assured by an inhabitant of Somma, that some of the labourers of that district, will, during the summer months, drink as much as fifteen bottles of wine in the course of the day, while a week seldom elapses without some murder taking place.'

'The *quantity*, Mr. Craven states to be 'inadequate to produce absolute intoxication, but sufficient to keep the blood and 'spirits in a state of continued fermentation.' He should rather have said that its quality is not intoxicating, its pernicious effect arising, it is evident, in part from the quantity swallowed, and its meagre, acetous quality allowing of potations copious enough to produce a high degree of irritation without its inebriating. In the same manner, even distilled spirits may be taken to excess by long habit, without intoxication; and their effect is similar, acting at once as a poison on the system, and a maddening stimulant on the brain.

'The Neapolitan' 'seldom gives way to mirth without the 'accompaniment of clamour;' and when this mirth is stimulated, as it frequently is on days of festivity, by the additional excitements of wine and fanaticism, it runs into Bacchanalian madness. Some of their festal rites, according to Mr. Craven's description, are a literal representation of the orgies of heathen idolatry; and their noisy processions, in which the Madonna holds the place of Ceres, and the rosary is strangely intermixed with garlands of filberts and vine-leaves, are led by Comus himself. 'The distant approach of one of these jovial troops,' says our Traveller, 'announced by peals of laughter, shouts of 'exultation, with the loud and wild choruses of the peasantry, 'accompanied by the beating of tamborines and the shrill 'snapping of castanets, is almost as terrific as the appearance 'of their frantic dances and overstrained gesticulations.' The young and active will, he assures us, on such occasions, dance their way for the space of two or three miles without intermission.

The mountain range of country bordering on the bay of Naples is stated to bear a peculiarly bad name, as offering a secure retreat to felons and homicides. An interesting narrative is given of a young man who had killed a ruffian in self-defence, but had not thought it safe to trust himself within the reach of justice. His flight being construed into a proof of guilt, sentence was pronounced against him, and for a considerable period he never ventured to revisit his paternal home. But, no rigorous search being made, he after some time found means to return occasionally, by stealth, from his concealment; and at length he paid his family a daily visit, regulated by a signal given by his sisters from the back windows of the house, which looked to the steep range of almost inaccessible rocks, covered with wood, that rise above Lettere. In these fastnesses he had resided more than two years, when a friend of the Author's, who was sufficiently in the confidence of the family to be entrusted with his secret, was accidentally present at one of these stolen visits.

'He described in impressive language the singular existence thus imposed upon him, and to which he had in a manner become as much habituated as to the exercise of descending and remounting these rugged steeps with a velocity and agility almost incredible. The individual who frequently afterwards saw him, described his descent as something to all appearance supernatural. He was, during the daytime, always lurking among the caves, or perched upon the trees, within hearing of the shrill whistle which gave him the summons to approach, and when it was uttered, a few minutes sufficed to bring him down from the highest precipice. He gave an account of the methodical way in which he divided the few and unvaried occupations that broke the monotony of his solitary hours. The changes of wea-

horror of wild were hailed by him as interesting incidents in his life. The trees, plants, and flowers growing within the circumscribed precincts of his retreat, had become the objects of his care; and he watched the changes brought upon them by the revolving seasons with anxious solicitude. The few animated beings whose movements broke upon the stillness of his solitude, he looked upon as so many acquaintance or visiters. A variety of birds had accustomed themselves to assemble round him at a certain hour, to receive the remnants of the food which he carried up from his father's house. He could enumerate every different sort of butterfly and insect which could be found near his retreat; and had seen the same fox pass at the same hour of each day during the two years of his seclusion. In these pursuits, if so they can be termed, and the perusal of some book, which he always brought away from the house to the mountain, his time had passed, he said, quickly and not painfully. He generally took a daily meal at home, but never spent the night there, considering his rocky hermitage as more secure. This, from its particular position, was inaccessible from the upper masses of the mountains, and presented no approach from below, except through a strip of inclosed vineyard at the back of the family dwelling.' pp. 406—7.

There is a little painting, perhaps, in this story, and if the apprehensions of the interesting homicide did not relate to what he might have reason to fear from the private revenge of friends or accomplices of the deceased, rather than from the arm of public justice, it would be difficult to reconcile the necessity of such extreme precaution for so long a period, with the alleged venality and defective organization of the police. According to the statement given, the young man was not even criminal, although appearances were against him. Such instances, however, we are assured, are by no means singular; and the ranks of the banditti are, no doubt, frequently strengthened by the accession of fugitives who continue by choice a mode of life adopted from a temporary necessity.

Had the recent revolution been successful in effecting a salutary change in the vitiated institutions of the country, it would have been irrational to expect that it would operate a speedy change in the national character. But the difficulty of effecting a beneficial change, forms, as Mr. Craven justly remarks, no argument against such views of melioration. That Naples, enfeebled by luxury, and debased by tyranny and superstition, should have put forth even a faint, effeminate exertion for political freedom, was scarcely to be anticipated; 'and it would be presumptuous,' adds our Author, 'to predict any further struggle or more successful efforts.'

'But, as Englishmen, we may be allowed to extend our sympathy towards those individuals who have sacrificed all in their vain endeavours to raise their country a degree higher in the scale of nations; who have indulged in the flattering illusion that its geographical po-

sition, its deficiency of artificial resources, and the absence of all powers of aggression, might have secured it from the jealous interference of mightier states; who could scarcely have foreseen that the improved condition of a remote corner of Italy would be deemed incompatible with the safety and welfare of larger empires; or that, because an inconsiderable nation has been for centuries subjected to a moral and mental debasement, the general policy of Europe should impose the necessity of their never emerging from so humiliating a position.'

Art. II. *A Comparative View of the Presbyterian, Congregational, and Independent Forms of Church Government;* being an Attempt to trace out the primitive Mode from Scripture and Antiquity. Published by Request. By Joseph Turnbull, B.A. Classical Tutor of Wymondley Academy. 12mo. pp. 112. Price 3s. London. 1821.

THE subject of Church-government will doubtless be regarded by many persons as one which it is very unnecessary to revive in the present times. It is a subject to which some will oppose the feeling of indifference, under the idea that every attempt to fix it on the basis of sound and definite principles, has been invariably unsuccessful; while others, whose professed liberality will not permit them to attach to it the least measure of importance, will satisfy themselves with the acknowledgement, which they imagine may be obtained from all parties, that it has no direct connexion with the essentials of religion. But, whatever concession may be allowed as to this point, whatever indulgence may be granted to the feelings of those persons who seem to turn away, as if with an instinctive aversion, from the question of church-government, there is one kind of importance which it may claim, and which ought to procure for every fair discussion of the subject, the attention of every Christian,—the importance which belongs to it as being inseparable from the consideration of the means by which the religion of Christ has been so greatly corrupted, and those by which its integrity may be restored, and its interests be, in their purity and beneficence, vigorously maintained. That it has such a relation, it is impossible to deny; and it is quite sufficient that this relation exists, to justify serious and temperate inquiry into the whole case of church-government.

The publication before us, we learn from the preface, was originally prepared to be read at the annual meeting of a numerous and respectable association of ministers, where it obtained the approbation of the majority of those present, though some of the assembly were opposed to its sentiments. On a careful perusal of the Essay, we are compelled to profess ourselves less able to account for the approbation of the many, than for the dissatisfaction of the few. The Essay offers to our at-

tention, no considerations of a very novel kind; and in respect to the point which it is principally intended to illustrate,—the authority of Christian Ministers, it must be pronounced altogether inefficient.

We agree with the Author, that the doctrine of '*expediency*' as applied by some writers to the subject of Christian institutes, is 'pregnant with the most injurious practical consequences.' 'That the Apostles regarded no one order in the establishment of 'the Christian Church, is,' he says, 'neither probable *a priori*, 'nor true in fact.' But we cannot commend his discretion in selecting as proofs of his statement, such passages as the following:—

'Paul says to the Corinthians, "Timothy shall bring you into remembrance of my ways which be in Christ Jesus, as I teach every where in every church:"* And again, "So I ordain in all the churches;"† "If any man seem to be contentious, we have no such *customs*," (referring to the practice of women appearing with their heads uncovered,) "neither the *churches* of God."' ‡ p. 8.

We really cannot conjecture by what kind of *sequitur* from these passages, 'it appears certain, that, in the beginning, some 'particular form of church-government was settled, which *had* 'the sanction of the *jus divinum*.' The passages cited prove that Christian assemblies were in existence; but, as to indicating any thing in respect to a particular form of Church polity, they are absolutely nugatory.

Again, Mr. Turnbull states (p. 10), that 'both Presbytery 'and Independency *sprang from Puritanism*; i. e. from an 'effort, after a long night of darkness and corruption, to restore 'the Church of Christ to its original purity and lustre.' But if so, it is not easy to understand with what propriety 'the noble 'efforts of the first Independents to cast off all lordly usurpations over conscience,' can be described as a *first* effort to break the iron yoke.

The Brownists, or strict Independents, are represented (p. 11) as religionists 'who insisted on the primitive independence of 'the churches; and seem to have been opposed to the union of 'churches, and the authority of the ministers.' Yet, it is well known, that the Brownists maintained the mutual relation and intercourse of such churches as they accounted Christian and scriptural. 'When the number of communicants was larger 'than could meet in one place, the church divided, and chose 'new officers from among themselves as before, living together 'as sister churches, and giving each other the right hand of

* 1 Cor. iv. 17. † 1 Cor. vii. 17. ‡ 1 Cor. xi. 16.

'fellowship, or the privilege of communion.'* Their separation from the National Church, Mr. Turnbull will not impute to them as an offence.—These instances of inaccuracy in the outset of his work, we confess, surprised us.

Chap. IV. treats of 'the officers of the Church;' it is divided into three sections, which are headed by the following titles: 'How many kinds?'; 'The authority of Elders;' 'By whom 'chosen.'—In the New Testament, the offices of bishop and deacon are explicitly described, and the appropriate qualifications for these offices are distinctly enumerated. From a comparison of the passages which relate to these offices, it would seem to be an obvious conclusion, that the duties of the former class were of a higher kind than those of the latter: the qualification of being "apt to teach" (διδακτικος), is required in the one case, but not in the other. The *bishops* (επισκοποι) are invariably distinguished from the *deacons* (διακονοι); and as nothing is said in those portions of the Christian Scriptures which specify the qualifications of the bishops and deacons, of any other office, it would appear that these two are the only classes to whom official designation belongs in societies formed on the principles of the apostolical churches. There is, too, direct proof, that *bishops* (επισκοποι) and *elders* (πρεσβυτεροι) are correlative terms, applied to the same persons; but no distinct example can be produced in which *deacons* are spoken of as being *elders*. There is, however, one passage in which the term πρεσβυτεροι, *elders*, is used, the precise import of which has been much disputed. In 1 Tim. v. 17. St. Paul says: "Let the "*elders* that rule well, be accounted worthy of double honour, "especially they who labour in the word and doctrine." Mr. Turnbull is disposed to consider the term *elder* as generic, applying both to the pastors and the deacons; and he would, therefore, interpret the passage as referring, in its first member, to deacons as assistants to the pastors, and, in its second, to the bishops as occupying the superior station.

'If we find,' he says, 'that the term *deacon* was applied to the same persons as the term *elder*, there is nothing improbable in the supposition that *deacon* and *elder* were convertible terms; and, therefore, that a ruling elder might have been a deacon, and a deacon a ruling elder. I think we shall find this supposition confirmed by fact: and if we can shew that bishops are elders bearing rule, and that deacons are *assistants* to them, it will follow that deacons may not improperly be termed ruling elders. And, moreover, if there were but two kinds of officers in the church, *viz.* bishops and deacons; then, that the deacons must have been *actually* ruling elders, together with the bishops.' pp. 33—4.

* Neal. Vol. I. p. 331. Toulmin's Ed.

On this question, the only admissible testimony is the evidence of the New Testament; and to this we might suppose that Mr. T. had limited his inquiries, especially from the manner in which he has stated the following not very harmonious conclusions.

'*The third distinct office of ruling elder* did not find its way into the Church of Christ, by the appointment of the Apostles, in modelling the church after the synagogue.'—'There is no difficulty then in admitting that the Scripture speaks of ruling elders; but whether it be a third distinct office may well be doubted.' pp. 43, 51.

From these passages it would seem that, in the inquiry which the Author has engaged to prosecute, the authority of the New Testament is, in his own view, the only proper means of determining the question at issue. Yet, strange to say, from the New Testament, Mr. T. has produced *no* testimonies, but, with an exception which we shall immediately notice, has thought proper to satisfy himself and his readers with extracts from Vitringa and quotations from the Fathers. These, however, are testimonies which can by no means be allowed to settle the import of terms relating to the ministers and offices of the primitive Church. On this point, the opinions or customs of later times, or the analogies, real or imaginary, of the synagogue, cannot be allowed to rule our judgements. But not only has Mr. T. introduced inadmissible testimonies; he has shewn himself not a very skilful examiner of those witnesses whom he has cited into court; and he has committed himself in respect to the identity of one of them, whose evidence, were it uniform, has no reference to the question under examination, unless as it is directly opposed to the Author's purpose. The exception referred to is found in the following scriptural proof or illustration.

'Arguing from the general meaning of the term, and from the language used by Paul and Timothy, we should infer, that the deacons *had* some ruling power. The apostle requires of deacons to *rule* their own houses well. Just before he had required the same of a bishop, and then he gives this reason for the qualification: "for if he know not how to rule his own house, how shall he take care of *a* church of God?" (πως εκκλησιας θεου επιμελησεται.) The same reason may naturally be supposed to operate in the case of deacons; they are not required to be "apt to teach," but they are required to be apt to *rule*.' p. 36.

Now, passing by the error with respect to Timothy, it is quite clear, we apprehend, that the Apostle does *not* require in deacons that they should possess the qualification of being "apt to rule." The language of the Apostle is correctly and fully interpreted when explained in its obvious meaning, as directing that persons ought not to be selected for the offices of the Church, who were remiss in the moral culture of their own households: it shews, as Macknight remarks, and it shews nothing more, 'how anxious the Apostle was, that all who bare sacred offices,

"should be unblameable in every respect; knowing that the dis-"orderly behaviour of the members of their family, might give "occasion to suspect that they had been careless of their morals." The direction is one of great importance; and a strict regard to it would be a most salutary and efficient means of promoting the interests of true religion in Christian societies. It must but too readily occur to every reader, how much the qualification in question is overlooked as an essential requisite in those who hold office in the churches of Christ. Deacons, as well as pastors, should be examples to the flock; and therefore, nothing could be more proper than that directions given to the primitive churches respecting their office, should include, in the enumeration of qualifications essential to eligibility, the laudable conduct of the candidate in regard to domestic obligations. The Apostle requires in bishops, that they be "apt to teach," because teaching was a part of their official duty; but he does *not* require that a deacon should be apt to rule, and the natural conclusion would seem to be, that ruling was *not* a part of the deacon's office. Domestic good conduct is determined by the Apostle's instruction to be an essential consideration in the selection of the officers of the Church; but it applies to both classes precisely in the same manner, and affords no argument whatever in favour of the distinction which Mr. Turnbull would establish. We consider, therefore, that he completely fails in his attempt to shew, that the term deacon was applied to the same persons as the term elder, so far as the authority of Scripture is the *medium* of proof. And this being the case, whatever may be the import of the passage 1 Tim. v. 17., it must be explained in conformity to the uniform evidence of the New Testament, that the only two offices of the Christian Church are those of Bishop and Deacon. "Let the "elders (or Ministers) who preside honourably in the churches, "be regarded as worthy of ample respect and recompense, es-"pecially those who are laborious (οἱ κοπιῶντες) in their office of "instructors"—is, we conceive, the fair construction and meaning of the passage: it directs that they who are the most correct and assiduous Christian teachers, should be most esteemed and best rewarded.

To what purpose the Author has cited Clemens Romanus, Polycarp, Ignatius, &c. is really incomprehensible; nothing being plainer than the evidence of these witnesses to the distinct appropriation of the terms elder and deacon to separate classes of officers in the Church. Mr. T., indeed, professedly cites those authorities as proving that, in the primitive Church, there were but two offices. But if they prove this, we cannot perceive what elucidation is derived from the proof, in favour of the position, that the term elder is applied to the same persons as the term deacon: they prove just the contrary; that they are distinct terms, referring to different offices.

'There is,' says the Author, 'a letter of Ignatius to Heron, 'a deacon of the church at Antioch, which confirms the opinion, 'that deacons were *assistants* to the pastors, and did not confine 'their labours to pecuniary affairs.' After giving some extracts from this epistle, he remarks, 'these duties seem to bespeak the 'ruling elder.' It is truly surprising, that Mr. Turnbull should think that this kind of testimony could avail him in attempting to establish the identity of elders and deacons in the primitive churches. We can hardly suppose him to have been ignorant that the Epistle to Heron is spurious, the fabrication of an age long posterior to the time of Ignatius; and yet, he quotes it largely, as if he had not the slightest suspicion of its not being genuine.

The 'authority of elders' is the next subject of discussion, and it is treated in a very desultory manner. We regret that we cannot praise the Author for either the perspicuity of his statements, or the cogency of his reasonings. There is nothing definite and conclusive throughout the entire section. The reader will find the words 'elder' and 'authority' frequently occurring, but he will look in vain for the means of connecting them. Mr. T. would seem to take high ground in offering his proposition to our notice. He laments 'the licentious paroxysm 'which spurns all lawful and salutary restraint;' and 'this extreme,' he remarks, 'is particularly observable in the strict In-'dependents, or Brownists of the present day.' At their ordinations, we are told, 'all idea of office-power and authority is 'usually protested against, very distinctly, and often with warmth.'

It might seem rather uncourteous to meet this statement with what we believe to be the fact, that the strictest Independents of the present day do *not* spurn 'all lawful and salutary restraint,' and that, at their ordinations, 'all idea of office-power and authority' is *not* usually protested against. We can scarcely imagine, indeed, that Mr. Turnbull means to assert what his expressions certainly convey, that, in the 'particular denomination of Chris-'tians' which is the subject of reference, there is a total absence of discipline, accompanied with the absolute denial of pastoral attributes in their ministers. From a writer who thus directs his censure against a whole denomination of Christians for the supposed defects of their polity, the least that we have a right to expect is, that he shall furnish us with an intelligible definition of *authority* as applied to elders, and a perspicuous exposition of 'office-power.' And so much the more reasonable is this expectation, as the Author, 'after perusing what is advanced by 'the great Dr. Owen on this subject,' declares that to him the Dr.'s 'ideas' appear to be '*very confused, and his statements* '*contradictory !!*' How then does Mr. Turnbull proceed with his subject?

'1. Elders have *some kind* of authority. Their generic and specific names necessarily imply it. The name elder carries with it the authority of wisdom and experience. The names pastor or shepherd, bishop or overseer, leader or captain, (ἡγουμενος) all import some kind and degree of authority.

'Beside, we have several places in the New Testament, where this authority is unequivocally expressed. The elders of Ephesus are said by the Apostle to have been *made overseers over the flock* by the Holy Ghost. (Acts xx. 28.) The Corinthians are enjoined to submit themselves to such as had addicted themselves to the ministry (διακονιαν) of the saints. (1 Cor. xvi. 16.) This may relate to the deacon's office. The Hebrews are charged to obey and submit themselves to their leaders, as being watchers over their souls, and accountable for them. (Heb. xiii. 17.)' pp. 53, 4.

Now, what do we learn from these paragraphs? So far as the name "elder" imports the authority of wisdom and experience, it denotes an authority which exists apart from the offices of the Church. And the passages quoted, though they may be explained as enjoining practical regard to the instructions of Christian pastors, and the obligations of Christian pastors themselves to be faithful to their trust as overseers of the flock, supply no elucidation of 'office-power.' They define nothing as to the kind or the extent of it. We are not, therefore, prepared by any considerations which the Author has as yet advanced, to receive his next proposition; *viz.*: '2. That *this* authority does not flow from the Church. What is *this* authority which does not flow from the Church? The paragraphs of the Essay, which follow this proposition, will afford the reader but little aid in ascertaining this point. The office-power of *elders*, Mr. T. never explains; but he asserts that 'their authority flows to them 'from Christ, through the medium of those already in office:' —a doctrine which we can view in no other light than as committing us to all the errors and delusions of the primary tenet of High-Churchism and Popery.

The phrase 'office-power,' is frequently occurring in these pages; but the Author seems to employ it somewhat in the manner of a charm, investing it with an obscurity from which he appears afraid that it should escape; and therefore he prudently abstains from an explanation of the mysterious 'authority' which he challenges. And yet, after all, we shrewdly suspect that were Mr. T. to communicate his opinions of the nature and extent of the pastoral relation in an intelligible form, they would be found in agreement with the judgement and practice of the very persons whose sentiments he denounces.

We now come to Mr. Turnbull's third proposition, that 'this authority is not legislative, but ministerial.' We concur with him in opinion, that 'were we to derive our ideas of the 'authority of Christ's ministers from Ecclesiastical History in 'general, we should certainly be disposed to take the converse

'of this proposition as the truth.' But, restricting the relation of Christian Pastors to principles and acts which are definitely ministerial, and excluding them from all proceedings which are legislative, agreeably to Mr. T.'s description, let us examine its practical bearings. The authority of elders, he states, consists,

'*First*, In stating, explaining, and enforcing, by argument and persuasion, the known will of Christ. *Secondly*, In taking the sense of the church on any doubtful point, after mature deliberation, (wherein their opinion and advice have their proper influence,) and acting as the organ of the church, in executing its decisions.'

These are, in fact, the whole of Mr. Turnbull's explications of his proposition. And having done him the justice of extracting them in his own words, we would ask him, whether he is acquainted with any Independents of the present day who do not go, in their opinions of the office of Pastor, to all the extent of this statement of its privileges and duties? But, if the strictest Independents of the present day go thus far, if they regard their ministers as sustaining a relation which connects these obligations with their office, in what manner are we to understand Mr. Turnbull's statements, that, at their ordinations, 'all idea of office-power and authority is protested against?' Either Mr. T. is prepared to include 'strict Independents' among the persons who correctly estimate and apply the principle of 'ministerial authority,' as he himself states its obligations and its extent; or, he has in reserve other measures and proceedings, as being included in his notions of 'office-power.' But let us proceed.

'In the *first* case, if a majority be against the declared will of Christ, after it be made known to them, that will give occasion for expostulation or reproof, which, if not attended to, will naturally oblige a faithful minister to withdraw. In the *second* case, as it refers to the subject of prudence and expediency, a minister may, generally, have reason to suppose, that, in the collective wisdom of the church, there may be, at least, as much as is equal to his own: and unless he be infallible in judgement, or imagine that *his will* is to be the law, and his individual opinion the only measure of either judgement or conduct, he will be disposed rather to yield, in a doubtful point, to the sense of the majority,—supposing it respectable. To yield in such a case, will not lessen his authority: he is still the organ of the church in executing its decisions, even supposing them contrary to his own views.' pp. 59, 60.

By a minister's authority not being lessened in the case supposed, Mr. T. must mean, that the influence of his instruction and example will not be diminished; and this we agree with him in deeming a probable case. But, after reading the above paragraph, our readers will, we apprehend, be at a still greater loss than before, to understand Mr. Turnbull's attributing to an entire denomination of Christians, whose principles and practice

accord most exactly with his own declared opinions, 'the licentious paroxysm which spurns all lawful and salutary restraint.' *Less*, we will venture to say, than his own allowance of 'office-power,' he never heard attributed to Christian Pastors by strict Independents at any of their ordinations. *More* than this, he possibly may have heard included in their protests against 'authority;' and more than this, we shall find in the sequel, is necessary to satisfy Mr. T.'s demands.

In Chap. V. on 'the relation of the churches to each other,' occurs the following passage.

'The question is, Under what *form* does this union subsist, and what are the *duties* arising out of it.

'In answer to the first inquiry, we reply, There is a local and neighbourly association of churches, uniting, by common consent, for the ends proposed.

'This appears clear from the Epistle to the Galatians, wherein the Apostle seems to incorporate them into a local association, united by common interests and common ties, by denominating them "the churches of Galatia," as he does, elsewhere, by speaking of "the churches of Judea," and "the churches of Macedonia." The brethren were addressed in this local incorporated character, and in this they acted. Let us view, for a moment, the instance of the churches of Galatia. There had been among them a general defection from the truth of the gospel. We do not know that all the churches without exception had been tainted with the error: from the language used, we should rather think not: the apostle intimates that some had not fallen from the doctrines of grace. "Christ is become of no effect unto you, *whosoever* of you are justified by the law."—Yet this admonitory epistle was addressed to them all.

'A practical epistle of this nature was surely intended to be followed up by some practical effects. A letter addressed *to* all, naturally required an answer *from* all. But in order to do this, the local association must come into exercise,—the churches of Galatia must somehow meet together, and arrange the contents of their answer:—they must come to some united determination, as to what they believed, and what they would do. One thing they were to do was, to "cut off those who troubled them." When they had done so, they would inform the Apostle that his intimation and advice had been complied with. To do so in a common letter, was to do a common act. *It was the act of the* ASSOCIATED CHURCHES OF GALATIA.' pp. 70, 71.

This passage with its *musts* and its *woulds*, is really a curious specimen of hypothetical logic. We could almost imagine that the Author had been rummaging among some unknown parcel of Greek manuscripts, in which he had discovered the various readings, "to the *united* churches of Galatia," or, "the associated churches;" for to us there seems to be nothing about associated churches in the Epistle, and we have taken the precaution of looking into Griesbach to secure us from error in the case. We should suppose that the Apostle had reference to

individuals, and not to churches, in the expressions, "Christ is "become of no effect unto you, *whosoever*, ὅστινες." And certainly, the Galatians received no instructions from the Apostle to cut off any members of their churches. Nor have we been able to discover any thing in the Epistle, that would require the churches of Galatia, 'somehow,' or any-how, to meet together. Of Mr. Turnbull's propensity to hypothesis and reverie, we must now give another specimen.

'We find, also, in the business of making a collection for the poor saints in Judea, that the Apostle gave "order to the churches of Galatia" for every one, upon the first day of the week, to lay by him in store; that *when the Apostle came*, "there might be no gatherings."* Now, unless there had been a common treasurer, appointed by the churches, there must have been very extensive gatherings in the province of Galatia, and the Apostle would have been much detained on his journey. The pecuniary affairs relative to the benevolence of the churches, were, therefore, transacted in an associated capacity.' pp. 71, 72.

'When the Apostle came'—where? *To Corinth;* as we read 1 Cor. xvi. 1—3. The journey to Galatia is a mere figment of Mr. Turnbull's imagination.

'The meeting in Jerusalem,' Acts xv., is the next example which our Author brings forward in support of the proposition, that 'there is a *local and neighbourly association of churches*, 'uniting by common consent for the ends proposed.' We have looked very carefully into the fifteenth chapter of the Acts, but can find no mention whatever of a 'local association of 'churches.' Not a word is there of any meeting at Antioch, or in Cilicia, to which the neighbouring churches sent representatives. Not a syllable is there in the entire chapter, of an assembly at Jerusalem, composed of ministers and deputies from the churches of Judea. It might seem a strange kind of locality that could unite Antioch and Jerusalem in neighbourly common councils. The Christian society at Antioch was disturbed by the intrusion of "certain men who came down from Judea," and who maintained the necessity of binding all Christian converts to the observance of the Levitical law. In these circumstances, the Christians at Antioch resolved to send some of their members to Jerusalem for the judgement of the Apostles and elders. And this they naturally and reasonably did, because, in the first place, the Apostles were the primary ministers of Christ's kingdom, and the direct expositors of the Christian doctrine and obligations; and, secondly, because the agitators of the Antiochian church who came down from Judea, represented themselves as sanctioned by the Apostles in the tenets which they inculcated as of indispensable necessity. These circumstances fully explain

* 1 Cor. xvi. 1.

the occasion and nature of the 'meeting in *Jerusalem.*' Nothing could be more proper under the circumstances in which it was given, than that the judgement of the Apostles and elders should be addressed, not only to the Christians of Antioch, but also to those of Syria and Cilicia, who were exposed to the same dangers as the Antiochian brethren. Mr. Turnbull proceeds:

'That the messengers did not merely represent the single church at Antioch, seems clear, from the answer returned; *viz.* "To the brethren which are of the Gentiles in Antioch, and Syria, and Cilicia:" and to them the Apostle went with the answer. See *Acts* xv. 41.'

Now, to us it 'seems clear,' that the Apostle did *not* go to these brethren with the answer. If the churches in Syria and Cilicia had sent messengers to the meeting at Jerusalem, those messengers would have been the proper persons to convey the supposed answer. But it is expressly stated, that the answer was sent direct to Antioch by Judas and Silas, and was by them delivered to the Christian society in that city; while the whole narrative (Acts xv. 36—41.) proves, that the travels of the Apostle had other objects connected with them than the delivery of the answer, of which there is not a word in the whole of the verses. We forbear to notice several equally strange specimens of rash and erroneous exposition. But the following remarks are, from their bearing on the authority of the New Testament, too exceptionable to be passed over.

'The letter,' says Mr. T., 'does not claim the particular authority of the Holy Ghost, for the decision respecting circumcision; but rather contents itself with denying the authority of those persons who had gone to Antioch, "subverting the souls of the disciples."' p. 78.

This is really a very surprising statement. What the letter does claim, is manifest: "It seemed good *to the Holy Spirit*, "and to us, to lay upon you no greater burden than these "*necessary* things; that ye abstain from meats offered to idols, "and from blood, and from things strangled, and from fornica-"tion." The letter, so far from contenting itself with denying the authority of the persons who were annoying the brethren at Antioch, does very distinctly claim the particular authority of the Holy Spirit for the decision respecting circumcision; inasmuch as circumcision is excluded from the "necessary things" which it seemed "good to the Holy Spirit" to lay upon the Gentile converts.

It is most unpleasing to us to have the irksome and ungracious task of exposing the blunders and false reasonings of a man of Mr. Turnbull's character, and we should gladly terminate here our strictures. But the principal object of his Essay is still behind: it is to advocate a 'local association of churches,' to which shall attach 'a *certain kind of authority*,' of which

authority, an attempt at the definition is made in the following paragraphs.

'There are,' says Mr. T., 'cases both of appeal and inquiry among churches, which loudly call for the interference of those who may be best qualified to judge between the parties, and who will feel a brotherly interest in their affairs.'.... 'An appeal or inquiry must, of course, carry with it some kind of authority in the parties appealed to or making the inquiry.'.... 'But, after all, the strict Independent will insist upon it that not even such an authority, good as it may in itself be, has any right to interfere in any case of church discipline. Then it follows, of course, that no case will ever occur in a particular church, wherein disputes cannot be settled within itself;—none, wherein false teachers and bad men are suffered to flourish without rebuke, to the great scandal of religion, the corruption of the flock of Christ, and the sore grief of pious men. But such is not the fact. Many such cases, alas, do continually arise; and the more, we presume, for the want of some power of appeal or inquiry.'

'The objects demanding the attention of the associated churches would naturally be the following. 1. The purity of the churches in faith, order, and morality. 2. The peace and prosperity of the churches in communion. 3. The purity and competency of the ministerial character. 4. A provision for the succession of the ministry. 5. The relief of aged and infirm ministers, with their widows and children. 6. The spread of the gospel at home and abroad, and especially in their own vicinity. Cum multis aliis.' pp. 98, 99, 104.

This, then, is the *quorsum tendant* of the Author's speculations; to erect Courts ecclesiastical of appeal and inquiry. For such is the true character of the scheme. It is a project of government and control, directly interfering with and superseding the rights of individual societies. Christian Ministers are to become judges of their brethren,—are to assume the office of regulating the proceedings of churches to which they stand not in the relation of pastors. With such functions assigned to them, their office cannot be 'ministerial;' it becomes at once 'legislative,' and the 'local union of churches,' is assimilated to the Synods and the Councils which have ruled in other times to the subversion of the rights of churches and the liberties of Christian men. That the present project is nothing better than an attempt to revive this kind of assembly, is evident from the Author's own statement of the evils which it is sought to remove. The last two objects are already provided for by existing institutions. County associations *not* having 'a certain kind 'of authority,' *not* having power to try 'the competency of the 'ministerial character,' *not* being invested with a synodical majesty that shall make 'bad ministers and bad members *tremble*,' already exist among the strict Independents. What Mr. Turnbull wishes for, is something that does not exist, except in the crude form of an abortive speculation. He is pleased to call the sort of combination he advocates, 'congregationalism;'

and he cites the remarks of 'an estimable friend, the Rev. Dr. 'Wardlaw,' on congregational union, as conveying his own sentiments most forcibly. As Mr. Turnbull is, we are persuaded, incapable of disingenuousness, we must remind him, that the congregational union which Dr. Wardlaw pleads for, has, to use his own words, '*not the remotest connexion with* '*government or discipline*,' and that he cannot, therefore, be allowed, in such a connexion, the benefit of the name of his 'estimable friend.' Our readers will appreciate Mr. Turnbull's rashness when they recollect, that we have already had occasion to cite Dr. Wardlaw's words in deprecation of any project that should mix up government or discipline with congregational unions: 'Were *the slightest approach* to be made to 'any thing of this kind, all consistent Independents would com-'bine to put it down.' Mr. Turnbull's scheme is not, he says, 'a novelty altogether dubious and untried.' This is true. It is, in fact, the same plan in substance as one which was put forth two or three years ago, in the modest shape of a *prospectus*, and which we received the thanks of many valuable members of the Congregational body for exposing in its true colours.* Nothing but the sanction of two or three respectable names, (thoughtlessly conceded, we have no doubt, to the measure,) protected the abettors of that ill advised design from more marked condemnation. Having heard no more of it, we had hoped that it had died a natural death, little imagining that we were doomed to encounter the identical project, two years after, revised and enlarged, in the shape of a Treatise on Church Government, by the classical Tutor of Wymondley Academy. That Mr. Turnbull should not have acknowledged his obligations to the first projectors of this species of Association, is hardly doing justice either to himself or to them. It is as well to be backed with authorities; and as Ignatius and Dr. Wardlaw fail him, it might have been more prudent to have provided himself a retreat under shelter of the reverend brethren alluded to.

A writer who can cite "the Epistle to Heron" as a genuine document, cannot be very profoundly read in ecclesiastical history; on this account, though we can hardly forbear a smile at his simplicity, we the less wonder at his confidently assuming, that, 'Any arbitrary proceeding, tending to an invasion of 'Christian liberty, would draw forth some remonstrance, some 'protest, some resistance, which would serve to check the usur-'pation.' It is, however, absurd to speak in these times, of 'the 'Congregationalist' as being prepared to 'protest' against the proceedings of an assembly attempting to 'impose laws by penal 'sanctions.' Penal Sanctions are remote enough from the

* See Eclectic Review, Oct. 1819, Art. III.

means of oppression which local Dissenting associations could be at present permitted to employ. There are, however, other injuries which they might inflict, and other mischievous courses which they might pursue; and against these, we can have no security, but in the most entire exclusion from all associated religious bodies, of objects which involve an interference with the concerns of particular Christian Churches. It is in vain that the Author disclaims such an interference: the whole design is impracticable apart from the invasion of the privileges and rights of particular societies. It is very possible to form associations of churches perfectly free from an obnoxious character; but, in order to this, it is indispensable that they should be constituted on such a basis as shall exclude all principles of government and control. The moment that the limits are overstepped which separate particular rights from public interests,—so soon as the principle of 'appeal and inquiry' is made essential to their constitution, they become objects of well-founded jealousy and distrust; and every consistent congregationalist, every one who would discharge his duty to the Christian Church, the interests of which are indissolubly connected with the cause of Christian liberty, is called upon to do his utmost to put them down.

'A conviction,' it seems, 'has settled on the minds of 'many, that Ministers and Churches are too insulated; and 'without any definite ideas of the alteration wanted, to meet 'the evils actually existing, they complain, and go on without 'coming to any decision.' What those actually existing evils are, the Author of this Essay does not inform us; he has neither enumerated nor described them; and this omission we cannot but consider as an essential defect in his work. It would, however, look as if the actually existing evils, be they what they may, were opposed to the purity, the peace, and the prosperity of the Church of Christ, since these are what his system of local association is professedly adapted to promote and to secure. But if these blessings of purity and peace are to be viewed as resulting from 'local unions of Churches' legislating in 'cases 'of appeal and inquiry,' we must be strangely mistaken in the conclusions to which the perusal of ecclesiastical history has conducted us. The temper which such unions have uniformly cherished and matured, is there exhibited as widely different from the wisdom which is "gentle and easy to be intreated, full of "mercy and good fruits, without partiality and without hypo-"crisy."—But are there no other means of promoting the purity, the peace, and the prosperity of Christian churches? Let but their pastors take heed to their doctrine and to themselves; let them cultivate humbleness of mind, and keep themselves unspotted from the world; let them warn every man, and teach every man in all wisdom, and be examples to the flock;—

let the deacons of Christian churches discharge the offices of a deacon well, by interesting themselves in the welfare of the societies to which they belong, and by their devout and active conduct; let the members of Christian churches "provoke "one another to love and to good works;" and let Christian churches become more active and more social in their character; let *neighbourly union* begin *at home* among ministers and churches in the same town or district:—these are means of promoting the interests of religion which, as they are the most Scriptural as well as the most intelligible, will also prove the most safe and the most effective. Protestant Dissenters, above all other men, should refrain from tampering with ecclesiastical legislation.

Art. III. *Ten Years' Exile;* or Memoirs of that interesting Period of the Life of the Baroness de Staël Holstein, written by Herself, during the Years 1810, 1811, 1812, and 1813, and now first published from the original Manuscript, by her Son. Translated from the French. 8vo. pp. xvi. 436. Price 12s. London. 1821.

IF this portion of the posthumous works of Mde. de Staël will not add any thing to her reputation as a brilliant writer, if, too, it has lost much of its interest by being well nigh out of date, it is by far too replete with cleverness, and, as a biographical document, is too valuable to have been with propriety suppressed. And this being the case, the circumstances under which it is now first given to the public, ought to exempt it from censorious criticism. It was begun prior to her "Considera- "tions on the French Revolution," and several passages which originally belonged to the first part, were subsequently incorporated with her great work. The narrative commences in 1800, two years previous to her first exile, and stops at 1804. It recommences in 1810, and breaks off abruptly at her arrival in Sweden in the autumn of 1812. An interval of six years remained to be supplied, as well as the sequel.

The subject of the first part is, *Bonaparte and I.* The First Consul is here spoken of with a bitterness, a feminine anger, which betrays feelings still writhing under a sense of injury. The apology offered by the Editor is, that, at the period of its composition, 'the Imperial power was at its height.' In her "Considerations," Mde. de Staël speaks of him without passion, and she deserves high praise for having risen so superior to the influence of personal resentment, as to be able to furnish the most impartial, as well as the most masterly delineation of his character which has appeared.* To the future biographer of Bonaparte, the additional illustrations contained in the present work, will, however, be of some value. It is true,

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* See Eclectic Review, N. S. Vol. xi. p. 491.

that the character of Bonaparte never had any other interest than it derived from his power, being destitute of all those innate qualities which inspire either sympathy or admiration; and when the illusions which military talent and successful daring threw around it were dispelled, and the Emperor was stripped to the man, the remark, that 'no man is a hero to his valet de 'chambre,' was, in reference to him, amply verified. A monarch on the stage, he was but an actor in the green room. And now that his empire over the minds of men has faded away, one listens with comparatively little interest to the details which shew how small a portion of real greatness entered into the composition of the subjugator of Europe. 'But, to be sure, Eu-'rope,' says Mde. de Staël, 'is but a word of great sound. In 'what did it then consist? In a few ministers, not one of 'whom had as much understanding as many men taken at 'hap-hazard from the nation which they governed.' There was a time, when few besides herself had made the discovery of Bonaparte's real character, or had the courage to brave his enmity.

Some egotism is surely pardonable in a writer—a female and a Frenchwoman,—whose not praising the sovereign of France was resented as a political crime, and who found herself almost alone, amid a prostrate nation, erect, undazzled, and undaunted before the upstart usurper. It could not be vanity which prompted or sustained her indignant opposition to his first acts of oppression; for vanity is a motive inadequate to produce a persevering effort, and in the society of Paris and the favour of Bonaparte, there was offered every thing which could conciliate or bribe the most insatiable vanity. To a woman whose whole happiness consisted in conversation, an ignominious banishment from Paris was a punishment which carried with it terrors sufficient to shake the firmness of any ordinary mind. An Englishman may smile at the seemingly extravagant language in which Mde. de Staël dwells on her cruel persecution. But Bonaparte knew that, when he inflicted exile and seclusion upon the woman whom it piqued him not to have been able to subdue, he was subjecting her to the severest punishment. To a Parisian, Paris is his country.

'I was born there,' says Mde. de Staël, 'there I passed my infancy and early youth, and there only could I meet the generation which had known my father and the friends who had passed with us through the horrors of the Revolution. This love of country, which has influenced the most strongly constituted minds, lays still stronger hold of us when it unites the enjoyments of intellect with the affections of the heart and the habits of the imagination. French conversation exists no where but in Paris, and conversation has been, from my infancy, my greatest pleasure. I experienced such grief at the apprehension of being deprived of this residence, that my reason could not support itself against it. I was then in the full vivacity of life, and it is pre-

tisely the want of animated enjoyment which leads most frequently to despair, as it renders that resignation very difficult, without which we cannot support the vicissitudes of life.' 'Some persons may perhaps be surprised at my comparing exile to death; but there have been great men, both in ancient and modern times, who have sunk under this punishment. We meet with more persons brave against the scaffold, than against the loss of country. In all codes of law, perpetual banishment is regarded as one of the severest punishments: and the caprice of one man inflicts in France, as an amusement, what conscientious judges condemn criminals to with regret.'

The act of mean and cowardly despotism by which Mde. de Staël was consigned to banishment for not 'loving' the First Consul, appears scarcely worth notice when viewed in connexion with the deeds of atrocity by which it was speedily followed—the seizure of Sir George Rumbold, and the assassination of the Duke d'Enghien. They were, however, actions of precisely the same kind,—unprincipled aggressions of arbitrary power, differing only in the degree of atrocity or of meanness by which they were characterized. We have heard it said, that if, in the ticklish crisis of a new dynasty, this lively Frenchwoman was loquacious and busy, it was no more than she could expect, to be sent off. And so, for even slighter and more imaginary offences, the more effectual stop-mouth of the bow-string might be no more than an inhabitant of the Turkish capital would have reason to expect, should he have the misfortune to excite the jealousy of the sublimest of monarchs. There is no proof, however, that Mde. de Staël ever meddled with political affairs, or was guilty of any other crime than an enthusiastic love of liberty. She was the daughter of Necker, and she hated Bonaparte; that is, she hated oppression. But this hatred never broke out into overt acts. In her writings she never named him; but this was enough to draw down upon her his vindictive displeasure. 'She inflates people with no-'tions that do not suit me'—was the very language of her indictment. Bonaparte petulantly remarked, that if she did not talk of politics, people always came away from her house less attached to him than they entered it. This was the language of personal jealousy. He was jealous of her intimacy with Bernadotte, jealous of her conversation parties, jealous of her reputation.

'What provoked the First Consul still more than the opinions which he attributed to me, was the number of strangers who came to visit me. The Prince of Orange, son of the Stadtholder, did me the honour to dine with me, for which he was reproached by Bonaparte. The existence of a woman who was visited on account of her literary reputation, was but a trifle; but that trifle was wholly independent of him, and was sufficient to make him resolve to crush me.'

She appears to have been indebted for the more rigid execution

of the sentence of banishment to female rivalry. As yet, she had received only intimations that her return to Paris would be unacceptable, but had been laid under no positive prohibition; and flattering herself that Consul Bonaparte was too completely absorbed in his projected English expedition to trouble himself about her, she had taken up her residence at a little country seat ten leagues distant from the metropolis.

'In this state of voluntary exile I had peaceably resided for a month, when a female of that description which is too numerous, endeavouring to make herself of consequence at the expense of another female more distinguished than herself, went and told the First Consul, that the roads were covered with people going to visit me. Nothing certainly could be more false. Bonaparte immediately seized the pretext that was given him to banish me, and I was apprised by one of my friends, that a gendarme would be with me in a few days with an order for me to depart.'

Joseph and Lucien, with whom she had been on intimate terms, generously exerted their utmost efforts to save her, and General Junot interceded for her, she says, with some warmth; but in vain. At the invitation of the lady of Joseph Bonaparte, she passed three days at their beautiful seat at Morfontaine previously to her departure. Nothing is plainer, than that her peace might have been made with Napoleon, at this period, by submission. She was sufficiently intimidated to have been willing to be silent, but she could not purchase the favour of her enemy by becoming his panegyrist and his tool, nor renounce those sentiments of liberty which had been transmitted to her as an inheritance, to join the servile herd who were falling prostrate before the enslaver of their country. The example and authority of her father powerfully contributed, no doubt, to keep alive her enthusiasm in the cause of freedom, and to confirm her in what Bonaparte must have considered as incorrigible obstinacy. Without some such auxiliary motive, her fortitude, it is probable, might have given way. We do not think that this supposition detracts any thing from her merit, or that her adherence to those opinions for which she paid so dearly, was either less rational, less noble, or less virtuous, because it had its source in her educational principles, and derived its strength from her passionate attachment to her father. What she had embraced were not mere abstractions caught from a coterie of philosophers, or vague *English* notions adopted in the spirit of a party, but liberal and elevated sentiments, such as she had seen imbodied in the parent whom she worshipped. Her taste, her feelings, her imagination had all conspired with her sense of duty and her pride of character, in placing her in utter opposition to the views of the French despot. 'Why does not Mde. de Staël,' he exclaimed, 'attach herself to 'my government? What is it that she wishes?'—'It is not

'what I *wish*,' was her reply to Joseph Bonaparte, 'but what I *think*, 'that is in question.' In fact, in her, Bonaparte beheld, not merely the eloquent advocate, but, in a sense, the representative of sentiments 'which did not suit him.' Virtue, mental dignity, patriotism, religion, were, in his eyes, 'the eternal enemies *of the Continent*.'

Contrasted with the general conduct of the literati of France, (and it is with them that she ought to be compared,) the conduct of Mde. de Staël exhibits a courage, a genuine magnanimity, and an integrity of principle which entitle her to the most honourable distinction. With all its weaknesses and extravagances, hers was a character far more elevated than that of the tyrant or any one of his satellites; and to the mind wearied and disgusted with the survey of the universal servility and profligacy of the period, the brilliant and instructive exception of this high-minded woman, in whom the love of truth and the hatred of oppression triumphed over every selfish consideration, presents a most refreshing relief. The cause to which she sacrificed herself, was the cause, not of a party, but of mankind; and there can be no doubt that the influence of her genius and character considerably aided that cause by keeping alive and extensively diffusing the sentiment of liberty.

But it is said, We have had enough of Mde. de Staël. There are those who have never forgiven her the high praise she received from the Edinburgh Reviewers, and the panegyrics of certain illustrious members of Opposition, while others still resent her too faithful but somewhat satirical description of English drinking bouts and dumb conversation parties. A more well founded dissatisfaction with her character as a woman and an author, rests on the tendency of some of her writings, especially her early works. Of Mde. de Staël, as a novelist, as a lecturer on morals and religion, in short, as a writer, we may admit that the public have had enough. We have already expressed our regret at the indiscreet enthusiasm of her biographer, Mde. de Saussure, whose unmeasured and indiscriminate eulogy of her distinguished relative has provoked attempts of an invidious description, thus counteracting its own design. There exists, we think, an unworthy disposition to depreciate Mde. de Staël,—to make her foibles, and even her person, the subject of ridicule, under the pretence of a regard for the interests of morality. Her literary blunders, which are truly French, (What French writer does not blunder, especially when treating of foreign literature?) her sentimental enthusiasm, and her egotism, afford a ready subject for ill-natured ridicule. But those points in her character to which we have adverted, ought to protect her from this unmanly mode of posthumous attack; nor ought such a woman to cease to interest us, because Bonaparte is dead.

The whole of the first part of the present Journal,—all, at least, that is of value, might have been with advantage incorporated with her great work, or added to it in the shape of notes or an appendix. Had the Author lived to publish this portion of her personal history, it would probably have appeared in a different shape. The following portrait of the First Consul, although betraying some temper in the Writer, is worthy of preservation.

'Meantime (1802) monarchical institutions were rapidly advancing under the shadow of the republic. A pretorian guard was organized; the crown diamonds were made use of to ornament the sword of the First Consul, and there was observable in his dress, as well as in the political circumstances of the day, a mixture of the old and new regime. He had his dresses covered with gold and his hair cropped, a little body and a large head, an indescribable air of awkwardness and arrogance, of disdain and embarrassment, which altogether formed a combination of the bad graces of a *parvenu* with all the audacity of a tyrant. His smile has been cried up as agreeable; my own opinion is, that in any other person it would have been found unpleasant; for this smile, breaking out from a confirmed serious mood, resembled an involuntary twitch, rather than a natural movement, and the expression of his eyes was never in unison with that of his mouth; but, as his smile had the effect of encouraging those who were about him, the relief which it gave them, made it pass for a charm.'

The creation of the new *noblesse* at the commencement of 'the 'empire,' affords another topic of sarcasm.

'A very odd peculiarity in the French, and one which Bonaparte had the penetration to discover, is, that they who are so quicksighted to what is ridiculous in others, desire nothing better than to render themselves ridiculous as soon as their vanity finds its account in it, in some other way. Nothing, certainly, presents a greater subject for pleasantry, than the creation of an entirely new noblesse, such as Bonaparte established for the support of his new throne. The princesses and queens, *citizenesses* of the day before, could not themselves refrain from laughing at hearing themselves styled *your majesty*. Others, more serious, delighted in having their title of *monseigneur* repeated from morning to night, like Moliere's City Gentleman. The old archives were rummaged for the discovery of the best documents on etiquette. Men of talent were gravely engaged in making coats of arms for the new families. In short, not a day passed without affording some scene worthy of the pencil of Moliere; but the terrific circumstances which formed the back-ground of the picture, prevented the grotesqueness of the fore-ground from being laughed at as it deserved. The glory of the French generals threw a lustre over all, and the obsequious courtiers contrived to slide in under the shadow of military men, who doubtless deserved the severer honours of a free state, but not the empty decorations of such a court.

'Pens without end were darted against this nobility of yesterday; and a thousand expressions of the new peeresses were quoted, which

betrayed a slender acquaintance with good breeding. Certainly, nothing is so difficult to learn, as that genuine politeness which is neither ceremonious nor familiar: it seems a trifle, but it requires a foundation in ourselves, and no one can acquire it, if it is not inspired by early habits or elevation of mind. Bonaparte knew very well that the Parisians passed jokes on his new nobility, but he also knew, that their opinions would be expressed only in vulgar jokes, not in strong actions. The energy of the oppressed went not beyond the equivoque of a pun; and as, in the East, they have been reduced to the fable, in France, they sank still lower, to the clashing of syllables. One specimen of these *jeux de mots* deserves, however, to survive the ephemeral success of such productions. One day, as the princesses of the blood were announced, some one added, "*of the blood of Enghien.*" And in truth, such was the baptism of this new dynasty.'

That atrocious murder excited a momentary ebullition even in France, which made Bonaparte for some days rather uneasy. Fouché blamed the action in these words: 'It is worse than a 'a crime; it is a fault.' Bonaparte's object was, to teach the French, that he dared do every thing, in order that they might give him credit for the evil he abstained from, and that, in future, when he spared a man's life, his forbearance might be regarded as clemency.

The publication of Mde. de Staël's work on Germany, which was immediately suppressed by the French police, led to her second and final expulsion from the French empire. Hitherto, she had been only prohibited from coming within forty leagues of the capital: the order now issued, rendered it imperative upon her to quit France within a week. The letter of the Duke of Rovigo, in which he denies that the suppression of her book was occasioned by her not having mentioned in it the Emperor or the army, adding contemptuously, that her last work is not at all French, and that the air of that country does not seem to agree with her, has appeared in the English edition of her "Germany." At this period commences the second part of the memoir. Being forbidden to come to England, America or a return to Coppet appeared to her the only alternative left, and she determined on the latter. There, however, she was not suffered to remain forgotten or unmolested, and in the systematic persecution by which she was constantly harassed by the agents of the French police, the base and vulgar minded malice of Bonaparte was unequivocally manifested. The first order received by the prefect of Geneva, was, to inform her two sons, that they also were interdicted returning to France. The next step was, to turn her exile into a species of imprisonment, by forbidding her to extend her travels beyond two leagues from Coppet. The day after this order had been communicated, M. Schlegel, who for eight years had been employed in the education of her sons, was banished from Switzerland; the prefect telling her, that it was out of regard to her that M.

Schlegel was ordered to quit Coppet, because he had made her an Antigallican. In proof of M. S.'s Antigallican opinions, it was gravely alleged that, in a comparison which he had instituted between the Phédre of Racine and that of Euripides, he had given the preference to the latter! In her first interview with this same prefect, Mde. de Staël was told, that talents like hers were made to celebrate the Emperor, and she was repeatedly admonished, if she wished to put an end to all that was disagreeable in her circumstances, to write something, were it but a sheet of four pages, in favour of the Government. She forcibly represented in reply, that any thing like praise coming from her in her present situation, would have the air of a petition, and that the effect would only be ludicrous. Soon after this, she learned that the great Emperor had threatened with his displeasure any person who should presume to go to Coppet to visit Mde. de Staël. This was not an empty threat. M. de Montmorency and 'the most beautiful 'woman in France,' Mde. Recamier, were both punished with exile for having visited their friend in her honourable disgrace. The prefect publicly gave it out, that no person who had any thing either to hope for or to fear from the Government, ought to venture near her; and not only Frenchmen, but even foreigners were apprised that they must not go to her house. 'Mde. de 'Staël has contrived,' he said, 'to make herself very happy at 'Coppet; her friends and foreigners come to see her: the Em-'peror will not allow that.'

'And why did he torment me in this manner? That I might print a eulogy upon him. And of what consequence was this eulogy to him, among the millions of phrases which fear and hope were constantly offering at his shrine? Bonaparte once said; "If I had the choice either of doing a noble action myself, or of inducing my adversary to do a mean one, I would not hesitate to prefer the debasement of my enemy." In this sentence you have the explanation of the particular pains which he took to render my existence miserable. In refusing to lend myself to his wishes, I ought to say it, I have not had the merit of making a sacrifice. The Emperor wished me to commit a meanness, but a meanness entirely useless. To satisfy him, it would have been necessary that I should degrade myself in the hope of obtaining permission to return to France, that he should turn into mockery my zeal in praising him who had never ceased to persecute me, and that this zeal should not be of the least service to me. I have denied him this truly refined gratification; it is the only merit which I can lay claim to in the long contest which has been carried on between his omnipotence and my weakness.'

For nearly two years, Mde. de Staël endured this state of captivity, a prey to terror and ennui, and suffering from the opposite emotions of melancholy at feeling herself forsaken, and anxiety on behalf of the friends who discovered any attachment

to her. At length, the burden of existence became almost insupportable, and she determined, at all hazards, on flight. She reached Vienna in safety, and after a short stay in the Austrian capital, which was long enough, however, to attract the not very friendly notice of the police, made good her escape into Russia. On entering its confines, she learned that the direct road to Petersburg was already occupied by the French army, and she was compelled to go round by Moscow. At length, she arrived at Petersburg, where her first sentiment was, she says, to return thanks to Heaven for being on the borders of the sea. She saw waving on the Neva, the English flag, 'the symbol of 'liberty.'

'It is an illusion which one cannot help entertaining, to believe one's self more under the hand of Providence, when committed to the elements, than when depending on men, and especially on that man who appears to be an incarnation of the evil principle.'

Here she was honoured with two interviews with the Emperor Alexander, of whom she speaks, with her characteristic enthusiasm, as, at that period, all Europe spoke of him, not excluding those who now sneer at the warmth of her panegyric. From Petersburg, after a stay of about a month, she proceeded through Finland to Stockholm in her way to England, the asylum to which she looked forward with romantic eagerness as her ultimate destination. On her leaving Coppet, her Son, seeing her ready to faint, said, 'My dear mother, think that you are setting out 'for England.' 'England,' adds that Son in a note,

'was then the hope of all who suffered for the cause of liberty; how comes it, that, after the victory, her ministers have so cruelly deceived the expectation of Europe?'

Mde. de Staël's observations on the Russian character are marked by her usual acuteness and rashness, ingenuity and superficialness. There is truth enough in her general remarks to give them plausibility and effect, but not enough to render them altogether just. Something, however, may be learned even from her most crude and hasty opinions. Her picture of the Russian people, although warmly coloured, carries with it the air of a general likeness, the traits she has seized upon as the subject of panegyric, being precisely those which indicate a state of society but recently emerged from barbarism. It was but natural that every thing in Russia should appear to her in the brightest light, since to her, at least, it was then the land of liberty. When she remarks, that 'with them every thing is colossal rather than 'well proportioned;' that, uniting impetuosity with reserve, they are 'more capable of passion than of friendship, more bold 'than delicate, more brave than chivalrous, and more devout than

'virtuous;' that they love magnificence more than they regard comfort; that they are more hospitable than the French, but do not, like them, understand the pleasures of society, and that they meet to receive vivid emotions from external objects, rather than from the heart or the understanding;—she describes, if not what the Russians are, what such a people might be supposed to be: her observations, not to have been suggested by what she saw, must have been dictated by accurate thinking, being true to nature, if not to fact.

The translation, (which we have been obliged, in transcribing our extracts, considerably to alter,) though occasionally spirited, is full of gallicisms and blunders. If it is the work of a foreigner, it does him no discredit: if that of a native, it is a pity that the publishers should not have been able to find a more competent hand. There are Translators enough by profession, who, one might have thought, would have turned out the job in a more workman-like style. We have not the original at hand; but the following sentences are obviously chargeable for their obscurity or awkwardness on the Translator. 'Wit was with them rather *an* 'arm (weapon?) than an enjoyment.'—'Self love must accustom 'itself *to do credit to praise*.'—'Every day the number of persons 'with whom I could be *in intelligence*, diminished.'—'The gene-'rous feeling which had *illustrated* the Austrian arms,' &c. 'He 'amuses himself in *making poetical pieces* (rhapsodizing) on 'the beauties of nature.' 'The love of country which has *at-'tached* the most strongly constituted minds.' We select these at random from a number of similar felicities of expression. Those readers who wish to become acquainted with Mde. de Staël as a writer, must not content themselves with any translation that we have yet seen of any of her works.

Art. IV. *Letters from Portugal, Spain and France*, during the memorable Campaigns of 1811, 1812, and 1813; and from Belgium and France, in the year 1815. By a British Officer. 8vo. pp. 307. Price 10s. 6d. London. 1819.

IN order to obtain a just idea of the entire character of military affairs, it is not enough to read the reports and bulletins which represent the movements and casualties of war on an extended and imposing scale; it is necessary to trace their effects lower down, to enter into regimental details, to note the vicissitudes of the commissariat, and even to make ourselves acquainted with the achievements and the sufferings of distinct individuals. There is something indescribably grand and impressive in the aspect of field manœuvres,—in the simultaneous and systematic movements of immense bodies of men arrayed in all the splendour of warlike appointment and decoration. Even

the deadly fight, with its disastrous and appalling circumstances and consequences, presents itself to the mind, invested with nearly all that is interesting and admirable in the intense exercise of skill, valour, and exertion. It is no wonder, then, that with these bright features of the *royal game*—and these are all that ministers and martialists voluntarily reveal—set before us, we are apt to forget that its real character is to be derived from the fearful but unnoticed details; from the fatigues and privations of the march, the languor of the halt, the miseries of the *bivouac*, the dreadful casualties of the battle, and the agonies of the hospital. For these we must look to a different class of chroniclers; to men who, without the excitements and the alleviations which elevated rank accumulates around itself, have mingled as privates or subalterns in the business of war, have felt its bad passions and its demoralizing influences, have revelled in its low malignities, been maddened by its ferocious instigations, and have writhed under its bodily tortures.

We have of late had our attention strongly fixed by two or three publications relating to the operations of Lord Wellington and his gallant army; and we are now about to introduce the first and most interesting of them to the favourable notice of our readers. It is written, for the most part, with simplicity and correctness; and its Author, an officer of the 92nd (highlanders), has described with much force and distinctness, the principal events of the Peninsular war, in the greater portion of which he was personally concerned.

On the 20th of September, 1811, he landed at Lisbon, with the reinforcements for his regiment, which was attached to the division under the command of Sir Rowland Hill. In October, the whole corps was put in motion with the view of surprising the enemy's posts in the neighbourhood of Merida; and after suffering much on the rapid march, it completely dispersed the strong detachment under the orders of Girard, in the celebrated *camisade* of Arroyo del Molinos. The Writer was engaged in the different field-movements and conflicts connected with the second siege of Badajos; and in May, 1812, he was present at the storming of the fortified bridge of Almarez. In July,

'a little after the commencement of the action on the 2d instant, at Villa-Alba, one of the 2d German hussars was furiously assailed by a powerful French dragoon;—both being dexterous swordsmen, for some time neither the one nor the other could obtain any advantage. Another French dragoon perceiving the imminent danger of his friend, galloped up to his relief, but his assistance was afforded too late—the German had mastered the arm of his enemy, who then lay at his feet, in the agonies of death. As the German had been long and severely engaged, the Frenchman thought he would have a bout with him; but the combat did not last long—this Frenchman shared the

fate of his companion. A third advanced, whose sword the German received in his body, at the moment his own had done a similar favour to his second assailant.' p. 95.

When the effects of the battle of Salamanca had constrained Soult to raise the siege of Cadiz, and to evacuate Andalusia, the division of Sir Rowland Hill occupied Madrid and Aranjuez; but the failure of Lord Wellington in his attempt on Burgos, compelled the whole army to the disastrous retreat on the frontier of Portugal. In the neighbourhood of the quarters of the 92nd, was occasionally stationed a detachment of the partizan corps of Don Julian Sanchez,

'commanded by a captain of Don Julian's corps, who, from the circumstance of having his upper lip cut by the sword of a Frenchman, is known here by the name of Captain *Harelip*. Were I permitted to give an opinion of the discipline of the Don's corps, from the specimen now before me, I would have little hesitation in saying that he ruled his men, not with a rod of iron, but with a rod of steel. If one of his men falls from the ranks one or two paces, without permission, the captain draws his tremendous hanger, and makes a cut at the unfortunate culprit, who, if he has not agility enough to get out of the way, is immediately cut down by his savage commander. Let us hope, however, for the sake of humanity, that the captain's mode of punishing his men has not the sanction of the intrepid Don Julian Sanchez.'

p. 125.

The masterly movements on the Douro, which compelled Marshal Jourdan to abandon without fighting, the strong position of Valladolid, and terminated in the brilliant and decisive conflict of Vittoria, are described briefly but clearly, and a spirited detail is given of the part taken by the 92nd in the battle itself. At length, Spain was freed from its invaders, and the English army drove the enemy through the passes of the Pyrenees. Among the anecdotes related in connexion with these movements, the "British Officer" expresses his admiration of

'the coolness of a young lad of the name of M'Ewen, in the action of the 7th. Whilst the regiment was standing in close column in rear of the 50th, a musket ball grazed his bonnet. Instead of being put about by this circumstance, he very coolly, and smiling, said, "O ye "coaxing rascal!"

'Lieutenant Masterman, of the 34th regiment, was killed by lightning, while on the march, on the 24th June. I was about two hundred yards in rear of him when the accident occurred. On passing him, he was so dreadfully disfigured, that I could not recognise a single feature. His clothes and sword-belt were literally torn to pieces.' pp. 162, 3.

The positions of the English army in the Pyrenees, were attacked, in July, 1813, by Marshal Soult, whose objects were, to

raise the siege of Pampeluna, and to occupy the strong line of the Ebro, which Jourdan had abandoned without an effort to retain it. His admirable manœuvres for this purpose were most gallantly and skilfully opposed. Our divisions, necessarily scattered on the different points liable to attack, after making desperate resistance, successively gave way before the overwhelming masses which were poured upon them; and the masterly and energetic movements of the French commander brought him almost in contact with the beleaguered fortress. But here, the critical arrangements of Wellington, and the activity of his generals, interposed, and compelled the Duke of Dalmatia to retire after a fierce but ineffectual struggle to complete his all but consummated design.

'The powerful effect of our national music on the minds of the soldiers, was never more conspicuously displayed, than towards the conclusion of the terrible battle of the 25th July. About six o'clock in the evening, the 92nd regiment was ordered to take possession of a small height, a little to the left of the rock, whither the enemy bent his course. The piper-major of that regiment viewed the advance of the French with considerable emotion; and conceiving that his countrymen wanted something to stimulate them to deeds of noble daring, he made the hills and valleys ring to the "Gathering of the Camerons." The effect was instantaneous—every Highlander was on his legs in a moment; and, with their eyes sparkling fire, only waited for the order to advance. Lieutenant-General Stewart, who was at that time in rear of the regiment, warned the men of the fatal consequences that might follow a movement in advance at that time, and desired the piper not to play again till ordered. But the piper, fancying the danger more imminent than it really was, again favoured his friends with one of his favourite airs, which produced the same effect. The General now forbade him, at the hazard of his life, to play till he was ordered.—Soon after, Major-General Barnes's brigade arrived to the assistance of our corps. As they advanced to the 92nd, the piper greeted his friends with the "Haughs of Cromdale," in his best style. At the sound of that well-known Scottish air, which recalled to their memory the deeds of their ancestors, the Highlanders rose, and, without waiting for orders, rushed on their numerous foes with the most undaunted courage, who, panic-struck at their audacity, wheeled about, and ran, pursued by the whole corps.

'About five o'clock on the same evening, private John Brooks was hit on the throat by a musket-ball, which his leather-stock turned, without doing him any apparent injury. But in a few days, the part was so much inflamed, that he could neither eat nor drink without great pain; and any words he spoke were almost unintelligible. On the morning of the 30th, he was ordered to the rear; but an action appearing unavoidable, he positively refused.—With the company he marched into action, performed his duty with the same spirit as on every former occasion—but, singular to relate, about the middle of the battle, another ball struck him on the identical spot that the former one had done, penetrated his throat, and killed him on the spot

'Another private soldier, named William Bisket, had his thigh perforated by a musket-ball during the dreadful struggle on the right of our position on the morning of the 28th July. With his musket in his hand, he quitted the field, the blood flowing from the wound as he moved to the rear. He had proceeded about 200 yards, when, turning round, he beheld his companions supporting the conflict with undiminished ardour. At the sight, his bosom was fired with fresh courage. He returned to the gory field, to assist his handful of friends against the numerous legions of their enemies. Being asked, what motive induced him to rejoin his company? He replied—"To have "another shot at the rascals, Sir, before I leave you." The gallant soldier fired once, and was in the act of presenting his piece a second time, when another ball penetrated his arm above the elbow, shattered the bone, and compelled the hero to retire from the field of honour, regretted by his admiring countrymen.

'In the early part of the action of the 25th July, private William Dougald, of the same company, was also hit on the right thigh, by three spent balls, in the course of five minutes; and although all of them were severe in their kind, the poor fellow never quitted the field. An action appearing inevitable on the 30th, and Dougald being so lame as scarce able to walk, he was desired to go to the rear; —"No," said he; "I will rather die than leave my comrades!" I shall never forget the exertions he made to keep up with the company. He marched—he fought—and, in 15 minutes, the gallant soldier was stretched lifeless on the ground, by one of the enemy's riflemen.

'My servant, H—— J——, was ordered, on the morning of the 30th, with some others of the regiment, to proceed to the baggage, and wait the result of the impending battle. They all quitted the regiment about half an hour before the action began; but before it was half finished, who did I see carried to the rear, but poor J——, who had received a desperate wound in the left groin. The force of circumstances having compelled us soon after to abandon that position to the enemy, J—— also fell into their hands. During our advance in pursuit of the foe next morning, I obtained permission from the commanding officer, to send a party of four, to carry him, if alive, into the village of La Zarza. The party found him alive—they offered him something to drink—he accepted of it;—then, raising himself, he said, "Oh! I would like to see him." His speech then failed him; he laid back his head on the breast of one of his comrades, and, with a gentle smile on his countenance, took leave of this world!'

pp. 179—183,

After having joined in the engagements which cleared the mountain-passes before the British troops, the Writer was ordered home in December, 1813. He had enjoyed but a few months of repose, when he was again called out to resume his command, the return of Napoleon from Elba having rekindled the flames of continental war. After the bloody fight of Quatre Bras, when the piper of the gallant 92nd sounded the gathering of his clan, though Cameron blew long and loud, full half of

his gallant comrades were unable to rally at the call. Many were lying dead on the field; others were scattered in different directions desperately wounded, and many lay in the blood-dyed enclosure of the farm, weltering in their gore.

'On the evening of the 16th, the Duke of Wellington retired to Genappe, to take a little repose. About four in the morning of the 17th, he quitted that village, and arrived at Quatre Bras at five.

'The morning being cold, and rather inclined to rain, his Grace, on alighting, came up to some of our men, and said—"Ninety-second, I will be obliged to you for a little fire." The request had no sooner been made, than every man flew to the village, to procure the necessary materials. In a very short time they returned, lighted the fire opposite to the door of a small hut, constructed of the boughs of trees, which they repaired in the best manner they could. For their attention, particularly the latter part of it, his Grace expressed himself truly grateful. In this splendid mansion, the Field-Marshal received the Prince of Orange, Lord Hill, and a great many other officers of rank;—in that hut, he received the melancholy tidings from Prince Blucher, communicating the disasters that had befallen his army at Ligny—and in that place, he arranged the order of retreat to the famed position of Waterloo.'

'For some time after he had received the unwelcome news, his Grace remained closely shut up in the hut. Having issued the necessary orders for the retreat of the army, he came out of his airy residence, and for an hour walked alone in front of it. Now and then his meditations were interrupted by a courier with a note, who, the moment he had delivered it, retired to some distance to wait his General's will. The Field-Marshal had a small switch in his right hand, the one end of which he frequently put to his mouth, apparently unconscious that he was doing so. His left hand was thrown carelessly behind his back, and he walked at the rate of three and a half to four miles in the hour. He was dressed in white pantaloons, with half-boots, a military vest, white neckcloth, blue surtout, and cocked hat. He was dressed in a similar manner on the 16th. On the latter day, the telescope was never out of his hand, and very seldom from his eye. He viewed every part of the contested field with a piercing eye—nothing whatever escaped him.' pp. 236—238.

The retreat to Waterloo was effected through a most tremendous and continued tempest; and, to finish the miserable plight of the 92nd, the regiment was ordered to *bivouac* in a newly ploughed field, where it passed the sleepless night in rain and mud, without a drop of good water to enable the men to quench their excessive thirst. Of the succeeding battle, we shall not renew the detail; but the following passage will sufficiently attest the service of the 92nd on that destructive day. When the Belgian troops had given way before the advance of a powerful French column,

'The post abandoned by the Belgians was ordered to be occupied

by the 3d battalion royals, and 2d battalion 44th. These two corps retarded the advance of the French, who, although they saw themselves opposed by fresh adversaries, still pressed forward to the object they had first in view. A sharp conflict took place between the hostile columns; volley succeeded volley—neither gave way, each sustained their respective parts with a firmness worthy the soldiers of the nations to which they belonged. It was about three o'clock when the enemy finally succeeded in establishing themselves close to the hedge. The two British battalions retired on the approach of the enemy, who, no doubt, imagined that they would meet with no farther opposition at that point—but they were soon undeceived: for a conflict far more terrible, if possible, than any that had preceded it, was about to take place. Sir Dennis Pack, who had remained with the royals and 44th, till they retired from the ridge, perceiving the urgent state of affairs, galloped up to the 92d, and, with a countenance denoting the importance of the communication he was about to make, said, "Ninety-second, you must charge! All the troops in your front have given way." The regiment answered the call with cheers. The 92d regiment, reduced to 220 men, were formed in line, and presented a front nearly equal to that of the enemy:—But the French were in close column, and had more than ten such fronts to support the one in view, forming altogether a mass of at least 3000 men. The highlanders moved forward, and, with cheers, approached their veteran enemy. For some time they seemed quite determined to meet our assault. But, when we were about 20 paces from them, they, panic-struck, wheeled about, and, in the utmost confusion, attempted to escape. But it was too late. Sir William Ponsonby, perceiving the disorderly manner in which the enemy retired, rushed forward with the 1st, 2d, and 6th regiments of heavy dragoons, and cut his way through them, as far as the valley between the two positions, captured two eagles, and made 2000 prisoners. That they might escape with the greater facility, the French threw away their knapsacks, arms, and accoutrements. For some minutes the carnage was truly dreadful. The French troops shewing an unwillingness to go to the rear, force was used, and many of them having refused to move one way or other, were cut down without ceremony.—In fact, there was no time to be lost in securing the prisoners, as the wily Napoleon, who witnessed the disgraceful flight of his troops from the heights near La Belle Alliance, was preparing to attempt a rescue. Nearly one hundred of them fell close to the left flank of our regiment. As the prisoners passed us on their way to the rear, one and all of them declared that we had cut to pieces the flower of the French army. They no doubt thought so.

'When the Scots Greys charged past the flanks of the 92d, both regiments cheered, and joined in the heart-touching cry of "Scotland for ever!" These words possessed a charm, which none but those ardently attached to their native country ever rightly understood. The mere sound of them, in the ears of every one who was present, will ever recall to their remembrance one of the most interesting and awfully grand scenes which man ever beheld.' pp. 252—5.

'Respecting the much contested point of the time at which the Prussians entered the field, the present Writer states, that Bulow opened a scattered fire on the extreme right of the French, at about half past four; that it was not until six that any effective number of the Prussian army was engaged; and that Blucher entered the field about seven. A superiority of 50,000 men is assigned to the French; and though this is, no doubt, an exaggeration of the odds, yet, that they were considerable, is clear from the fact, that, after all the severity of the preceding conflict, Napoleon was able to oppose a strong force to the advance of the Prussians. Towards the close of the battle, our "Officer" was wounded in the groin, and compelled to retire: he afterwards accompanied the army to Paris. During the grand review of the British troops by the allied sovereigns, the Scotch regiments seem to have attracted peculiar attention. While they were standing at ease,

'the Archduke Constantine of Russia rode up to the 92d regiment, and minutely examined every part of the Highlanders' dress. In a few minutes the Archduke was joined by his brother the Emperor. To one of the privates the latter said, "Take off your bonnet, "my lad, and shew it to this gentleman." The Archduke having looked at it, returned it to the owner, when the Emperor remarked to his brother, "This is a brave regiment." The royal brothers then rode along the front of the regiment. Addressing himself to Captain F., the Emperor said, "This is my brother, Sir: Will you have the "kindness to shew him your sword?" Having examined the claymore, the illustrious brothers left us, and joined the other distinguished personages.' p. 295.

In December, not having been attached to the Army of Occupation, the "British Officer" returned home, and has employed his leisure in composing a volume which we have had much gratification in reading.

Art. V. *Metrical Legends of Exalted Characters.* By Joanna Baillie. 8vo. pp. xxxvi. 374. Price 14s. London. 1821.

THERE is nothing more ominous than a long preface to a volume of poetry. It betrays a misgiving as to the effect which its contents are likely to have on the mind of a reader not prepared for the perusal; a misgiving which may possibly arise from the modesty said to be attendant on real genius, but which as often springs from a correct presentiment of the public voice. Good poetry needs no defence and no explanation. Mr. Wordsworth's preface to his Lyrical Ballads, though not the least poetical part of the work, never made a convert to his theory; nor will Mr. Southey's elaborate defence of English hexameters, delay for a moment the fate which inevitably awaits his last ludicrous and lamentable experiment in versification. There are few

readers who are orderly enough to begin at the beginning of a book, or patient enough to give a preface a hearing. It would, in most cases stand even a better chance of being read, were it to form an epilogue to the poem, instead of a prelude. For our own parts, however, we make a conscience of reading the preface to a book with peculiar diligence, even if we proceed no further; and we have seldom found ourselves misled by the impression which it has made. But we must not let our readers too far into the secrets of the craft.

The sum and substance of the thirty-six pages of apology which are prefixed to these Legends, is, that the Author, in choosing her title, does not use the term as denoting fictitious stories, but as intending 'chronicles or memorials;' that biography is a most instructive and interesting study, but that it injures the departed great by lessening our admiration of them; that romance does the mighty dead a still greater injury, by 'disturbing their intellectual remains:' 'it is throwing over the 'venerated form of a majestic man a gauzy veil on which is de-'lineated the fanciful figure of an angel.' The Author's aim, therefore, has been, 'to produce sentimental and descriptive me-'morials of exalted worth,' such as may 'awaken high and 'generous feelings in a youthful mind;' and she has made each Legend 'short enough to be read in one moderate sitting, that 'the impression may be undivided.' Then follow remarks at some length on her two heroes, Wallace and Columbus, and the heroine who completes the trio, Lady Griseld Baillie; after which, we have a few words on behalf of the four ballads appended to the Legends. In conclusion, Miss Baillie adds:

'Having now said all which, I believe, I may reasonably say in explanation and behalf of the contents of my book, I leave my reader to peruse it, perhaps, in nearly the same disposition regarding it as if I had said nothing at all on the subject. But I have the satisfaction, at least, of having endeavoured to do justice to myself, and shall not be condemned unheard.'

Now, passing over all that is controvertible and all that is incontrovertible in the above positions, and all that is 'gauzy' and affected in the expressions, we think it very evident, that the Author had an extremely vague and indistinct idea of her professed purpose when she sat down to make up a volume of legends. They were not to be history, nor biography, nor romance, nor legendary tales, nor lyrical ballads; and so far she has succeeded: they are neither of these. In fact, we fear that it will be said by ill-natured persons, that they are neither the one thing nor the other. They are, Miss Baillie tells us, 'sentimen-'tal memorials'—poetical 'chronicles.' Now, what is a memorial? If old Strype may be referred to as an authority, a

memorial differs but little from the French memoirs, and whether more or less historical or biographical, intends a species of detailed narrative as widely different from these Metrical Legends as possible. Nor does the word 'chronicle' better serve her purpose of explanation, since that necessarily implies a chronological detail of events, and Froissart and Stow have sufficiently fixed its meaning. Now, it is a very strong presumption against a poem, when even its own parent is at a loss for a generic name by which to designate the non-descript. Legends, she tells us, though so christened by the Bookseller, they are not; for she abjures fiction and romance in the composition of them, although, as we shall presently see, they are fictions in spite of her. But why not call them simply *poems?* What they are called is utterly immaterial, if they are but poetry.

This want of distinctness in the Author's purpose, has had, we are persuaded, some share in embarrassing and enfeebling her execution of it;—for feeble we must, although with much regret, pronounce these poems. If clear ideas are the first requisite in eloquence, it is no wonder that the want of them should be some hinderance in poetry. This remark does not apply only to her plan: the same indistinctness is apparent in her conception of the characters, at least, of Wallace and Columbus. We in vain look for any of those masterly touches which bespeak the Author of the Plays on the Passions. There is sentiment, and there is description, but there is no passion, no painting. There are speeches introduced, but they are not dramatic, nor are they lyrical. The Writer has seemingly been cramped by the mechanical difficulties of metre and rhyme, although the versification is of the loosest texture. But the grand fault is, she appears to have written under no excitement, and the consequence is, that there is an irredeemable flatness in the poetry, which will, we fear, be fatal to its moral efficiency in rousing 'the healthful im-
'pulse of admiration.'

So far as her object was, 'to give a descriptive chronicle of 'those noble beings whose existence has honoured human nature 'and benefited mankind,' that should have the salutary effect of enforcing their example, we regret that her aim has not been better seconded by her skill. But, viewing these "legends" in this light, we cannot suppress our wonderment that, of all those noble beings, she should have selected for a moral purpose, the semi-fabulous Wallace and the Portuguese navigator. As subjects of romantic poetry, we concede that no objection can lie against her choice; but, as exemplars, we should have imagined that many other names of heroes, patriots, reformers, martyrs, or philanthropists, to be found in the annals of her own country, would have presented themselves as having a prior claim. For the Wallace of romance, we have a regard of long-standing:

with us, he takes his rank with Robin Hood, Guy Earl of Warwick, and the heroes of Chevy Chuce. He has of late become a great favourite with our British ladies; Miss Holford, Miss Porter, Mrs. Hemans, and now Miss Baillie, having vied with each other in lavishing all the honours of harmonious verse and florid prose, and all the graces of sentimental description, on his person and achievements. But it is asking too much of the reader, to require him to receive 'the substance' of Blind Harry's legend as veritable history. Our readers will have in recollection a passage cited from Mr. Lingard, in our review of his "History of England," in which the claims of the Scottish hero to the apotheosis conferred upon him, are shewn to be at least questionable.* His Herculean strength and prowess, there is no reason to doubt; but when Miss Baillie speaks of his 'lofty soul' and powerful intellect,' we must remind her that she is deviating into romance. Of Wallace's moral character we know little or nothing. In early life he was guilty of murder, and he appears, from Buchanan's account, to have subsequently figured as a captain of banditti. The transition from this mode of life to the more honourable avocation of a patriot leader, is by no means unprecedented. It is the cause that makes the hero. A deep sense of personal injury, and an insatiable spirit of revenge, first led him to take up arms in his country's cause; and his implacable hatred of the English, combined with the unconquerable spirit of a free mountaineer, to render him proof against all the bribes and threats of the conqueror. That he deserved well of his country to whose service he devoted himself, is certain; and the ingratitude and treachery with which he was recompensed, have left an indelible stain on the Scottish annals. But it is time to give some extracts from the Legend.

Miss Baillie passes over her hero's early history, telling us only that he was clad in 'mimick steel,' and that he passed whole nights, while yet a boy, in meditating on Scotland's weal; also that he was a chastiser of robbers; all which is but a sentimental improvement upon the simpler legend of Blind Harry. The tragic incident which made him a widower, is also slurred over, and the narrative hurries us on to the period when, after the battle of Biggar, he was proclaimed Warden of Scotland. The following stanzas, which describe the signal revenge he took on the English at the barns of Ayr, will afford a fair specimen of the Author's narrative and descriptive powers. She frankly acknowledges having been unconsciously indebted for some part of the description, to the corresponding scene in Miss Porter's romance.

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* Eclectic Review, for July, 1821. p. 18.

'Ent'ring the fatal Barns, fair sight!
Went one by one the manly train,
But neither baron, laird, nor knight,
Did e'er return again.
A heaven-commission'd friend that day
Stopp'd Wallace, hast'ning on his way,
(Who, by some seeming chance detain'd,
Had later at his home remain'd,)
The horse's bridle sternly grasp'd,
And then for rueful utterance gasp'd.
"Oh! go not to the Barns of Ayr!
"Kindred and friends are murder'd there.
"The faithless Southrons, one by one,
"On them the hangman's task have done.
"Oh! turn thy steed, and fearful ruin shun!"
He, shuddering, heard, with visage pale,
Which quickly chang'd to wrath's terrific hue;
And then apace came sorrow's bursting wail;
The noble heart could weep that could not quail.
"My friends, my kinsmen, war-mates, bold and true!
"Met ye a villain's end! Oh is it so with you!"

* * * * *

'In Ayr the guilty Southrons held a feast,
When that dire day its direful course had run,
And laid them down, their weary limbs to rest,
Where the foul deed was done.
But ere beneath the cottage thatch
The cocks had crowed the second watch;
When sleepers breathe in heavy plight,
Press'd with the visions of the night,
And spirits from unhallow'd ground
Ascend, to walk their silent round;
When trembles dell or desert heath,
The witches' orgy dance beneath,—
To the rous'd Warder's fearful gaze,
The Barns of Ayr were in a blaze.

'The dense, dun smoke was mounting slow
And stately, from the flaming wreck below,
And mantling far aloft in many a volumed wreath;
Whilst town, and woods, and ocean wide did lie,
Tinctur'd like glowing furnace iron, beneath
Its awful canopy.
Red mazy sparks soon with the dense smoke blended,
And far around like fiery sleet descended.
From the scorch'd and crackling pile
Fierce burst the growing flames the while,
Thro' crevic'd wall and buttress strong,
Sweeping the rafter'd roofs along;
Which, as with sudden crash they fell,
Their raging fierceness seem'd to quell,

And for a passing instant spread
O'er land and sea a lurid shade;
Then with increasing brightness, high
In spiral form, shot to the sky
With momentary height so grand,
That chill'd beholders breathless stand.

'Thus rose and fell the flaming surgy flood,
'Till fencing round the gulphy light,
Black, jagg'd, and bare, a fearful sight!
Like ruin grim of former days,
Seen 'thwart the broad sun's setting rays,
The guilty fabric stood.

'And dreadful are the deaths, I ween,
Which midst that fearful wreck have been.
The pike and sword, and smoke and fire,
Have minister'd to vengeful ire.
New-waked wretches stood aghast
To see the fire-flood in their rear,
Close to their breast the pointed spear,
And in wild horror yell'd their last.

'But what dark figures now emerge
From the dread gulf, and cross the light,
Appearing on its fearful verge,
Each like an armed sprite?
Whilst one above the rest doth tower,—
A form of stern gigantic power,
Whirling from his lofty stand
The smold'ring stone or burning brand?
Those are the leagued for Scotland's native right.
Whose clashing arms rang Southron's knell,
When to their fearful work they fell,—
That form is Wallace wight.' pp. 20—24.

Miss Baillie is more at home in domestic sketches. We transcribe her description of the short interval of tranquillity which Scotland enjoyed after the battle of Falkirk.

'Of foes so long detested,—fear'd,
Were towns and castles quickly clear'd;
Thro' all the land at will might free men range;
Nor slave nor tyrant there appear'd;
It was a blessed change!

'The peasant's cot and homely farm,
Hall-house and tower, secure from harm
Or lawless spoil, again became
The cheerful charge of wife or dame.
'Neath humble roofs, from rafter slung
The harmless spear, on which was hung

The flaxen yarn in spindles coil'd,
And leathern pouch and hozen soil'd,
And rush or osier creel, that held
Both field and houshold geer; whilst swell'd
With store of Scotland's fav'rite food,
The seemly sack in corner stood;
Remains of what the foe had left;
Glad sight to folks so long bereft!
And look'd at oft, and wisely spared,
Tho' still with poorer neighbours shared.
The wooden quaigh and trencher placed
On the shelv'd wall, its rudeness graced,
Beneath the pot red faggots glanced,
And on the hearth the spindle danced,
As housewife's sleight so finely true,
The lengthen'd thread from distaff drew,
While she, belike, sang ditty shrill
Of Southron louns with lengthen'd trill.

'In castle hall with open gate,
The noble lady kept her state,
With girdle clasp'd by gem of price,
Buckle or hasp of rare device,
Which held, constrain'd o'er bodice tight,
Her woollen robe of colours bright;
And with bent head and tranquil eye,
And gesture of fair courtesy,
The stranger guest bade to her board
Tho' far afield her warlike lord.
A board where smoked on dishes clear
Of massy pewter, sav'ry cheer,
And potent ale was foaming seen
O'er tankards bright of silver sheen,
Which erst, when foemen bore the sway,
Beneath the sod deep buried lay.
For household goods, from many a hoard,
Were now to household use restored.

'Neighbours with neighbours join'd, begin
Their cheerful toil, whilst mingled din
Of saw or hammer cleave the air,
The roofless bigging to repair.
The woodman fells the gnarled tree,
The ploughman whistles on the lea;
The falkner keen his bird lets fly,
As lordlings gaze with upcast eye;
The arrow'd sportsman strays at will,
And fearless strays o'er moor and hill;
The traveller pricks along the plain;
The herdboys shout and children play;
Scotland is Scotland once again,
And all are boon and gay.

'Thus, freedom from a grievous yoke,
Like gleam of sunshine o'er them broke;
And souls, when joy and peace were new,
Of every nature, kindlier grew.
It was a term of liberal dealing,
And active hope and friendly feeling,
Thro' all the land might freedom range,
It was a blessed change!' pp. 38—42.

Had it been the Author's object to descant on national ingratitude, she could not have found a second instance more striking than that of Columbus. There is something chilling and dispiriting in the dark sequel of such histories, which rather interferes with the healthful glow of emulation. The true moral, Miss Baillie appears to us strangely to overlook. In Note XIII to the second legend, and appendix No. VII., (not No. III., according to the reference,) she has extracted Dr. Robertson's account of the fatal consequences to Spain of her transatlantic treasures; but no use is made of the reflections which it so naturally suggests. The voyage of Columbus is most feebly imagined.

Lady Griseld Baillie is both a more pleasing and a more useful tale, and, though rather obscurely told, will, by help of the notes, be found interesting. Were poetical writers prohibited this indolent expedient for making themselves intelligible, they would, perhaps, take more pains in developing their meaning in the text, and leave less to be implied or guessed at. When only twelve years of age, Griseld, the heroine, was entrusted by her father, Sir Patrick Hume, with the delivery of a letter to his friend Baillie of Jerviswood. 'She succeeded 'in this difficult enterprise, and having at this time met with 'Mr. Baillie's son, the intimacy and friendship was formed 'which was completed by their marriage.' This exploit is described in the first five stanzas, but Miss Baillie tantalizes her readers by refusing to tell them what passed between the young people.

——'nor will I say,
How, on that bless'd and long remember'd day,
The prisoner's son, deserving such a sire,
First saw the tiny maid, and did admire
That one so young, and wise, and good, and fair,
Should be an earthly thing that breath'd this nether air.'

Years roll on, and Sir Patrick Hume is himself compelled to seek a hiding place from the persecuting fury of the Government. With the assistance of a trusty mechanic, who was the only individual besides Lady Hume and Griseld, to whom the secret of his retreat was confided, a bed and bed-clothes were carried, in the dead of night, to a vault under Polworth church,

a mile distant from his own house; and here, during the month of his entombment, Griseld went every night by herself to carry him the food which she managed to secrete, unobserved by the younger children and the servants, remaining with her parent in his gloomy prison till the approach of day-break.

'But to describe their tender meeting,
Tears shed unseen, affection utter'd
In broken words, and blessings mutter'd
With many a kiss and kindly greeting,
I know not; would my feeble skill
Were meeter yoke-mate to my will!

'Then from the struck flint flew the spark,
And lighted taper, faint and small,
Gave out its dun rays through the dark,
On vaulted roof and crusted wall;
On stones reversed in crumbling mould,
And blacken'd poles of bier decay'd
That lumb'ring on the ground were laid;
On sculptured wrecks, defaced and old,
And shreds of painted 'scutcheons torn
Which once, in pointed lozenge spread,
The pillar'd church aloft had worn;
While new-swept nook and lowly bed,
Strange sight in such a place!
Betray'd a piteous case,—
Man from man's converse torn, the living with the dead.

'The basket's store of viands and bread,
Produced with looks of kind inviting,
Her hands with busy kindness spread;
And he her kindly care requiting,
Fell to with thanks and relish keen,
Nodded and quaff'd her health between,
While she his glee return'd, her smiles with tears uniting.
No lordling at his banquet rare
E'er tasted such delicious fare;
No beauty on her silken seat,
With lover kneeling at her feet,
E'er wept and smiled by turns with smiles so fondly sweet.

'But soon youth's buoyant gladsome nature
Spreads joy unmix'd o'er every feature,
As she her tale is archly telling
Of feuds within their busy dwelling,
While, round the sav'ry table sitting,
She gleans his meal, the rest unwitting,
How she, their open eyes deceiving,
So dext'rous has become in thieving.
She tells, how, of some trifle prating,
She stirs them all to keen debating,

While into napkin'd lap she's sliding
Her portion, oft renew'd, and hiding,
Beneath the board, her store; amazing
Her jealous Frere, oft on her gazing.
Then with his voice and eager eye,
She speaks in harmless mimickry.
" Mother! was e'er the like beheld?
" Some wolf possesses our Griseld;
" She clears her dish, as I'm a sinner!
" Like plowman at his new-year's dinner."

' And what each urchin, one by one,
Had best in sport or lesson done,
She fail'd not to repeat:
Tho' sorry tales they might appear
To a fastidious critic's ear,
They were to him most sweet.

' But they must part till o'er the sky
Night cast again her sable dye;
For ah! her term is almost over!
How fleetly hath it flown!
As fleetly as with tristed lover
The stealthy hour is gone.
And could there be in lovers' meeting
More powerful chords to move the mind,
Fond heart to heart responsive beating,
Than in that tender hour, pure, pious love entwined?"

pp. 222—6.

In this extract, which is certainly not devoid of pathos, the reader will be with reason startled at the Hudibrastic colloquialism which Miss Baillie has ventured to put into the mouth of the heroine. For this, we expected that at least we should find some authority in the Notes. But Lady Murray's Narrative simply states, that ' her brother Sandy (the late Lord ' Marchmont) looked up (on one occasion) with astonishment, ' and said, " Mother, will you look at Griseld; while we have ' " been eating our broth, she has eaten up all the sheep's ' " head." ' We do not wish to be fastidious, when rhyme is scarce, and the case is urgent; but our Author's version of the speech, if it must needs be given, should not have been less elegant than the original.

To complete the story: Sir Patrick at length determines on leaving the country, and takes refuge in Holland, where his wife and family join him. They are obliged to leave behind the youngest child through illness, and Griseld returns by herself to fetch her sister and negotiate business. All the time that they were in Holland, upon her it devolved to go to the market and to the mill to have the corn ground, to do the household work, to ' make and mend' for the children—in short, ' to do every

'thing;' and 'there was not a week,' says the prose narrative, 'that she did not sit up two nights to do the business that was 'necessary.'

'And well, with ready hand and heart,
Each task of toilsome duty taking,
Did one dear inmate play her part,
The last asleep, the earliest waking.
Her hands each nightly couch prepared,
And frugal meal on which they fared;
Unfolding spread the servet white,
And decked the board with tankard bright.
Thro' fretted hose and garment rent,
Her tiny needle deftly went,
Till hateful penury, so graced,
Was scarcely in their dwelling traced.
With rev'rence to the old she clung,
With sweet affection to the young.
To her was crabbed lesson said,
To her the sly petition made.
To her was told each petty care;
By her was lisp'd the tardy prayer,
What time the urchin, half undrest
And half asleep, was put to rest.

'There is a sight all hearts beguiling,—
A youthful mother to her infant smiling,
Who with spread arms and dancing feet,
And cooing voice, returns its answer sweet.
Who does not love to see the grandame mild,
Lesson with yearning looks the list'ning child?
But 'tis a thing of saintlier nature,
Amidst her friends of pigmy stature,
To see the maid in youth's fair bloom,
A guardian sister's charge assume,
And, like a touch of angel's bliss,
Receive from each its grateful kiss.—
To see them when their hour of love is past,
Aside their grave demeanour cast.
With her in mimick war they wrestle;
Beneath her twisted robe they nestle;
Upon her glowing cheek they revel,
Low bended to their tiny level;
While oft, her lovely neck bestriding,
Crows some arch imp, like huntsman riding.
This is a sight the coldest heart may feel;—
To make down rugged cheeks the kindly tear to steal.

'But when the toilsome sun was set,
And ev'ning groups together met,
(For other strangers shelter'd there
Would seek with them to lighten care,)

Her feet still in the dance mov'd lightest,
Her eye with merry glance beam'd brightest,
Her braided locks were coil'd the neatest,
Her carol song was trill'd the sweetest;
And round the fire, in winter cold,
No archer tale than hers was told.

'O! spirits gay, and kindly heart!
Precious the blessings ye impart!
Tho' all unwittingly the while,
Ye make the pining exile smile,
And transient gladness charm his pain,
Who ne'er shall see his home again.
Ye make the stern misanthrope's brow
With tint of passing kindness glow,
And age spring from his elbow-chair
The sport of lightsome glee to share.
Thus did our joyous maid bestow
Her beamy soul on want and woe;
While proud, poor men, in thread-bare suit,
Frisk'd on the floor with lightsome foot,
And from her magic circle chace
The fiends that vex the human race.' pp. 233—6.

These years Lady Griseld would often speak of as the happiest part of her life. In 1688, Sir Patrick accompanied the Prince of Orange to this country, and Griseld and her mother came over with the Princess. She was offered to be made one of the Queen's maids of honour, but, with a rare magnanimity and modesty, she declined the royal favour, preferring to return home with her family.

'Nor would she in her native North,
When woo'd by one of wealth and worth,
The neighbour of her happy home,
Though by her gentle parents press'd,
And flattered, courted, and caressed,
A splendid bride become.'

'Jerviswood was poor,' and she resolved to marry no other.

'But heaven for them decreed a happier lot:
The father of the virtuous youth,
Who died devoted for the truth,
Was not, when better times return'd, forgot:
To the right heir was given his father's land,
And with his lady's love, he won her hand.'

Lady Griseld lived to see her children's children, and died universally honoured and beloved. The following inscription to her memory was written by Judge Burnet:

'While an infant,
At the hazard of her own, she preserved her father's life,

Who, under the persecution of ambitious power,
Sought refuge in the close confinement of a tomb,
Where he was nightly supplied with necessaries conveyed by her,
With a caution above her years,
A courage above her sex,
A real instance of the so much celebrated Roman charity.'

The admirable example of filial piety and feminine heroism which forms the subject of this "Legend," is in itself so worthy of a lasting record, that we could wish for the poem a popularity beyond what we fear the volume, as a whole, is likely to obtain. In her choice of the irregular versification rendered fashionable by her 'great contemporary,' Sir Walter Scott, Miss Baillie has, we think, been unfortunate. The character of that measure is essentially lyrical and romantic, and if this be not the character of the poetry, its irregularity becomes not only unmeaning, but positively unpleasing. Its facility, too, is dangerous, as it gives the utmost licence to indolence and caprice in the structure and composition of the verse. If blank verse or heroic rhyme appeared ineligible, a regular stanza would have comported much better with the subject of the last legend, and imposed a salutary restriction on the Author.

The four legendary ballads are successful imitations of the early compositions in this style. The first is very striking and finely wrought up. It is too long to insert entire, and we fear that we shall injure it by presenting only fragments; but our wish to do the Author ample justice, induces us to close this article with a specimen of her talents which will recall to our readers the truly dramatic Delineator of the Passions.

'The fires blazed bright till deep midnight,
And the guests sat in the hall,
And the lord of the feast, Lord John of the East,
Was the merriest of them all.

'His dark-grey eye that wont so sly
Beneath his helm to scowl,
Flash'd keenly bright, like a new wak'd sprite,
As pass'd the circling bowl.

'In laughter light or jocund lay
That voice was heard, whose sound
Stern, loud, and deep, in battle-fray
Did foemen fierce astound.

* * * * * * *

'Who knocks without, so loud and stout?
Some wandering knight, I ween,
Who from afar, like a guiding star,
Our blazing hall hath seen.

'If a stranger it be of high degree,
(No churl durst make such din,)
Step forth again, my pages twain,
And soothly ask him in.

'The pages twain returned again,
And a wild, scared look had they.
"Why look ye so?—is it friend or foe?"
Did the angry Baron say.

'"A stately knight without doth wait,
"But further he will not hie,
"Till the Baron himself shall come to the gate,
"And ask him courteously."

'"By my mother's shroud, he is full proud!
"What earthly man is he?"
"I know not in truth," quoth the trembling youth,
"If earthly man it be."

'Then dark, dark lower'd the Baron's eye,
And his red cheek changed to wan;
For again at the gate more furiously
The thundering din began.

'"And is there ne'er of my vassals here,
"Of high or low degree,
"That will unto this stranger go,—
"Will go for the love of me?

'Then spoke and said fierce Donald the Red,—
(A fearless man was he,)
"Yes; I will straight to the castle gate,
"Lord John, for the love of thee."

* * * * * * *

'"It is a knight in some foreign guise,
"His like did I never behold;
"For the stony look of his beamless eyes
"Made my very life-blood cold.

'"And he stretched him the while with a ghastly smile,
"And sternly bade me say,
"'Twas no depute's task your guest to ask
"To the feast of the woody bay."

'Pale grew the Baron, and faintly said,
As he heaved his breath with pain,
"From such a feast as there was spread,
"Do any return again?

'"Do the hollow grave and the whelming wave
"Give up their dead again?
"Doth the surgy waste waft o'er its breast
"The spirits of the slain?"

'But his loosen'd limbs shook fast, and pour'd
The big drops from his brow,
As louder still the third time roared
The thundering gate below.

'"O rouse thee, Baron, for manhood's worth!
"Let good or ill befall,
"Thou must to the stranger knight go forth,
"And ask him to your hall.

'"Why should'st thou fear? dost thou not wear
"A gift from the great Glendower,
"Sandals blest by a holy priest,
"O'er which nought ill hath power?"

'All ghastly pale did the Baron quail,
As he turn'd him to the door,
And his sandals blest by a holy priest,
Sound feebly on the floor.

'Then back to the hall and his merry mates all,
He cast his parting eye.
"God send thee amain, safe back again!"
He heav'd a heavy sigh.

'Then listen'd they, on the lengthen'd way,
To his faint and less'ning tread,
And, when that was past, to the wailing blast,
That wail'd as for the dead.

'But wilder it grew, and stronger it blew,
And it rose with an elrich sound,
Till the lofty keep on its rocky steep,
Fell hurling to the ground.

'Each fearful eye then glanced on high,
To the lofty-window'd wall,
When a fiery trace of the Baron's face
Thro' the casements shone on all.

'But the vision'd glare pass'd thro' the air,
And the raging tempest ceast,
And never more, on sea or shore,
Was seen Lord John of the East.

'The sandals, blest by a holy priest,
Lay unscath'd on the swarded green,
But never again, on land or main,
Lord John of the East was seen.' -pp. 283—6.

Art. VI. 1. *A Grammar of Rhetoric and Polite Literature*; comprehending the Principles of Language and Style; the Elements of Taste and Criticism; with Rules for the Study of Composition and Eloquence; illustrated by appropriate Examples, selected chiefly from the British Classics, for the Use of Schools, or private Instruction. By Alexander Jamieson. 12mo. pp. 378. Price 6s. London. 1818.

2. *A Grammar of Logic and Intellectual Philosophy*, on didactic Principles; for the Use of Schools and private Instruction. By Alexander Jamieson. 12mo. pp. 358. Price 6s. London. 1819.

THOUGH the title-page of the first be somewhat too *promising*, these two volumes contain an extensive range and variety of information, always perspicuously, and, in general, agreeably communicated. The arrangement is distinct and satisfactory; and these primary requisites being secured, we feel little disposition to inquire whether a different distribution might not have been found more accurately systematic. Nor is this the opportunity for discussing the question, whether it be not too much in the nature of *cramming*, thus to concentrate the essence of many volumes, and to abridge the regular process of acquisition, by impressing at once and dogmatically on the mind, the instruction which is, we suspect, best obtained by gradual induction. In the event of such an investigation, though the utility of Mr. Jamieson's publications might be involved, yet, it would not affect the merits of their execution; and on the assumption of the superiority of the present arbitrary system of education, they will, we apprehend, be found among the most useful auxiliaries in the business of academical institutions.

Of the two volumes, we must, however, confess that we greatly prefer the logical duodecimo. Mr. J.'s taste, though we do not mean to question its general correctness, is not, in our opinion, equal to his knowledge and industry; nor does his style appear to much advantage when in contact with subjects of elegant discrimination. We are withheld by the old adage *de gustibus*, from engaging in an extensive illustration of these matters, but Mr. J.'s deserts as an author are sufficient to justify us in lengthening this article by pointing out a few instances in which we think him altogether wrong. He is too partial to Ossian; perhaps there is some nationality in this; but there can be little doubt that a higher feeling of poetical excellence would have led him to make less frequent reference to that misty and melancholy bard. Mr. Jamieson is unfortunate in his dislike of the fine jovial passage in Thomson where

> . . . . Sated Hunger bids his brother Thirst
> Produce the mighty bowl;

Nor wanting is the brown October drawn,
Mature and perfect, from his dark retreat
Of thirty years; and now his honest front
Flames in the light refulgent.'

The high exhilaration and characteristic jollity of these rich and festive lines, are altogether lost on their critic, who is scarcely able to 'peruse' them 'with composure,' talks gravely about the inadmissibility of descriptive personifications 'when 'the subject of *discussion* is destitute of dignity,' and is quite unprepared to 'relish' such unlicensed excursions.

'Horace, in the following example, applies two epithets to the subject of the allegory, which can be applicable only to the primary subject.

"Ferus et Cupido,
Semper ardentes acuens sagittas,
Cote cruenta."

'*Analysis.* "Ardentes" is intelligible when applied to love, the primary subject, which, in a figurative sense, is often said to burn; but it has no meaning when applied to an arrow, which is never supposed to be hot. "Cruenta," also, may be significant figuratively of the distress of unsuccessful love, but nobody ever heard of a bloody whetstone. No admirer of Horace would defend him, by alledging the epithet was proper, because the stone made sharp the arrow which drew the blood. Horace himself would have been ashamed of such a defence.' p. 198.

Our sincere respect for Mr. Jamieson, will not permit us to treat such wretched hypercriticism as this with all the severity which it provokes; but there is some merit in our abstinence, and, that we may preserve it entire, we shall not venture on our own modes of expression, but present Mr. J. with the simple and poetical explanations of this exquisite passage, given in Gesner's edition of the original. '*Cupidinis sagittæ ignitæ sunt.* Πυρι ταῖτα βεβαπται. *Moschus.*——*Ut alias cotes vel aquariæ sunt vel oleariæ, ita Cupido suis telis acuendis sanguinem miserorum amantium adhibet, eaque inficit, ut sanguine hydræ sua tela Hercules.*' A somewhat different illustration might perhaps be advantageously given; but this is quite sufficient to put to shame the grave absurdities cited above.

The "Grammar of Logic" is singularly infelicitous in its definition of a *pun*.

'The pun or *paronomasia*, which hath been so generally decried, and yet so universally practised, consists in nothing more than employing a word which is ambiguous either in sense or sound, and of which both the meanings are suggested at once, by the way in which it is used. It gratifies, therefore, as an example of a newly discovered resemblance.

'*Example.* The French call this figure *jeu de mots*; and the following examples are puns from Milton: "Which tempted our attempt," PAR. LOST, B. I. "To begin at the Almighty's throne, beseeching or besieging." B. V.' p. 90.

The definition is defective, inasmuch as it does not include that indispensable qualification of a pun—*humour*. Nor are the passages cited by any means fair specimens of a genuine pun: they are nothing more than an improper introduction of words dissimilar in sense, but similar in sound. Foote's inimitable *Quid rides?* would have been far more to the purpose of illustration. It is, moreover, quite a mistake, to give '*jeu de mots*' as the specific French equivalent: that term is a general one, including puns, certainly, but extending to all kinds of sporting with words. *Calembour* is, as nearly as possible, the counterpart of pun.

We had noted other passages for comment, chiefly, though not wholly, relating to matters of taste; but the observations which we have already made, will be sufficient to answer our purpose of suggesting to Mr. Jamieson the expediency of a thorough revision of his books in the event of other editions being called for. If this be carefully and judiciously attended to, with a little compression of some of the appendages, we have no hesitation in giving it as our opinion that he will have produced two of the most useful school books extant.

Art. VII. *Sketches of Sermons*, preached to Congregations in various Parts of the United Kingdom, and on the European Continent. Furnished by their respective Authors. Vol. I. Second Edition. 12mo. pp. xvi, 174. Price 4s. London. 1821.

WE have here in the compass of a small and cheap volume, fifty skeletons of plain, practical sermons, which will, we doubt not, be extremely acceptable to a most meritorious class of public teachers, but for whose labours, a large proportion of our population would remain entirely destitute of religious knowledge. That class, the Wesleyan system wisely recognises and employs in the capacity of local preachers. The formation of Sunday Schools among other denominations, has led very extensively to the employment of lay teachers in instructing the children of the poor; while, in many of the remote villages, the lower classes are wholly indebted to the gratuitous exertions of lay members of churches for the means of Biblical instruction. It is much to be regretted, that the prejudice against what is still regarded by many persons as a disorderly assumption of the office of teacher on the part of laymen, should so long have been suffered to operate; since its effect has been, to surrender the task to those whose competence has not always been equal to their zeal, and whose ignorance has formed some drawback upon the

value of their praiseworthy exertions. If the moral wants of our population are to be supplied, the necessity of calling in the assistance of lay teachers, must, by this time, be pretty obvious. Every day is bringing to light the state of almost heathen ignorance in which many villages and districts are lying. To the employment of such extra-auxiliaries, the strictest notions of ecclesiastical discipline present no absolute objection. In the British Colonies, it should seem, that the performance of public worship, that is to say, the reading of prayers and a sermon by laymen, where no clergyman is stationed, has the sanction of the episcopal authorities*. It formed no part of the system of the Romish Church, to impart a high degree of religious knowledge to the common people; yet, it admitted the validity, under certain circumstances, of lay baptism. It is more to our present purpose, to remark, that even the Church of Rome found the regular clergy insufficient to maintain her hold on the people at large, or to fulfil all the purposes of popular teachers. The instruction of the people, such as it was, mainly devolved on the monastic orders; and when these were abolished at the Reformation, an immense apparatus was destroyed, for which, in the Protestant establishment, nothing was substituted.

The Dissenters of this country have, in fact, (viewing their ministers, not indeed as auxiliaries to the clergy, but as an additional order, and putting out of consideration for a moment, the quality of the instruction,) supplied, to a vast extent, the essential imperfection of the parochial system. But for them, it is not too much to affirm that, by this time, by far the larger part of Protestant England, would have been in a condition of the grossest ignorance. And with all the architecture and all the apparatus (to use Dr. Chalmers's language) to which the superstition of former days and the zeal of modern times have given birth, the wants of the population are very, very far from having been overtaken. Nor will it be in the power of any system that authorizes only the stated labours of regular pastors, to meet those wants, or to provide efficiently for the religious instruction and moral discipline of all classes of the people.

But the prejudice against *irregular* methods of doing good, is not confined to any one denomination of Christians. There are persons who may be designated as High-Church Dissenters. This is not a greater contradiction in terms than a Protestant priest. The labours of itinerant preachers and unacademic ministers are regarded by many regular Dissenters with a displacency bordering on disgust, and sometimes with feelings not perfectly in unison with a cordial attachment to the principles of religious

* See Miss. Register for Sept. 1821. p. 395.

liberty, and an entire confidence in their validity. To them, the stir, and combination, and enterprise, the Missionary zeal and public spirit which distinguish the present day, have something in them portentous. That every man should be taking upon himself to say to his neighbour, "Know the Lord," appears to them to savour of fanaticism. But their indignation is chiefly reserved for the low mechanics and little tradesmen, who go forth on the Sunday into the villages to preach the Gospel. That these men should be inspired by good motives, is to them scarcely credible; and at all events, religion, it is imagined, must be debased and injured in their hands. There is no end to the *good stories* which circulate in religious circles, of the vulgarisms, blunders, and eccentricities of these barn preachers, the recital of which, though attended by a decent shew of regret and deprecation, never fails to supply some measure of amusement, while the predominant sentiment of the narrator may generally be detected to be that of very sincere contempt.

Ignorance, and vulgarity, and self conceit are, whether in high life or in low life, in the educated or the illiterate, extremely disgusting; but when our indignation against these qualities rises higher than our disgust at positive immorality and profaneness, we have reason to suspect some error in our calculations or in our feelings. It is a singular and a lamentable fact, that the composure of most persons is less disturbed by the habitual spectacle and actual presence of irreligion the most decided and hardened, than by qualities which offend against taste. Yet, nothing, is more certain, than that such qualities, the natural concomitants of a low degree of intellectual cultivation, are frequently associated with sterling worth. They may exist in a character, without being its predominant qualities—without materially interfering with the beneficial operation of those other qualities in the individual, which constitute him a useful member of society. Nay, it will, perhaps, be found, that the vulgar minded and illiterate have had a much larger share than human sagacity would have deemed it safe or expedient to entrust them with, in the great work of evangelizing society. It is true, that the efficiency of such labourers is in no degree attributable to their intellectual deficiencies, but has been in spite of them; yet, it shews that religion is not quite so easily neutralized and deprived of its holy and salutary tendency, by the alloy of human imperfection with which it has combined, as some persons are ready to imagine. For ignorance or vulgarity in the abstract, we have no disposition to apologise; but, on behalf of much that puts on that shape in the eyes of the polite and the refined, we think it but fair to urge these considerations, founded, not on hypothesis, but on experience, in order to shield the class from a too indiscriminate contempt.

If lay preaching, however, has hitherto been carried on chiefly by uneducated persons, we are disposed to think that the fault rests somewhere else than with those who have conscientiously and disinterestedly employed their single talent in the work. We do not believe that the lower classes will be found in general to prefer in those who approach them with the offer of instruction, vulgarity or ignorance for its own sake. They will often tolerate these in a preacher whose seriousness and fervour bespeak him to be in earnest, and, by a natural sympathy, communicate themselves to his audience. Or they may be beguiled into an unintelligent admiration of eccentricity, by a preacher whose doctrines approve themselves to their consciences as true. But experience amply proves, that neither eccentricity, nor vulgarity, nor the affectation of familiarity, is requisite to engage the attention of the lower classes; that if they are not very delicate in their demands, or very fastidious in their taste, a plain, affectionate, evangelical style of instruction will please none the less for being in harmony with good sense and adorned with good manners. Of two of the most popular preachers that have appeared in this country, it must be remembered, that Whitfield was an orator, and Wesley a gentleman. If, then, low, illiterate, and ill-informed preachers are found obtaining the attention of the lower orders, it is more reasonable to look for the cause of that success, not in the qualities which furnish the Satirist with his theme, but in the warmth of their manner and the weight of their lessons, added to the circumstance of what Dr. Chalmers would style their aggressive policy. And why has the field been left to their occupation? Why have not others better qualified gone among the neglected population with the same zeal and with more knowledge? On whom does the responsibility devolve, of having suffered a large portion of the community to fall into the hands of those whose incompetency is so pathetically deprecated? These disorderly, illiterate men are doing the work which we are told they are incompetent to do. How grievous is it that there should appear to be in many such cases but two sorts of persons—those who know the best manner of doing a thing, but who have at hand the best motives for leaving it undone; and those who, not knowing the best mode, and acting, possibly, on mixed motives, still accomplish the work!

If popular ignorance be the evil it is admitted to be, and irreligious knowledge, or knowledge without religion, be a still more dangerous predicament for the community, it is high time that some more effectual system for evangelizing our own country were resorted to, than has hitherto been called into general operation. Dr. Chalmers's hints on this subject in his "Christian and Civic Economy," entitle him to the thanks of every lover of God and his neighbour. What we would venture to suggest in

connexion with the preceding remarks, is, the duty which appears to belong to persons of leisure and competent ability in the middle classes, to cooperate as laymen in the great business of conveying religious instruction to those places which are out of the reach of stated pastoral labours. What is there so dishonourable in itself, or so disreputable in the sight of others, or so arduous, or so difficult, in reading a sermon, or even in repeating one, or giving a familiar address to an assembly of poor people in a room or in a barn, that it should be almost by universal consent abandoned to persons in an humble condition of life? By what strange inversion of ideas has 'a preacher' become in some circles in which religion is itself reverenced, a term of reproach, when applied to an unpaid, non-reverend, and therefore irregular labourer? We can understand the objections, and make allowance for the prejudices of those who have been brought up in the bosom of a stiff and stately Episcopacy; but, for Dissenters, who recognise no holy orders, no indelible sacerdotal character, no ordaining prerogatives in the pastoral body, who reject all legislative human authority in matters of religion,—for them to affect so jealous a regard for ecclesiastical order, as to deprecate any apparent infringement on the professional avocations of 'the 'cloth,' is almost ludicrous: at least, it would be so, if the subject in question were not of a nature to render it rather a source of painful regret.

The odium attaching to lay preachers has not, however, altogether deterred men of talent, influence, and piety, from setting a noble example by fearlessly engaging in such truly philanthropic exertions. One admirable individual in the North of England, a Deacon of a Dissenting church, himself founded no fewer than fifteen congregations in a tract of country which had been distinguished by the barbarous and profane character of the population. A surgeon of considerable eminence in one of the midland counties, succeeded, in like manner, chiefly by his own exertions, in collecting congregations in several adjacent villages which had previously been altogether destitute of evangelical instruction. Other similar instances have come to our knowledge, in which the happiest results have attended the benevolent labours of opulent, or at least highly respectable laymen, among the lower classes, whose prejudices have been conciliated by the very circumstance of being addressed by persons whom they could not suspect to be actuated by interested motives, and whose station commanded their respect. In many instances, the congregations thus formed, have, in the course of time, been organized and placed under the superintendence of a regular pastor; or these rural churches have become affiliated with the parent society, recognising its minister as their bishop, and thus

there has been realized the primitive model of diocesan episcopacy.

For this long preface to the review of a small volume, we must plead, in apology, the precedent set us by the Authors of these Sketches. They remark that

'A great proportion of the inhabitants of England live in solitary cottages or small villages; and our age happily abounds with *Village Sermons, Rural Discourses, Family Sermons, and Short Sermons*: together with skeletons, or outlines of Sermons, both of ancient and modern date. That many of these publications possess considerable merit, we are willing to allow; but it has been suggested that a work in a portable form, furnished by different living authors, whose modes of thinking on theological subjects have not been formed by a similar education, and whose habits of discussing evangelical subjects are peculiarly their own, was a desideratum in this department.'

It will be inferred from these expressions, that the Authors have not received what is termed a theological education, and that their views of preaching in some respects differ from those which generally obtain. The following paragraph contains a more explicit avowal of their sentiments.

'We feel no hesitation to avow, that there are certain doctrines which, we conceive, form the basis of Christianity, and support the temple of truth. These doctrines should be ever prominent and conspicuous in all discourses designed to promote the salvation of immortal souls; and therefore, the fall of man—the divinity, atonement, and intercession of Christ—the personality and influence of the Holy Ghost—justification by faith—sanctification of heart and life—and eternal states of rewards and punishments after death, are assumed in these sketches as established and essential points. And although some arguments in their support and vindication are occasionally introduced, yet, the general character of the work is practical.'

From this general summary, our readers will gather the doctrinal opinions of the Writers. We shall now lay before them a specimen or two of their mode of exhibiting and enforcing them.

'No. XII. Isaiah, ch. xxxv. ver. 8 10.

'*And a highway shall be there, &c.*

'This chapter is remarkable for the beauty of its imagery;—and more so, on account of the subject on which this imagery is employed.——

'Admitting that the Prophet had in view the return of the Jews from captivity; we are nevertheless justified in referring his descriptions *principally* to those more important blessings connected with the advent of the Messiah, and with the christian dispensation: compare verses 5, 6, with Matt. xi. 5, and xv. 30, 31.

'We are, indeed, carried on to the very rest in heaven, that re-

mained for the people of God;—and our text beautifully describes the *way* that leads thither.—

'The Scriptures frequently speak of religion or salvation, as *a way*. Thus we read,—of "God's way," Ps. lxvii. 2. Matt. xxii. 16. Acts xviii. 25, 26,—of "the way of the just," Isai. xxvi. 7,—of "the good and the right way," 1 Sam. xii. 23,—of "the old paths, the good way," *Jer.* vi. 16.—Jesus calls himself "the way," John xiv. 6. and the Apostle to the Hebrews mentions "the new and living way," Chap. x. 20,—and in our text, the properties of this way are distinctly stated.

'I. IT IS A HIGHWAY.

'*Highways are established by authority.*—So,—is the way of religion,—of salvation.—God is its author, and its founder; it is not a thing of man's invention, of human institution:—See Micah vi. 8. Matt. xxviii. 19, 20. Luke xxiv. 47. Gal. i. 11, 12.

'*Highways are for general use.*—Thus, they differ from ways leading to obscure places; and from paths that are merely for private purposes. The way of religion is the King's highway, where all his subjects, high and low, wise and ignorant, may walk. All the exclusive systems and ways, whether they are sanctioned by Popes, or others, are not of God.—And yet God's way,—the way under consideration, is not common; for

'II. IT IS A HOLY WAY. "It shall be called *the way of holiness*: the unclean shall not pass over it."

'*Holiness* is its peculiar name.—Roads take their names from their founders,—from the places to which they lead,—or, from the persons that frequent them.—This way is called *holy* on all these accounts: The Holy One of Israel constituted it.—It leads to a place of holiness, Rev. xxi. 2, 10, 27.—And none but holy persons can walk in it: for "the unclean shall not pass over it."—The prophane, the immoral, the men devoted to the world;—and those who make void the law,—may *fancy* themselves in this way;—may *talk* about it,—but "the unclean *shall not* pass over it:" See Ps. xv. and xxiv. 3, 4. 1 Corin. vi. 9, 10. Gal. v. 19—21. Eph. v. 5.

'Every thing connected with this way is *holy*; and to whatever bad doctrines,—unholy precepts,—ungodly ministers,—and bad professors—belong,—they *do not* belong to *God's way*.

'We are in the next place led to take notice of the way under consideration, as—

'III. A PLAIN WAY.

'*Interested men*, in all ages, have endeavoured to persuade people, that the way of Salvation is hard to be understood;—difficult to teach. This may be a very proper account of *their way*; but of *God's way* it is said, "A wayfaring man, though a fool, shall not err therein."

'*Others* are perpetually connecting worldly consequence, and worldly reputation, with this way, to make it suitable—for any but the humble.—Let both the one and the other of these, read attentively the following passages, Matt. xi. 25. 1 Corin. i. 18—28. James ii. 5.

'How *few*, how *plain*, how *excellent*, are the doctrines, the precepts, and the institutions of Christianity.———And—May not a man be sufficiently acquainted with a road,—with *this* road, for the purpose

of walking correctly in it, and for that of directing another therein; and yet be incapable of determining accurately, the inclination of every ascent and descent;—and the exact bearing of every turn? The way which *God* hath constituted is *plain*. And it is equally worthy of our attention as

'IV. A SAFE WAY. "No lion shall be there."

'The ideas are evidently taken from the dangers to which travellers are exposed in a country infested with beasts of prey: See Lev. xxvi. 6. Isai. xi. 9.

'*We may perceive the safety of this way, if we view it in contrast with that in which the wicked walk.*

'To what dangers are the wicked always exposed! Sin,—Satan,—death, and hell—are ready to devour or to destroy them.—"But the steps of a good man are ordered by the Lord," Ps. xxxvii. 23. He preserveth the way of his saints, 1 Sam. ii. 9. Prov. ii. 8. Their bodies, their souls, and their circumstances are under God's gracious care, Ps. xci. Matt. x. 30.

'*The safety of this way will appear if we consider it merely in itself.* The enemies of the christian may stand on either hand and threaten, but they dare not set a foot on this road;—"No ravenous beast shall go up thereon, it shall not be found there." While a man keeps there, he is invulnerable, and consequently safe: See 1 Pet. iii. 13. Ps. xci. 11—13.

'One property more of this road remains to be considered; a property, on account of which, it must be highly desirable:

'V. IT IS THE WAY THAT LEADS DIRECTLY TO HEAVEN.—"The redeemed shall walk there,—and shall return and come to Zion, &c."

'Heaven, as a state, and as a place, is variously described in the word of God.

'*As a place* it is *here* signified by "Zion."—Zion was a hill connected with Jerusalem; on which stood the city of David, (2 Sam. v. 7, 9. 1 Kings viii. 1.) and the temple of Solomon, (2 Chron. iii. 1. Ps. ix. 11, and lxxxiv. 7, and lxxxvii. 2, 5, and cxxxii.) *There* the Priests officiated;—*there* the tribes of Israel worshipped God; (Ps. lxxxiv. 7, 10.)—*there* God manifested his presence; (Ps. i. 2.) and the very place is described as beautiful; See Psalms xlviii. lxxxvii. and cxxii.—On these accounts, the word "Zion" was used to denote the church;—and the *place* became an emblem of Heaven:—where the redeemed of the Lord, will be Kings and Priests to God; (Rev. xx. 6.) and where they will serve him day and night in his temple. (Rev. vii. 17.)

'*As a state.*—Heaven, according to our text, is freedom from all suffering,—and the possession of complete and everlasting joy. Mark the distinct ideas:—sorrow and sighing shall flee away;—they shall *obtain* joy and gladness;—they shall sing;—and the joy that crowns them shall be everlasting. Think on Israel delivered out of Egypt; (to which perhaps the text has some reference)—or Israel returning from captivity: (Ps. cxxvi.) See Rev. vii. 9—13.

'*Ye saints of God,*—Ye ransomed of the Lord,—Ye travellers to Sion! Yours is the way through which Patriarchs, Prophets, Apostles, and the saints of God in all ages, have gone to Glory. Yours is no by-path, it is *a highway*, where a man may walk with boldness and

freedom. *It is a holy way;* of which none have any cause to be ashamed. It is a *plain way*, where people need not lose themselves. *A safe way*,—where we may walk and not be afraid. O! Never tire, never faint, and you shall come to Zion with songs and everlasting joy.

'*Ye despisers,—ye neglecters of this way!* What sort of a way is yours? Have you firm footing? Your way is not such as men of clean hands, and of hearts right with God are found in.—Is it safe to walk in your way? Ah! Where will it end? We might tell you in awful language:—but we would rather say—"*Come with us, and we will do you good: for the Lord hath spoken good concerning Israel.*"

GAMMA.

The following has a different signature.

'No. L. Revelations, ch. xxii. ver. 5.

'*And there shall be no night there.*

'In the history of the memorable retreat of the ten thousand Greeks under Xenophon, it is said, that after travelling upwards of two thousand three hundred miles through the midst of their enemies, they at length ascended a mountain whence they could see the *Euxine Sea*, on the shores of which were several Greek cities. In raptures of joy they instantly shouted out, "the Sea, the Sea!" The sound was echoed, and re-echoed till the heavens resounded with their acclamations. Similar feelings (but far more sublime) animate the hearts of Christians passing through this hostile world, when from the summit of contemplation and faith they discover the vast ocean of eternal felicity, in which they will shortly be absorbed for ever. Such feelings we would fain excite in your bosoms at present. Look forward therefore to that city and palace of your glorious King, of which the magnificent description concludes in these emphatic words, "There shall be no night there, for the Lord God giveth them light," &c.

'Night or darkness is the proper emblem of evil, and if this be removed by the Lord God, who is the everlasting light of his saints, in him they will enjoy all possible good for ever. There will therefore be in the heavenly state,

'I. NO LITERAL NIGHT OR NATURAL DARKNESS.

'In the present world all animals require, at stated periods, the refreshment of sleep. Hence the gracious appointment of night, that under her sable shadow, thoughtful man, and weary beast, might find repose, and the earth be refreshed by gentle and fertilizing dews.

'But although these, and other benevolent purposes are attained by the regular return of night, it is certainly a proof of the inferiority of the present state. Darkness wears an aspect of gloom and horror. It interrupts in a great degree the operations of mind and body. It affords the adulterer, the robber, the murderer, &c. opportunity to perpetrate their nefarious deeds. It exposes to imminent dangers from accidents, fire, &c. Sleep is the image of *death*. Darkness the picture of the *grave*. In Heaven there shall be no night; no vicissitude or change, but one perpetual, glorious, everlasting day. There the bodies as well as the souls of the saints, being spiritual and

freed from every corruptible quality, will require neither rest nor sleep. "The Lord God is their light." They depend no more on a luminary which leaves them to enlighten another hemisphere. They no longer dwell in a land of horrors and dangers; but are for ever illuminated by the glory of God and of the Lamb. Isa. lx. 19, 20. Rev. xxi. 23.

'II. No MENTAL NIGHT OF ERROR AND IGNORANCE.

'Darkness is a common and very natural emblem of ignorance and delusion. Isa. lx. 2. Eph. iv. 18. Col. i. 13.

'A thick gloom is indeed spread over the minds of men in the present world. Regard the *unregenerate*. How dark are they in spiritual matters! How gross and confused are their ideas—of God—of themselves—of moral obligation—of the rule of duty—of the plan of salvation—and of their final state! How does error succeed error, and one delusion follow another, as vapour chases vapour, and wave impels wave! Regard the *pious*. They enjoy the light of truth, but it is obscured by many dense and heavy clouds. Witness,

'The varieties of sentiment which prevail among them—Their scanty knowledge of the works of God—Their incapacity to comprehend the dispensations of his Providence—Their imperfect conceptions even of divine grace—of the Redeemer's glory, and the extent of their privileges. 1 Cor. xiii. 12.

'This state of imperfect knowledge is doubtless the effect of sin, and is permitted to remain. 1. To accord with a state of probation. 2. To afford us opportunity to exercise faith. 3. To excite us to aspire after a higher state.

'But in Heaven there shall be no mental night. Our contracted notions shall give place to just and expanded views of the works, Providence, and grace of God. There ignorance and error shall be abolished. "We shall know as we also are known."

'1. The *causes of our ignorance* shall exist no more.

'2. Our *faculties* shall all be perfected.

'3. Our *means of information* shall be proportioned to our powers. God himself shall be our teacher. Saints and angels, and perhaps innumerable intelligences from different regions of the universe, shall be our companions for ever.

'III. No MORAL NIGHT OF SIN.

'In this sense the world is enveloped in the most palpable shades. Sin has spread her dismal wings over all parts of the globe; and O what a black night of injustice, and fraud, and rapine, of cruelty, oppression and murder, and of all sorts of moral evil, casts its detestable glooms over mankind!

'It is true the *pious* are freed from the dominion of sin; but still they suffer much—either *from the remains of the carnal mind* previous to its final extirpation, or from the *examples* of sinners, or from *the danger of relapsing*, through the temptation of the world, the flesh, and the devil. But in Heaven the saints are free,

'1. *From all moral pollution in themselves.* The blood of Christ had cleansed them from all sin before they left the world, and now they enjoy the full perfection of holiness.

'2. From the *examples of sinners*. The unholy shall never enter there. Rev. xxi. 27.

'3. From *the possibility of sinning*—for all temptations are for ever excluded. Their probation is terminated. They can have no trial, of consequence no danger. O glorious and eternal day of holiness!

'IV. NO PENAL NIGHT OF SORROW AND AFFLICTION.

'"Man is born to trouble as the sparks fly upward;" but in the heavenly state there will be,

'1. *No bodily afflictions*—no languishing or aching head—no throbbing, palpitating heart—no trembling nerves, &c. There all shall enjoy health and vigour, immortal youth, and unfading beauty. Isa. xxxiii. 24.

'2. No *circumstantial afflictions*—no poverty, losses, or disappointments—no cares, labour, &c. They shall hunger no more, neither thirst any more, &c. Rev. vii. 16, 17.

'3. No *family afflictions*. The misconduct of our relatives and friends—their misfortunes and sorrows—the bereavements of death, &c. shall rend our hearts no more—they shall have no place in Heaven.

'4. Finally *no afflictions produced by spiritual causes*. We shall no longer suffer from the wickedness or persecution of sinners. No more deplore our own defects—the lukewarmness of professors—the falls of backsliders, or the little success of the Gospel.

'But instead of a sorrowful night shall be a blessed and endless day, of peace and joy—of rapture and extacy—of triumph and exultation. Rev. xxii. 4.

'Let us improve the subject,

'1. By *enquiry*. Who shall ascend the hill of Zion? who shall dwell in the tabernacle of God? Answer Rev. xxi. 7, 8, 27. chap. xxii. 14, 15. Every one may attain the character there described, ver. 17.

'2. By *censure*. On the amazing stupidity of those who will not make the sacrifices, and perform the duties requisite to obtain an inheritance among the saints in light.

'3. By *encouragement to* those who travel towards the City of God.' DELTA.

We can make room only for the exordium and general division of a third specimen.

'No. XXXIII. 2 Cor. ch. xii. ver. 9.

'*And he said unto me, My grace is sufficient for thee: for my strength is made perfect in weakness. Most gladly therefore will I rather glory in my infirmities, that the power of Christ may rest upon me.*

'In the preceding verses of this chapter, the Apostle records an extraordinary revelation, with which God had favoured him fourteen years before the date of this Epistle. He describes himself as caught up into the third heaven—which he calls Paradise, where he heard unspeakable words, &c. verses 2—4. It is evident from the meaning and design of the context, that this was related concerning himself.—His use of the third person in the description, was the result of that

modesty and humility, which are the inseparable companions of real worth; and which shone so conspicuously in the spirit and conduct of St. Paul.—He who, for more than fourteen years, had concealed such a distinguished privilege, was sure, when constrained to disclose it, to do it with the greatest possible caution and diffidence.—Who would have supposed, that such a glorious manifestation could have been liable to any abuse; or that such sacred discoveries should have produced any injurious influence? Earthly honours are, from their very nature, dangerous and ensnaring.—But can divine favours and spiritual attainments do any harm?—Yes! without great circumspection, they certainly may—so St. Paul found it.—He was in danger of being exalted above measure.—To prevent this, *there was given him a thorn in the flesh, &c.*—The Apostle prayed earnestly and repeatedly for its removal.—Our text acquaints us with the result of his importunity.—The answer of God to his prayer.—*And he said unto me, &c.*—This circumstance in the Apostle's experience, will lead us to observe

'I.—HIS PECULIAR AFFLICTION.

'II.—HIS SEASONABLE CONSOLATION.

'III.—HIS GRATEFUL RESIGNATION.'

These may be taken as fair specimens of the average style of these Sketches, and will supply, to those who approve of the simple, inartificial method adopted, a sufficient recommendation of the work. Already, we find, its sale has encouraged its Authors to announce a second volume, and we have been informed that they have proved acceptable to regular academic divines;—nay, a D.D. of some literary pretensions, (not, however, one of our London divines,) has condescended to take some of these skeletons, and clothe them with his own eloquence, much to the satisfaction of his unsuspecting audience.

It is but fair to state, nevertheless, that the Authors have not contemplated this use of their labours.

'That our younger brethren,' they say, 'to whom they are respectfully tendered, and for whose use they are specially designed, should servilely copy the schemes of others, and pass them as their own,—is what we dare not recommend; as such a proceeding would too nearly resemble the conduct of the ancient prophets, who were censured by the Almighty for stealing his words "every one from his neighbour;" and only serve to beget a habit of indolence and neglect of study, which is a sore disgrace to a Christian minister, who has to feed the people with knowledge, and to bring out of his treasury things new and old.'

Their object is, to supply their junior brethren, in these sketches, with familiar models of composition in the simplest form; and at the same time it is suggested, that, the subjects being practical, and the observations plain and laconic, these outlines may, as they stand, be read in the family, as a sort of commentary on the texts selected, without encroaching on the time demanded by other duties.—Their chief use, however, will, we apprehend,

be specifically as skeletons to those *irregular* teachers before alluded to, who find it difficult to read a sermon *seriatim* with all the freedom and animation that is desirable, (for, indeed, good readers are among them rather more scarce than tolerable preachers,) and yet, have neither leisure nor ability to compose sermons themselves. We believe that many a well intentioned itinerant, whose extemporaneous effusions are somewhat too palpably deficient in coherence and arrangement, would have been extremely thankful for such a volume as this, by the aid of which he might, with more ease to himself, and more advantage to his hearers, have discharged the function his zeal had prompted him to assume. And to many persons of very respectable talents, sketches of this kind will be of much service. The Authors deserve, therefore, the thanks of the religious public in general for their undertaking.

We waive any further remarks on the sermons themselves, as the modesty of their pretensions may justly exempt them from fastidious criticism; but we wish to suggest, in the event of a second volume, the propriety of adverting, at least occasionally, to "the terrors of the Lord," as an apostolic expedient for "persuading men." There is a rather remarkable abstinence from topics of this description in the present volume. We would also recommend a very sparing use of such unaffecting and trite generalities as the following: 'In the natural world, objects in 'vast variety attract our attention, &c. (p. 12.) 'It has been 'said with a great degree of truth, that man is an animal fond 'of novelty.' (p. 133.) 'Man is naturally an inquisitive creature.' (p. 140.) Common-place sentiments are not to be discarded altogether from familiar instruction, but they should at least possess the merit of appropriateness, and derive weight from their practical importance. It is no small recommendation, in our opinion, of these sermons, that they almost uniformly advert, with sufficient minuteness, to the context. It ought never to be forgotten, that the primary business of the Christian teacher is, to 'open' the Scriptures, by making the Bible its own interpreter.

Art. VIII. *Novi Testamenti Græci Jesu Christi Tameion; aliis Concordantiæ*, ita concinnatum, ut et Loca reperiendi, et Vocum veras Significationes, et Significationum Diversitates per Collationem investigandi Ducis instar esse possit. Opera Erasmi Schmidii. Acad. Witeberg. Græc. Lat. et Mathem. Prof. Accedit nova Præfatio Ernesti Salomonis Cypriani. 2 tom. 8vo. Price 1l. 10s. London. 1821.

THE utility of a Concordance is too well known by the student of the Bible, to require an elaborate statement of the

advantages to be derived from this kind of publication. As aiding the memory in its recollections of particular passages, and as a directory to the single expressions and parallel texts of Scripture, an English Concordance is a valuable acquisition to the unlearned reader. But, to the reader of the Bible in its original languages, a Hebrew or a Greek Concordance answers a purpose still more important. In numerous instances, he will find no means of ascertaining the sense of words so advantageous as that which is afforded by his being furnished with lists of vocabules related to each other. He must frequently proceed to the determination of the import of an expression, by comparing its use in its different connexions, and must therefore be supplied with a catalogue of the several places in which it occurs. When the labour which is necessary for this purpose, and the imperfect manner in which the requisite researches might generally be conducted, are considered, the learned reader will be grateful that there have been compilers as well of Concordances as of Lexicons, and he will know too well what he owes to his own improvement, to require for a Classic author an Index Verborum, and not provide himself with a Concordance to the Bible.

The ancient divisions of the Gospels in the manuscripts of the New Testament and in the volumes of ecclesiastical writers, were the τιτλοι and κεφαλαια, the larger and smaller sections. The number of these divisions was not, indeed, uniformly the same, nor was the distinction between them always preserved; but those which were generally received and appended to the margins of the manuscripts of the Gospels, were, in Matthew, τιτλοι, ξε, larger sections 68. κεφαλαια, τνι, smaller sections 355.—In Mark, τιτλοι, με, larger sections 48, κεφαλαια, σλδ, smaller sections 234.—In Luke, τιτλοι, μγ, larger sections 83, κεφαλαια, ρμβ, smaller sections 342.—In John, τιτλοι, ιθ, larger sections 18, κεφαλαια, σλα, smaller sections 231. These sections were very unequal, and were regulated by the order of the subjects in a more correct manner than the modern divisions. Of the larger sections in Matthew, the 5th—Ε. περι των μακαρισμων, "*The "Beatitudes,*" included the 5th, 6th, and 7th chapters of that Gospel in its present form: the 8th chapter comprises no fewer than seven of the ancient τιτλοι, or larger sections, and thirty-nine of the smaller. In the Acts of the Apostles, and the Epistles of the New Testament, an arrangement was introduced nearly corresponding to the larger sections of the Gospels, but without inferior divisions. These were the Euthalian sections, so called from Euthalius, an ecclesiastical writer of the fifth century, who partly invented and partly adopted them, the Epistles of Paul having previously been distributed in this manner. The smaller portions of the Gospels were known as the Ammonian sections;

and to them Eusebius adapted his arrangement of the contents of the four Gospels in the form of a harmony. The ancient divisions were preferred by Casaubon, who has recorded in the commencement of his notes to the Evangelists, his wish that they might be restored; a measure which may be considered as impracticable, since it would require the remodelling, not only of our Bibles, but also of the innumerable publications which adopt and refer to the divisions in common use. These, however, might be essentially retained, and the sacred text presented in a less broken form than that in which it is usually printed.

The modern chapters of the New Testament were the invention of Hugo de St. Caro in the thirteenth century. He was the author of a voluminous commentary on the Bible, and appears to be the first person who prepared a verbal Index to the Scriptures. In his Edition of the Bible with Notes, the chapters now in use were originally introduced; and to facilitate reference to particular passages, he inserted in the margin the letters A. B. C. D. E. F., making his Concordance to correspond to this notation. The text which he used was the Vulgate. The "Concordantia Latinorum Bibliorum" of St. Caro, included only the declinable words: the indeclinables were afterwards added.

Not satisfied with the apparatus provided by Hugo de St. Caro for referring to the texts of the Bible, the learned printer, Robert Stephens, divided the chapters of the New Testament according to St. Caro's arrangement, into the small portions which constitute our present verses. Henry Stephens, in his address to the reader, prefixed to his Greek Concordance, relates with apparent delight, that this division was made by his father during a journey from Paris to Lyons, and that not only had the predictions of neglect and scorn directed against the innovation totally failed, but that it had been introduced into all the editions of the New Testament—'ideoque non tantum nullam 'laudem consequuturæ, sed in derisum etiam venturæ. At ecce, 'contra eorum damnatricem instituti patris mei opinionem, in-'ventum illud simul in lucem, simul in omnium gratiam venit.'—The verses of Robert Stephens were first introduced into his edition of the Bible published in 1551, and were used in his Latin Concordance originally printed 1555.

A Greek Concordance for the New Testament had not yet appeared. The first work of this kind appears to be the following: "Symphonia sive Novi Testamenti Concordantiæ Græcæ. "Fol. Basle, 1546." The author of this verbal Index to the Greek Testament, was Sixtus Betulejus, who became a follower of Luther, and died in 1554. His work was valuable, but faulty; it was succeeded by the "Concordantiæ Novi Testa-"menti Græco-Latinæ" of Henry Stephens, in 1594, of which a second edition was published in 1600, and to which a supple-

a diet discordant from his anatomy, it cannot be guessed how many of our sorrows are factitious, how many inevitable.'

Now that we have obtained the long lost knowledge of the Eleusinian doctrine, we should be glad to receive a faithful biography of the initiated in illustration of its influence.

Art. XI. *Hints humbly submitted to Commentators*, and more especially to such as have written elaborate Dissertations on the Prophecies of Daniel, and the Revelation of St. John. By William Witherby. 8vo. pp. 54. Price 1s. 6d. London. 1821.

ON perusing the title of this pamphlet, we were prepared to congratulate the Author on the felicity of his choice in selecting the Writers of elaborate Dissertations on the prophecies of Daniel and the Revelation of St. John, as the proper subjects of his admonitory counsels. For no class of writers are hints more necessary. It is scarcely possible, we think, for any sober person to recollect the various publications which have been circulated during the last twenty or thirty years, professedly in illustration of the prophecies of Scripture, without feeling strongly, that the dignity of Revelation was compromised in the numerous instances in which the contents of the sacred volume were made to subserve the prejudices and interests of party politicians, and to furnish incitements to war. The Dissertators themselves might perhaps now learn some salutary lessons from a serious and careful review of their own productions; and might be profitably employed in receiving the hints of some of their readers.

Mr. Witherby, however, does not assume so high an office as that of the corrector of the follies and errors to which we have referred. His "Hints" are of another kind, and are intended to caution Expositors against adopting the common method of interpreting the notes of prophetical time by reckoning 'a day 'a year.' We have, he contends, no ground in Scripture for the distinction of prophetical days and prophetical years. The written text, he maintains, ought to be literally interpreted. The witnesses, for example, Rev. xi. 3, are described as two *only*, and are, therefore, not otherwise to be considered. The time of their testimony is forty-two months, during which they will perform those signs and wonders which are predicted of them. The pamphlet scarcely proceeds beyond the bare statement of the Author's principle, and the enumeration of biblical passages adduced in its support. We entirely concur with him in the high estimate which he has formed of Archdeacon Woodhouse's work on the Apocalypse,—a work which is worthy of most honourable mention, and to which, perhaps, among all the volumes which have been written on the Apocalypse, a competent judge would award the right of precedence.

Art. XII. 1. *Horæ Britannicæ;* or Studies in Ancient British History. By John Hughes. 2 vols. 8vo. London. 1818, 19.

2. *The Welsh Nonconformist's Memorial;* or Cambro-British Biography. By the late Rev. William Richards, LL.D. 12mo. London. 1820.

[*Concluded from Page* 336.]

WE are not aware that any consequence of the least importance is connected with the adjustment of the question, whether the British Islands were ever visited by St. Paul. As to the point of honour between the Church of England and the Church of Rome, we are quite willing to concede to the latter, in any case, an undoubted claim to remoter antiquity; that is to say, we admit that there was a Christian church at Rome before there was one at either Caerleon, Glastonbury, or London. Whether St. Peter ever visited Rome, we cannot tell: we are quite sure that St. Paul did; but, after all that the learning of Bishops Stillingfleet and Burgess has been able to bring in support of the hypothesis, we feel by no means assured that the Apostle of the Gentiles was ever either in England or in Wales. And what if he had been? Of any church which he might have founded in this Island, not a trace, assuredly, is left. Of either the circumstances or the results of such a visit, we have not an historical vestige; for, in the sixth century, no British ecclesiastical records were in existence. It is all but certain, indeed, that the Gospel was conveyed to Britain in the Apostolic age, by the family of Caractacus; but the knowledge of Christianity appears to have been for a long time almost entirely confined to Siluria and the adjacent districts; and even there, it made but little progress, owing, as it should seem, to the want of Christian teachers, and the powerful influence of the Druids. The Welsh Triads, the only historical documents which throw light upon the fact, state, that Brân (Brennus) the blessed, the son of Llyr the Stammerer, was the person who first introduced the Christian religion among the nation of the Cymry, from Rome, where he had been detained for seven years as a hostage for his son Caradoc (Caractacus). He is said to have been accompanied on his return to this country, by Ilid and Cynvan, who are termed Israelites, and Arwystli, (conjectured to be Aristobulus,) 'a man of Italy.' In the middle of the second century, Lucius, or Lleurwg, (called also *Lleufer mawr* or the Great Light,) King of the Silures, and great-great-grandson of Brennus, wrote to the bishop of Rome, requesting, according to Bede, to be admitted into the Christian Church, and soliciting, as it appears from other authorities, the assistance of religious instructors. His request was readily granted, and two missionaries from Rome, named Dwyvan and

Fagan (Duvianus and Faganus), returned with the British envoys Elvan and Medwy to Britain; by whose holy labours, if we may believe the monkish chronicles, idolatry was abolished throughout Britain, and eight and twenty dioceses formed in a trice. Mr. Lingard's version of the story, 'after deducting from the 'account of Nennius and his brethren every *improbable* circumstance,' is as follows: 'That Lucius was a believer in the Gospel; that he sent to Rome Fagan and Dervan, to be more perfectly instructed in the Christian faith; that these envoys were 'ordained' by the *pope*, Evaristus or Eleutherius, and at their return, under the influence of their patron, increased the number of the proselytes by their preaching, and established the British, after the model of the continental churches. But, independently of their authority,' he adds, 'we have undoubted proof that the believers were numerous, and that a *regular hierarchy* had been instituted before the close of the third century. *For* by contemporary writers the church of Britain is always put on an equality with the churches of Spain and Gaul, and in one of the most early of the western councils, that of Arles in 314, we meet with the names of three British bishops, of Eborius of York for the province of Maxima, of Restitutus of London for that of Flavia, and of Adelphius of Richborough for that of Britannia Prima.'*

This legend reads very smoothly. But how came King Lucius to have it in his power to divide the whole Island into dioceses, by the help of Fagan and Dervan, when it is quite certain that he had as little authority in London and York as he had in Gaul or Spain? There could have been at this period not even a petty provincial sovereign who was not a vassal of the Romans; and King Lucius was no more than this. Mr. Hughes says:

'Archbishop Usher has found in an old Saxon Chronicle, a narration respecting this affair, which makes Lucius king of the Brit-Walli or the Britons of Wales, which is a more probable account of him than that which makes him King of Britain: for there never was in ancient times any one monarch of Britain, excepting that the various princes occasionally elected some popular leader to be their supreme ruler and generalissimo upon extraordinary emergencies. He was in fact a Silurian prince, upon good terms with the Romans, and beloved by his people. He is styled in the Triads, one of the three blessed princes, (the other two being Brân and Cadwallader,) on account of his being the founder of the first church, or place of Christian worship, which he erected at Llandaff; and he publicly acknowledged and afforded legal protection to all who professed the Christian faith. His territory extended not beyond the present county of Monmouth

* Hist. of England. Vol. 1. p. 49.

and a part of Glamorgan. Being descended from a race of princes who had in former ages been elected to exercise sovereign power over the confederated Britons, he might, perhaps, among his own people, be honoured with the style and title of King of the Britons. Vol. II. pp. 45, 6.

The conversion of King Lucius, then, cannot be considered as the era of the first introduction of Christianity into Britain, as the Romish writers pretend, nor does it give us the date of the English hierarchy. Although a fact of considerable historical interest, its importance was chiefly local. The very circumstance of Lucius's sending envoys to Rome, proves, that he was previously acquainted with the Christian religion, that Christianity had already an existence in that part of the Island; while it strengthens the probability of the statement, that it had been originally brought from Rome by his immediate ancestors, to which place, as the supposed source of the traditional faith, he would naturally send for further instruction. But, for the first propagation of Christianity in the eastern and central parts of the Island, we must look to other and more general circumstances connected with the early history of England.

Although we have no authentic account of any Apostolic mission to Britain, although it is altogether matter of hypothesis, who the two Israelites and the supposed Aristobulus were, who accompanied the Silurian prince on his return from Rome, still, the concurrent testimony of the Fathers is decisive, that Britain was one of the countries which were favoured with the light of the Gospel in the Apostolic age. The assertion of Eusebius, that 'some of the Apostles passed over the ocean to the Bri-'tish isles,' is too vague to be relied on in any other sense than, that some of the preachers of the Apostolic age visited Britain. The intercourse between this country and Rome, at once explains, however, how Christianity of necessity made its way into those parts of the Island which were subjugated by the Romans. Further details, could they be obtained, might gratify an innocent curiosity, but could answer no higher purpose. Both Pomponia Græcina, the wife of the proconsul Aulus Plautius, and Claudia, a British lady, who had married the senator Pudens, are, on very plausible grounds, believed to have been Christians. The former is supposed by Bishop Stillingfleet, to have been one of St. Paul's converts: she was charged with having embraced a strange and foreign superstition, and her trial was entrusted to her husband, who appears to have connived at her alleged crime, rather than to have investigated the charge with severity. But we have no means of ascertaining whether those solitary instances of supposed conversion, led to any important results. They are interesting chiefly as serv-

ing to illustrate the indirect and incidental way in which, by means of intermarriages between the Romans and the conquered nation, the return of British prisoners, or the influx of Roman colonists into Britain, and, possibly, of refugees in the times of persecution, the Christian doctrine would silently but certainly diffuse itself, so that before the close of the second century, it had penetrated among the independent tribes of the North: *Britannorum inaccessa Romanis loca, Christo vero subdita.* (Tertullian.)

The persecution under Diocletian was, in Britain, singularly mild, owing to the enlightened government of Constantius. The churches in every district, indeed, we are told by the monkish writers, were levelled with the ground, and many hundreds of Christians are said by them to have suffered both torture and death; but the British martyrology of this period is so exceedingly scanty, as to warrant the suspicion, either that the Christians were comparatively few, or that the persecution was very partial. The name of Alban, a citizen of Verulam, and those of Julius and Aaron, citizens of Caerleon upon Usk, have been alone preserved by Gildas; and it is remarkable that all these were Roman citizens. Alban is stated to have been a person of considerable rank, descended from Roman ancestors, and an officer under the Roman government. He was accused of secreting a Christian teacher from Caerleon, the Amphibalus of the British Chronicles; and, refusing to give up his guest, who had, it seems, been the instrument of his conversion to the faith, he was himself brought before the heathen tribunal, and, on his professing himself a Christian, condemned to death. Amphibalus is said to have suffered at the neighbouring town of Redburn. He is conjectured by Mr. Hughes to have been one of the two citizens of Caerleon mentioned by Gildas; Amphibalus, a word denoting an upper garment, being given to him in the Chronicle by mistake. Julius or Julian, he supposes to be the St. Sulien to whom some churches in Wales are dedicated; Aaron was probably Caran or Garan. Verulam and Caerleon are the only places which appear to have furnished at this period a martyr. The number of those who suffered at Verulam, is indeed said to have been no less than a thousand; and the same round number of persons are mentioned as suffering in some part of Wales. But, remarks Mr. Hughes,

> as the storm soon blew over, and it does not appear that it raged with any great violence in this Island, the accounts which speak of such a host of martyrs must be considered as utterly fabulous, the device of the monks of the middle ages. This persecution, in all probability, extended only to a few of the most zealous professors of Christianity. What confirms this is, that in those old Welsh fragments of the British saints and martyrs, we have no account of any who suffered in the Dioclesian persecution; and, by every thing which we can find, the

Roman citizens were the only sufferers. The native Britons were still under the government of their own princes, and left to follow their own domestic regulations, provided they acknowledged themselves subject to the supreme rule of the Romans.

'We have before observed that, first of all, owing to the usurpations of Carausius and Alectus, the British Church escaped the provincial persecutions raised by Galerius; and then, owing to the mildness of Constantius, the storm never raged violently here. In Spain and Gaul, the persecution raged to that degree, that the emperors flattered themselves that they had utterly extirpated the Christian religion, as appears by certain monuments, the inscriptions on which are preserved in Gruterus, containing these words, *Nomine Christianorum deleto*; upon another, *Superstitione Christi ubique deleta*. When Constantius attained the imperial dignity, the persecution was immediately put a stop to in the western provinces: this good prince, during the two years in which he enjoyed the supreme power, proved a father to the Britons and the Christian Church among them.'

Under the reign of the Emperor Constantine, a rapid advancement in civilization took place in this country, and the Roman literature, the Roman arts, and Roman luxury found their way to the towns of the once rude and hardy Britons. 'From this time,' says Bishop Stillingfleet, 'we may date the 'flourishing condition of the British Church.' As the best comment on this assertion, we insert Mr. Hughes's judicious remarks on this period of our ecclesiastical history.

'It has been generally supposed that, during the reign of Constantine the Great, the Christian religion took deep root in Britain, and shared the royal patronage in common with other provinces of the empire. The British Christians improved in the external splendour which marked the progress of religion during this sunshine of its prosperity: the edifices appropriated for public worship were rendered decorous, and perhaps had a degree of magnificence suited to the established religion of the empire; and the clergy were treated with respect, and dignified with the notice of great men. But the hierarchy which flourished in other countries, under the fostering wing of Imperial favour, did not meet with a soil so congenial in this Island; and it is not easy to decide whether a regular diocesan church government obtained here during this century. There were bishops, it is true, in several of the great towns and cities; but these were not yet loaded with temporal honours and large revenues. We may form some conjecture respecting their situation, from what is related of the British bishops at the council of Ariminum; for while all the others bore their own expenses, they alone accepted of the Emperor's bounty, and had their charges defrayed at the public cost.

'Druidism, although formally proscribed by the Romans, and opposed by Christianity, was still adhered to in the secluded parts of the country, while even too many who professed the true religion, were more heathens than Christians at heart. We cannot find there were any men of a truly apostolic spirit in this age, who nobly stood

up on behalf of the Gospel, and, like burning luminaries, diffused the knowledge and practice of its benign religion among their countrymen.'

'Those among the Britons who were enrolled among the Roman citizens, and acquired the language and the literature of the empire, which was now nominally Christian, were possessed of many advantages over those who still remained under the more immediate government of their own princes. The latter enjoyed but little cultivation either in civil or religious matters; and it is doubtful whether they had yet the word of God in their native language, if they had any Christian worship at all, except among the Silurian Britons. Our accounts of the state of religion in Britain during this age, (the fourth century,) are very confused; and there is reason to think that even the forms of Christianity were not generally adopted within the province. The luxury and the heathen propensities of the Roman Britons, and the rude fierceness of the natives, presented very powerful obstacles to the spread of the religion of Christ. The religious characters of the age were more disposed to flee from the world, than to combat its vices and its errors, and bear an open testimony for the truth of Christ. Such were Kebius and others.'

At what period 'a regular hierarchy' was nominally instituted in Britain, and the country laid out into dioceses, it is quite immaterial to inquire, since this would assist us but little in our researches into the religious state of the kingdom. The signatures of three English bishops to the acts of the council held at Arles, prove that, under the Imperial government, an episcopacy had been established in the parts of Britain subject to the Romans; but they prove nothing more. 'There were as yet,' Mr. Hughes remarks, 'no archbishops and metropolitans, at 'least among the British clergy;' the 'regular hierarchy,' therefore, was far from being perfected. Nor does it appear that the western parts of the Island were represented at the council; although Bishop Stillingfleet *conjectures*, that the third signature, *(De Civitate Col. Londin.)* which is by Spelman and Usher supposed to stand for *Camalodunum* (Colchester or Maldon), while others have referred it to Lincoln, and, as in Lingard, to Richborough,—was for *Isca Silurum* or Caerleon. But nothing can be wilder than the supposition that, prior to the reign of Constantine, there existed among the petty sovereignties into which Britain was subdivided,—among tribes of different origin and speech, who were still, for the most part, heathen, a connected hierarchical episcopacy. By the British Church, we must understand at this period, the Roman Church in Britain. The council or assembly at Arles, was summoned by the Emperor, who selected the judges at his pleasure; and there can be little doubt that these British bishops owed their creation, as certainly they owed their appointment as delegates, to the Imperial favour. It was but natural that Constantine

should choose to assimilate the ecclesiastical government of this important province of the Empire to that of the continental churches; and it rested only with himself to effect this. York, which Constantius had chosen for his residence, and where he was interred, would have a strong claim to the honours of ecclesiastical precedency: and accordingly, the signature of Eborius bishop of York, is the first of the three. That Britain was the native country of Constantine, and York his birth place, there is still room to question; although there is a singular concurrence of testimonies in favour of the opinion. But it was certainly the country which first beheld the Emperor Constantine. Constantius having declared him his successor in the western empire, he was, immediately on his father's death, proclaimed emperor by the army in Britain, and the imperial purple was transmitted to him in this country. This circumstance, together with his father's partiality to Britain, and his preference of it as a residence, will sufficiently explain the honours conferred upon the British bishops, and the equality on which the Church of Britain was placed with the Churches of Gaul and Spain, without having recourse to the supposition, that either its antiquity or its extent entitled it to such consideration; that its hierarchy was founded by King Lucius, or its episcopacy derived from St. Paul. After all, in what sense these prelates were diocesan bishops, or what was the extent of their dioceses, is extremely doubtful; nor is there any other document than the signatures to the acts of the council of Arles, to authorize the statement, that diocesan bishops were settled in most, if not all the principal cities of this Island. That document affords a strong presumption only, that the ecclesiastical government of Britain resembled that of other parts of the empire. But 'the sunshine 'of royal favour,' remarks Mr. Hughes, 'tended but little 'to the real prosperity of the Christian Church in Britain, 'any more than in other countries.'

We feel no disposition to plunge into the Pelagian controversy. Mr. Hughes goes into the history of it at considerable length, and to his pages we must refer our readers. Mr. Richards discovers a strong feeling in favour of his countryman. Pelagius, whose real name was Morgan, is supposed to have been a native of Glamorgan, and to have received his education at the seminary of Caer Worgan, established by the Emperor Theodosius. He is generally believed to have imbibed his heterodox notions at Rome; but Mr. Richards contends for the probability,

'that the tenets or religious opinions of the British Christians, and of their countryman Pelagius, were the very same, and that any difference found between them and the doctrine of the New Testament, was owing to a tincture of Druidism, which their religion had im-

bibed from a long intercourse with the votaries of that ancient institution, many of whom had, from time to time, become proselytes to Christianity. This conclusion will be strongly corroborated by comparing what have been deemed the principal errors of the Pelagians, with the most authentic accounts we have of the Druidical or Bardic system.'

Mr. Hughes objects against this hypothesis, which was first started by the learned Author of Cambrian Biography, the following considerations:

'1. Morgan left his native country when a young man; and he lived some time at Rome in great repute before he was charged with unsound doctrine.

'2. We are told that the errors propagated by him and Celestius, were previously taught by Ruffinus.

'3. These errors were considered as built upon certain speculations contained in the writings of Origen; and Pelagius, in his confession of faith, appears anxious to free himself from the Origenian doctrine of the pre-existence of souls.

'4. Several things which entered into the Pythagorean and Platonic philosophy, such as the pre-existence of souls, &c. were much the same as what the Druids held.'

That Pelagius and his adherents were ill treated and grossly calumniated, and that 'they were much better men than some 'of their adversaries,' as Mr. Richards says, may be admitted. This is not saying much in their favour, nor is it much to the purpose. Pelagius was one of the most learned men of his day, subtle and acute in argument, dispassionate in his temper, and blameless in his morals. His error was precisely of that description into which a man of his character and temper would be apt to fall, in pursuing his metaphysical speculations beyond the limits of human knowledge. On most points he professed himself an orthodox believer; but there is reason to doubt his spirituality of mind. His style and manner are those of one who had corrupted the simplicity of the Gospel by a vain philosophy. On the other hand, Mr. Hughes remarks, that his opponents 'trod on the verge of fatalism;' that they sometimes 'fought in the dark, not properly understanding each other's 'meaning, nor having compassion on each other's infirmities;' so that 'the Church was in danger of becoming, with regard to 'these abstruse disputations, a sort of Pandemonium.' Pelagius has been accused, and not altogether without reason, of prevarication and sophistry; but his tenets necessarily involved him in embarrassments and in inconsistencies which might give to his conduct the appearance of vacillation. It has been the universal practice of controvertists, to attempt to fasten on their opponents the odium of inferences, supposed to be deducible from their doctrines, which the abettors of those doctrines dis-

avowed and rejected. His errors, however, were certainly, in their tendency, destructive of all piety. Mr. Hughes justly remarks with respect to them: 'He who denies our fall in 'Adam, cannot consistently believe in our restoration through 'Christ.'

To put a stop to the contagion of the Pelagian heresy, which had been brought over to Britain by Agricola, a Gallic prelate, the British Christians had recourse to the advice and assistance of the bishops of Gaul. At a synod convened in consequence, Germanus bishop of Auxerre, or, as the Welsh call him, Garmon, was deputed to visit this country, which he did twice; once, with Lupus of Troyes, in 429, and again in 446 with Severus of Treves. 'The necessity of their coming over, indi-'cates,' says our Author, 'the helpless situation of the Church 'in this Island.' But it seems that 'the British Church' had frequently sent over, before this, to implore the assistance of their brethren in Armorican Gaul. Lingard contents himself with briefly stating, that, by the authority of Germanus, 'the 'new doctrines were condemned and suppressed;' having previously intimated, that that authority was derived from *Papal* appointment, for which assertion there is no foundation. The conference in which Garmon and his holy colleague triumphantly confuted the Pelagians, was held, according to an 'ancient tra-'dition,' at Verulam; and Mr. Whitaker is delighted to recognise in the ruins of St. German's chapel near St. Alban's, the undoubted memorial of the very spot upon which Germanus stood when he spoke at the conference. A vague tradition of this kind, however, is but a slender support for so improbable a statement. The visit of Garmon appears to have been made to the western churches only. Tradition has preserved his name in Cornwall; and in Wales, there are several churches consecrated to him, 'particularly one in the county of Denbigh, known 'by the name of St. Harmon, or Lan Armon in Iale.' The scene of the Halleluia victory is believed to have been near Mold, a town about ten miles from Chester and fourteen from Denbigh. The schools for the education of the clergy, which he instituted on his second visit to Britain, were all, so far as appears from any account transmitted to us, in Wales. Mr. Hughes is led to infer from this circumstance, that Christianity had never taken deep root among the natives in most other parts. This is not improbable; but we should rather conclude, that the visit of Germanus was undertaken at the solicitation of the Silurian Christians, and that his labours were confined to that part of the Island. If this was not the case, the Saxon invasions have swept away all traces of them in the eastern and central provinces.

And now, for nearly a hundred and fifty years, we lose sight of the Church of England, and must again understand by the

British Church, the churches of the Cambro-Britons. On the abandonment of Britain by the Romans, intestine divisions, the irruptions of the Picts and the Scots, and finally, the Saxon invasions, replunged the country into barbarism; and the short-lived hierarchy of Constantine was annihilated. By the conclusion of the sixth century, South Britain, in consequence of the predominance of the Anglo-Saxons, had relapsed into Paganism. In Wales, and those parts of the Island of which the native Britons retained possession, the forms of Christianity were still preserved.

'They had regular diocesan bishops, besides the various orders of inferior clergy, sent out in general from the religious houses with which Wales and Cornwall abounded. The bishoprics of Landaff, Margam, Lanbadarn, St. David's, St. Asaph, and Bangor, with that of St. Cebius in Anglesea, were now established and endowed. Columba, Kentigern, and Ninian, had evangelized the Northern Britons. From the account that Gildas gives of all classes, clergy as well as laity, the corruption of manners appears to have become general; and religion seems to have had a very faint influence on the community as a practical principle.....The clergy are charged (by him) with ignorance, insolence, and rapaciousness: he calls them haters of the truth, and lovers of falsehood, exhibiting the worst examples to the flock, and therefore unfit to reprove them for their vices. He charges them with the most shameful avarice, sensuality, and dissimulation. He bids the people beware of such ravening wolves, or otherwise that the blind, being led by the blind, would fall into the pit of hell. As to the few whom he exempts from the heavy charges which he brings against the generality, he blames them for their supineness in not reproving others, and compares them to Eli, with whom God was so displeased for conniving at the wickedness of his sons.

'We may be disposed to blame the warmth and asperity of this old Briton, and the abruptness of his manner; but he lived in turbulent times; and things were getting to a most awful state, as it respected both the leading characters of the age and the community at large. Lands were freely given to the church, and this might be thought to argue great liberality and respect for religion: but this was not always the cause of those donations, or rather alienations. When the great men had been guilty of any enormities, in order to expiate the offence, and be liberated from ecclesiastical censures, they gave up certain parts of their property as devoted to "God and the Church." Whole districts were thus alienated to the Church, of which the names are retained in the old Landaff manuscript; so that the Silurian clergy in the sixth and seventh centuries, were rendered exceedingly opulent. The consequence was, that wealth begot avarice and sensuality, and the ministers of the sanctuary became earthly-minded.'

Hughes. Vol. II. pp. 249,—241, 2.

Such was the state of things when Augustine landed in Kent, and, by effecting the conversion of the Saxon monarch, Ethel-

bert, laid the foundations of the English hierarchy, in subordination to the Roman See. Pope Gregory had directed him to make choice of London for the metropolitan seat; but, whether by the choice of Augustine or that of Ethelbert, Canterbury, which had been the residence of the King, and which, together with the surrounding country, was bestowed upon the missionaries, received the honours of the primacy. The attempt of that haughty and ambitious prelate to subjugate to his metropolitan authority, 'the old British clergy,' is, by the learned but partial historian to whose pages we have so often referred, glossed over with palpable disingenuousness. 'From the conversion of 'the Saxons,' says Mr. Lingard,

'the zeal of Augustine was directed to *the reformation of the Britons*. During one hundred and fifty years of unsuccessful warfare, the ancient discipline of their church had been nearly abolished, and the lives of their clergy were disgraced by vices the most repugnant to their profession. To which of the British sees the archiepiscopal jurisdiction* had been originally attached, is at present unknown; but Gregory had written to Augustine, *that he had subjected all the bishops of Britain to his authority*. The missionary, with the aid of Ethelbert, prevailed on the British prelates to meet him at a place which has since been called Augustine's oak in Worcestershire.—After a long and unavailing debate, the conference was adjourned to another day. In the interval the Britons consulted a neighbouring hermit, who advised them to watch the behaviour of Augustine; if he rose to meet them, they were to consider him as a man of unassuming disposition, and to listen to his demands: but if he kept his seat, they should condemn him of pride, and reject his authority. With this *sapient* admonition, which left the decision of the controversy to *accident*, seven bishops, with Dinoth, abbot of Bangor, repaired to the place of conference. Augustine *happened to be seated*; and did not rise at their arrival. Both his reasons and his authority were consequently despised. In points of doctrine there had been no difference between them: and to facilitate their compliance in other matters, the archbishop had reduced his demands to three heads: that they should observe the Catholic computation of Easter; should adopt the Roman rite in the administration of baptism; and should join with the missionaries in preaching to the Saxons. Each of these *requests, in obedience to the advice of the hermit*, was pertinaciously refused. "Know then," exclaimed the missionary *with the tone of a prophet*, "that if you will not assist me in pointing out to the Saxons the way of life, they, by the just judgement of God, will prove to you the ministers of death." He did not live to see the prediction verified.'†

* The British historians state, that Dinoth, in disputing at large against receiving the authority of the Pope, with Augustine, defended the prerogatives of the archbishop of St. David's, affirming it not to be for the British interest to own either the Roman pride, or the Saxon tyranny.

† Hist. of England. Vol. I. pp. 88, 4.

On this version of Bede's more honest statement, we have only to remark in a few words: 1. That if 'the reformation' of the British clergy had been the missionary's object, it is strange that all his zeal should have been wasted on mere ceremonial differences. Of the three points to which, we are told, Augustine reduced his demands, two were not of the slightest importance except as affecting the question of uniformity, and as to have yielded to the Church of Rome in those matters, would have been to acknowledge its jurisdiction. The third demand was only a more specious mode of requiring their recognition of the Saxon government as well as the Roman supremacy. 2. That the reformation of the Britons was not his real object, is evident from his errand. Mr. Lingard tells us, that Pope Gregory 'had subjected to his authority, all the bishops of Britain.' To assert this prerogative and receive their homage, was the purpose he had in view, and to carry it, or, as Mr. L. shrewdly phrases it, 'to facilitate their compliance in other matters,' he had recourse alternately to the appearance of moderation, and the language of vindictive menace. 3. His keeping his seat was a tolerably intelligible indication that he did not meet the British prelates as his equals: it was one of those 'accidents' which betray the character. 4. If this took place, as Mr. L. states, at a second interview, it could not be the cause of their rejecting his demands and disputing his authority in the first 'long and 'unavailing debate.' 5. The passage in Bede, which states Augustine to have died before the slaughter of the monks at Chester, contrary to the testimony of other writers, is maintained by several eminent antiquaries to be an interpolation in the *Latin* copies. There is reason to believe, both that he lived to see his imprecation verified, and that he had some share in promoting its accomplishment, by instigating Ethelbert to encourage the Northumbrian invasion.

'Thus nobly,' says Mr. Hughes, 'did the Cambro-Britons 'stand up for the independency of their churches;' and as martyrs in the cause of civil and religious liberty, they are entitled to our admiration and sympathy. But in this light only can the characters of the Cambrian prelates be regarded with complacent feelings. Religion had little share in this struggle for ecclesiastical independence. We have but too certain evidence, that the corruption of Christianity by monkery and paganism, among the British Christians, and the dissolute lives of their clergy, kept pace with the progress of the Romish apostacy. After the death of Augustine, Paganism revived in Kent, and the people of Essex and Middlesex, having also relapsed into idolatry, long continued obstinate in their hostility to Christianity. The Saxon kings who were nominally Christians, were for the most part no better than heathens. Towards the close of the

seventh century, however, the whole of the Anglo-Saxon heptarchy had received the Christian religion as it was taught by the priests of Rome. But 'Monkish Christianity,' remarks the elegant historian of the Anglo-Saxons, 'was not Apostolic 'Christianity. The system which the Papal hierarchy esta-'blished in England and in Europe, was an attempt to transfer the 'government of the world into the hands of ecclesiastics, under 'the name of Christianity, but by a complete departure from its 'spirit and precepts.' Ages of Gothic darkness ensued; the Churches of Cambria at length bowed to the yoke of Papal bondage, and the ecclesiastical history of the country from that time to the appearance of Wicklif, is but the history of Popery.

The biographical sketches which occupy the greater part of Mr. Richards's volume, commence with the seventeenth century. They supply some interesting illustrations of the history of the Welsh Baptists, who, Mr. Richards complains, have been by no means fairly dealed with by Neale and Calamy. Vavasor Powell, in particular, is stigmatised in Palmer's Nonconformist's Memorial, as a fifth-monarchy man, apparently without any justice. The materials collected by Mr. Richards, form an acceptable supplement to the history of the English Dissenters, and will be of service to future compilers. Mr. Richards has displayed much candour and some industry in these sketches, in which he is more at home than in disquisitions on Druidical antiquities. The true Cambro-Briton is discernible throughout, in the Author's zeal for religious liberty, and his sensitive jealousy of every thing bordering on ecclesiastical encroachment. We question whether *he* would have given Augustine the monk, a second meeting.

Should this volume reach a second edition, we would suggest to the Editor, the expediency of reducing its bulk, and thereby its price, by omitting the disquisition, pp. 11—19., and the whole of the appendix, and curtailing the prefatory matter. The only part of the appendix that is at all worthy of preservation, should have found a place in the memoirs of the Author.

Art. XIII. *The True Age of Reason; or a fair Challenge to Deists.* A candid Examination of the Claims of Modern Deism, containing a Demonstration of the Insufficiency of unassisted Reason to lead Mankind to Virtue, to Happiness, and to God. By George Redford, A. M. 12mo. pp. 44. Price 1s. London. 1821.

THE Author of this Tract avows his conviction of the impolicy and inconsistency of all attempts to suppress Infidelity by criminal prosecutions; and he is on this account anxious to shew, that persons holding this sentiment are not indif-

ferent to the success of Divine truth, or unmindful of the infuriated attacks which it has recently sustained.

'If all Christians who possess the ability and the opportunity, would resist infidelity by sound argument, and prove themselves faithful to their own profession, the occasion for legal prosecutions—those libels upon the best of causes, which are infinitely more pernicious than all the open attacks of unbelievers,—would speedily be taken away by the decline of the evil against which they are professedly employed.'

Mr. Redford has confined himself to the examination of what he regards as the essential principle of Deism,—'the sufficiency 'of unassisted reason.' Going back to that period in the history of human nature, 'in which the mind of man seems to have ar-'rived at the very zenith of its self-sustained glory,' he shews how utterly inadequate, in that 'true age of reason,' the combined genius, and learning, and wisdom of the most admired sages were to discover the simplest principles of true religion. This he shews in detail in reference to, 1. the Divine Unity; 2. the worship of a Supreme Being; 3. the standard of morals; 4. the moral government of the world; 5. the Divine Placability; 6. the immortality of the soul. Mr. R. acknowledges his obligations for some of his statements to Dr. Dwight's "Na-"ture and Danger of the Infidel Philosophy." He would have done his readers a service by referring them also to Bishop Berkeley's Minute Philosopher; a work highly deserving of being reprinted. We cordially recommend the present Tract as a concise and well written exposition of the argument selected for illustration. The classical references should have been more specific, in order to be of any use to the studious inquirer.

ART. XIV. SELECT LITERARY INFORMATION.

*** *Gentlemen and Publishers who have works in the Press, will oblige the Conductors of the* ECLECTIC REVIEW, *by sending information (post paid) of the subject, extent, and probable price of such works; which they may depend upon being communicated to the public, if consistent with its plan.*

In the press, a new edition of Neal's History of the Puritans, by Toulmin, in 5 vols. 8vo. Carefully revised, corrected, and enlarged, by W. Jones, author of the "History of the Christian Church."

Mrs. Schimmelpenninck, author of a Tour to Alet, Narrative of the Demolition of Port Royal, &c. has in the press, a work entitled "Biblical Fragments." The object of Mrs. S. is to encourage amongst her own sex a taste for Scriptural reading, and for bestowing a portion of that time, and that exercise and culture of the mind on the infallible Word of God, which, in this age of increased intellectual female cultivation, is so often lavished upon vain accomplishments. It will be comprised in one small volume, 8vo.

In the press, a new edition, corrected and improved, of Dr. Dick's Lectures on the Acts of the Apostles.

In the press, and speedily will be published, an Abridgement of a Voyage to Madagascar, by the Abbé Rochon, containing a description of that Island; an account of the religion, customs, and manners of the inhabitants. To which is prefixed, a highly finished portrait of Prince Rataffe. By Thomas Towne.

In the press, the 8th and concluding volume of the Works of the Rev. John Howe.

Preparing for publication, the Miscellaneous Works of the late Robert Willan, M.D. F.R.S. F.A.S. Comprising, an Inquiry into the Antiquity of the Small pox, Measles, and Scarlet Fever, (now first published,) Reports on the Diseases in London, &c. &c. In 1 vol. 8vo. Edited by Ashley Smith, M.D.

We understand that Mr. Parkes is preparing for immediate publication, an Answer to the Accusations contained in a Letter addressed to him by Mr. Richard Phillips, and published in No. XXII. of the Journal of Science, Literature, and the Arts.

A New Translation of Faustus, from the German of Goethe, will be speedily published, with a portrait of the author, in 8vo. and in 4to. with twenty-seven outlines to illustrate the above mentioned Tragedy. Engraved by Mr. Moses, after Retsch's designs.

A Series of twelve Illustrations for Crabbe's Poems, and another Series of six for Moore's Lalla Rookh, will be published in a few days. They are from designs by Corbould, and were originally engraved for a periodical work. Only a few proof impressions on French paper were taken off for sale as distinct Illustrations of the Poems to which they refer.

Mr. W. M. Craig is printing a Course of Lectures on Drawing, Painting, and Engraving, delivered at the Royal Institution, in an octavo volume, with woodcuts and plates.

Mr. J. I. Wilson is preparing a History of Christ's Hospital, from its foundation to the present time, with memoirs of eminent men educated there.

Mr. Wm. Hutton, an officer in the African Company's service, has in the press, Voyages and Travels in Africa, in an octavo volume, with maps and plates.

The Pirate, by the author of Waverley, is printing in two small octavo volumes.

Dr. John Fleming has in the press, a View of the Structure, Functions, and Classification of Animals, in two octavo volumes, with plates and illustrations.

Mr. Edward Baldwin, author of "Fables Ancient and Modern, the Pantheon," &c. &c. has in the press, a compendious History of Greece, from the earliest records of that country to the period in which it was reduced into a Roman province; to be adorned with maps and authentic portraits of the most eminent Greeks, which he conceives to be well adapted to gratify general curiosity, at a time when recent transactions have particularly drawn the curiosity of the public to that part of the world.

Mr. I. H. Glover is preparing a Bio-

graphical Dictionary of Literature, from the year 1700 to the end of 1820, containing the title, &c. of every principal work which has appeared during that period.

Mr. W. T. Ward will soon publish, in octavo, Practical Observations on Paralytic Affections, St. Vitus' Dance, &c. with cases.

Sir S. E. Brydges, bart. will soon publish in three volumes, the Hall of Hellingsley, a tale.

Mrs. Taylor, of Ongar, has in the press, Retrospection, a tale.

Prudence and Principle, a tale, by the author of Rachel, will soon appear.

Mr. D. Boileau has in the press, a Dictionary of French Homonymes, or a new guide to the peculiarities of the French language, particularly designed for those who are desirous of acquiring the language of social intercourse.

The Rev. J. Bosworth will soon publish, the Elements of Anglo-Saxon Grammar; with copious philological notes, illustrating the formation and structure of the English as well as the Anglo-Saxon language.

The Rev. G. Croly is printing, in an octavo volume, the Providence of God in the Latter Days, being a new interpretation of the Apocalypse.

Mr. Wm. Tennant, author of Anster Fair, is preparing for the press, the Thane of Fife, a poem.

Dr. Francis Hamilton has in the press, an account of the Fishes found in the Ganges, and its branches, in a quarto volume, with a royal quarto volume of plates.

A new volume of Sermons, selected from the manuscripts of the late Dr. James Lindsay, is preparing for the press by his son-in-law, the Rev. Dr. Barclay.

The Philosophical History of the Origin and Progress of the European Languages, by the late Dr. Alex. Murray, with a memoir of his life, written by himself, is printing in two octave volumes.

A Selection from the Papers of the late J. M. Johnson, Esq. consul at Cadiz, which relate to the war in Italy, and the occupation of Sicily by the British, is preparing for publication.

Col. David Stewart has in the press, Historical Sketches of the Highlands of Scotland, with military annals of the Highland regiment, in two octavo volumes.

Mr. Richard Ryan will soon publish in two octavo volumes, Eight Ballads on the Fictions of the ancient Irish, and several miscellaneous poems. He is also preparing for publication, a Catalogue of Works, in various languages, relative to the history, antiquities, and language of the Irish; with remarks, critical and biographical.

Reflections on the Public Ministry of Christ, deduced from the records of the four Evangelists, by the late Mrs. Capper, will soon appear.

Nearly ready for publication, in an octavo volume, the Conveyancer's Guide, a burlesque poem, the second edition considerably enlarged, with numerous notes adapted for the young student in law. By a Conveyancer of Gray's Inn.

The Rev. H. Cotes, Vicar of Bedlington, is about to publish, the Resurrection of Lazarus, in a course of sermons on the eleventh chapter of St. John's Gospel, from the French of Beausobre.

Mr. Mill's Elements of the Science of Political Economy will be published early in November.

The Synopsis of British Mollusca, by William Elford Leach, M.D. will be ready for publication on the 10th of November.

Speedily will be published, the Glories of Messiah, a poem in four cantos. By the Rev. Robert Moffat.

ART. XV. LIST OF WORKS RECENTLY PUBLISHED.

BIOGRAPHY.

The History of George Desmond: founded on facts that occurred in the East Indies, and now published as a useful Caution to young men going out to that country. Post 8vo. 7s.

EDUCATION.

An Introduction to the Grammar of the Latin Tongue; principally taken from the Eton Latin Grammar, but having the Syntax and Prosody in English. There are added throughout, questions calculated to ensure the attention and proficiency of the learner. 2s. 6d. bound. The Accidence or first part may be had separately, price 1s. 6d.

The Literary and Scientific Class Book; consisting of three hundred and sixty-five reading lessons; adapted to

the use of schools of both sexes, for every day in the year, with a thousand questions for examination. By the Rev. John Platts, Author of the Elements of Ecclesiastical History, &c. 12mo. 5s. 6d. bound.

The Young Reviewers; or, the Poems dissected. With three engravings. 18mo. 1s. 6d. half-bound.

Familiar Dialogues on interesting Subjects, intended for the amusement and instruction of young ladies in their hours of leisure on Sundays. By a Lady. 18mo. 2s. half-bound.

The Reader's Guide; being a collection of pieces in prose and verse, designed to exemplify an entirely new system of notation, in which an attempt is made to reduce the art of reading to a simplicity hitherto unattained by any former work upon the subject. With an appendix explanatory of the system and comparing it with the various systems of notation already before the public. By William Andrew, Teacher of Elocution, Edinburgh. 12mo. 3s. 6d. boards, 4s. bound.

Polar Scenes; exhibited in the Voyages of Heemskirk and Barenz to the Northern Regions, and in the Adventures of four Russian Sailors at the Island of Spitzbergen. Illustrated by 36 copper-plate engravings. 12mo. 5s. half-bound, plain, and 6s. 6d. coloured.

Theodore, or the Crusaders, a Tale for Youth. By Mrs. Hofland, Author of the Son of a Genius, &c. With 24 copper plate engravings. 12mo. 5s. 6d. half-bound, plain, and 6s. 6d. coloured.

The India Cabinet opened; in which many natural curiosities are rendered a source of amusement to young minds, by the explanations of a mother. 18mo. 2s. 6d. half-bound.

HISTORY.

An Essay on the Study of Modern History. By James Shergold Boone, Student of Christ Church, Oxford. 8vo. 8s.

An Inquiry concerning the Primitive Inhabitants of Ireland; illustrated by Ptolemy's Map of Erin, corrected by the aid of Barbic history. By Thomas Wood, M.D. Author of the Prize Essay, published in the thirteenth volume of the transactions of the Royal Irish Academy, &c. 8vo. 10s. 6d.

MISCELLANEOUS.

A Series of Tables, exhibiting the Gain and Loss to the Fundholder, arising from the fluctuations in the value of currency. From 1800 to 1821. By Robert Mushet, Esq. 8vo. 7s. boards.

The Universal Guager of Great Britain and Ireland, and general Spirit Calculator: being a practical System of Guaging by Pen, Sliding Rules, Tables, Callipers, and Logarithms, according to the measures hitherto legally adopted in the British dominions: and also according to the new imperial gallon, and containing upward of 40,000 original calculations on guaging, spirits, &c. By William Gutteridge. 8vo. 9s. 6d. boards—10s. 6d. half-bound.

A Plea for the Nazarenes, in a Letter to the British Reviewer. By Servetus. 6s.

Cottage Dialogues. By the Author of Michael Kemp. 12mo. 5s.

Advice to the Young Mother in the Management of Herself and Infant. By a Member of the Royal College of Surgeons. 12mo. 3s. 6d.

NATURAL HISTORY.

The Natural History of British Quadrupeds, with Figures, accompanied by scientific and general descriptions of all the species that are known to inhabit the British Isles; including as well those found in a wild as in the domesticated state; and also such as are clearly authenticated to have been originally indigenous, but are now extirpated or become extremely rare. The whole arranged in systematic order, after the manner of Linnæus. By E. Donovan, F.L.S. W.S. With coloured plates, 3 vols. royal 8vo. 5l. 8s. or in 12 parts, at 9s. each.

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The Lyrics of Horace; being the first four books of Odes. Translated by the Rev. Francis Wrangham, M.A. F.R.S. 8vo. 10s. 6d.

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An Exposition of the Relations of the British Government with the Sultaun

and State of Palembang, and the Designs of the Netherlands Government upon that country; with descriptive accounts of Palembang and of the Island of Banca. By Major W. H. Court, late resident at the court of Palembang, and resident and commandant of the Island of Banca. 8vo. 8s. 6d. boards.

An Apology for the Freedom of the Press. By the Rev. Robert Hall, A.M. a new edition.

The Christian and Civic Economy of Large Towns. By Thomas Chalmers, D.D. No. IX. being the first of a second volume. 1s.

Also Vol. I. complete. 8s. 6d.

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A Summary of Orthodox Belief and Practice, according to the opinions and sentiments of the first Reformers; intended for young persons in the more educated classes of society: principally compiled from the celebrated work of Dean Nowell. By the Rev. John Prowett, A.M. late fellow of New College, Oxford, and rector of Edburton, Sussex. 12mo. 3s. 6d.

The Peculiar Difficulties of the Clergy in India: a sermon preached at the second visitation of the Lord Bishop of Calcutta, at St. Thomas' church, Bombay, on Monday, March 5th, 1821. By the Rev. Thomas Robinson, A.M. chaplain of Poona. 1s. 6d.

The Rights of Sovereignty in Christian States, defended in some chief Particulars: a charge delivered to the Clergy of the Archdeaconry of London, May 24th, 1821; with dissertations and collections illustrating the same subject, with reference to the works of Mr. Hooker and Bishop Warburton, together with those of Grotius, De Marca, and others. By Joseph Holden Pott, A.M. vicar of St. Martin in the Fields, and archdeacon of London. 8vo. 9s.

Plain Discourses, Doctrinal and Practical, adapted to a Country Congregation. By the Rev. Charles Hardinge, A.M. vicar of Tunbridge. 12mo. 6s.

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A Sermon on the same Occasion. By the Rev. J. Evans, Malmsbury. 1s.

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A Sermon on the same Occasion. By Joseph Morison. 1s.

Consolation to Parents amid the loss of children, in two discourses preached at Whitby, on occasion of the death of three boys, who perished in the roads off that town by the upsetting of a boat. By the Rev. Robert Moffat. 8vo. 1s. 6d.

The great Period, or the time of actual Justification considered. By the Rev. T. Young. 12mo. 6s.

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The Consolations of Gospel Truth, displayed in various anecdotes of the dying hours of eminent Christians. By J. G. Pike. Vol. II. 3s. 6d.

TRAVELS AND TOPOGRAPHY.

Notes relating to the Manners and Customs of the Crim Tartars. Written during a four years' residence among that people. By Mary Holderness. With coloured plates. 12mo. 5s. 6d.

A History of Brazil: comprising its geography, commerce, colonization, &c. &c. By James Henderson, recently from S. America. With 27 plates, and 2 maps. 4to. 3l. 13s. 6d.

Pinnock's County Histories. Each County is published separately, and is therefore complete in itself; containing a compendious and accurate account of its history and topography, its antiquities, natural and artificial curiosities, local peculiarities, commerce, manufactures, &c. comprising also the biography of its most eminent persons, and much other useful information; and each county illustrated by a neat and correct travelling map. 1s. each.

THE

ECLECTIC REVIEW,

FOR DECEMBER, 1821.

Art. I. *The History of Religious Liberty*, from the first Propagation of Christianity in Britain, to the Death of George III., including its successive State, beneficial Influence, and powerful Interruptions. By Benjamin Brook. 2 vols. 8vo. pp. xvi, 1098. Price 1l. 4s. London.

IT is no serious disparagement of a good work, that it has a bad title. That which Mr. Brook has chosen in the present instance, amounts almost to a misnomer. It is not the history of religious liberty with which these volumes are occupied, but the history of ecclesiastical tyranny. Religious liberty, during the greater part of the period which they embrace, was a *non-ens*; and its biography might be summed up in a few paragraphs. What, indeed, does the history of the Church ever since the age of Constantine exhibit, but one long bloody struggle for the recovery of the Christian's birth-right, the freedom with which Christ has made him free? Where have there been ecclesiastical rulers who have not manifested their affinity to Antichrist, by usurping a domination over the conscience? Or what is Antichrist, but human power enthroning itself in the temple of God? What Mr. Brook terms 'the doctrine of religious liberty,' has been denounced alike by prelate and presbyter, in every age, as the worst of all possible heresies; and even now, it is admitted as a necessary consequence of our civil liberties, rather than as a principle of Christianity. It is only because ecclesiastical power is chained by the constitution, that religious liberty has in this country an existence. Its history, properly speaking, goes no further back than the Act of Toleration; for, even during the Protectorate, it was far from being established. The Episcopalians, though visited with penalties, not, in reality, for their religious, but for their political opinions, were still exposed to persecution; and all the influence of Cromwell was necessary to prevent the Presbyterian clergy from 'putting their fingers on 'their brethren's consciences to pinch them.' In the reign of

must confess that Smithfield is still to our imagination, a more interesting spot than even Waterloo.

Next in interest to the sufferings of the Martyrs in the reigns of Henry VIII. and Mary, are the unrelenting persecutions endured by the early Puritans in the succeeding reigns. To them we are chiefly indebted, not only for our religious rights, but for our civil freedom. 'To this sect,' Mr. Hume confesses, 'the English owe the whole freedom of their constitution.' But, as *their* persecutors were not Papists, there is a class of writers who imagine themselves called upon to vindicate the immaculate character of the Protestant hierarchy, by pouring contempt on the characters and sufferings of these admirable men. 'It is 'humiliating,' insidiously remarks a writer in the Quarterly Review, 'what has been suffered for no weightier ground of dispute 'in the beginning, than the surplice and the sign of the cross in 'baptism.' It is thus with a dash of the pen, that this heartless and flippant writer would cancel the claims to veneration, of men of whom the world was not worthy, and whose learning and acuteness were in many instances as illustrious as their piety. The Papist would wish for no better confederate than this Reviewer. Among those who made these matters the subject, though not, properly speaking, the ground of dispute, occur the names of Latimer and Hooper, Coverdale and Rogers, Taylor and Bradford, Jewel and Philpot, men who were the glory of the Reformation. Were these men or the Reviewer, the best judges of the validity of their objections to 'the Popish apparel?' The cause in which the Puritans bled, was precisely the same as that for which the first Reformers laid down their lives; they were the victims of the same infernal tyranny; and if *they* were not martyrs, neither were Cranmer, and Ridley, and Latimer.

Had the Puritans and Nonconformists been so fortunate as to have had Papists for their oppressors, it is true, that those who were hanged, would probably have been burned, and those who perished in prison, would have suffered at the stake; but their names would at least have come down to us with all the lustre of martyrs. Whitgift and Parker would not then have been denied the honour of ranking with Gardiner and Bonner, in whose steps they trod; and Sheldon and Ward would have received their due share of infamy. But, unhappily, these prelates were Protestants, and, therefore, the honour of a party requires that history should be gagged or made to perjure herself. The "Lives of "the Puritans" and the "Nonconformist's Memorial," must be restricted to the Dissenter's Library. The infidel Hume, the oracle of that party on most points, must, in reference to this part of our history, be dismissed as a suspicious authority; and Clarendon, the persecutor, shall be admitted as the only impartial witness in his own cause. How pitiable is that party bigotry

which cuts off a man from all intercourse of sympathy with the good and great even of former ages, who range beyond the narrow pale of his own communion, seeming to inflict a moral incapacity to appreciate their heroic worth! It is surely some drawback on the privilege of belonging to any church, to be required to propitiate its jealousy by such a sacrifice of generous sentiment and Christian feeling.

It might have been thought, that the old feud between the Hierarchy and the Puritans, would by this time have worn itself out, for want of persons sufficiently implicated in the original quarrel, to feel much concern in prosecuting it. For what more has the present Establishment to do with the Church of Elizabeth, than with that of Philip and Mary? Or what have the Dissenters of the present day to do with the excesses of the 'Fanatics' in the days of Cromwell and Hugh Peters? If religious liberty be an evil, and ecclesiastical tyranny a good, or if there are persons who deem them such, then, the solicitude manifested to bring forward with every malignant aggravation, the alleged excesses of the republicans, and to cast a veil over the transactions of the preceding and the subsequent reigns, is rational and easily to be accounted for. But otherwise, to undertake, at this time of day, a vindication of the bloody tyranny of the Tudors, and the not less arbitrary and intolerant government of the Stuarts, and to become the panegyrist of Strafford and of Laud, would seem to be a task so perfectly gratuitous as well as ungracious, as to be unworthy of any writer of talent or character. Our readers, however, cannot but be aware, that the press teems with reviews, magazines, charges, sermons, and other writings, in which the warfare against Puritanism, ancient and modern, is kept up with all the zest and spirit which animated the politicians and prelates of persecuting times. The Bible Society has roused the slumbering spirit of intolerance. The times when the Church had its synods and convocations, is perpetually adverted to as the good old days, the golden age of its prosperity. Charles and Laud are again placed at the head of the noble army of martyrs, while good king William is unceremoniously treated as a well-meaning Dutchman of no great wit and not much courage. The time of the Commonwealth and the Protectorate, is represented by these writers as the only interruption of good government and rational piety,—the only period at the remembrance of which an Englishman needs blush for his country; and on this it is endeavoured so to fix the attention, as to obliterate, if possible, from recollection, all that made the great rebellion necessary, and the more auspicious revolution of 1688, glorious.

Were attempts like these chargeable only on a few harmless and feeble bigots of the *Non-juror* school, or on some jejune

and needy scribblers writing for pence or for preferment, there would be nothing either ominous or extraordinary in the circumstance. But when literary men, whose avocation exposes them to no professional bias, and whose situation in life discharges them from the necessity of becoming the mere hirelings of party, are seen laboriously *transposing* history, wresting it, as the Romanist does Scripture, from its genuine import, in order to make it serve to rivet error and sanction oppression,—when such men, apostates, perhaps, from better principles, are found employing their book-wisdom and their eloquence or ingenuity, in giving fresh currency to forgotten calumnies, and in re-editing the offal of obsolete libellers,—the matter becomes more serious, and it is high time that works like the present were multiplied, in which facts derived from approved historical records, may supply the most effective answer to the special pleadings of party advocates.

We deem the present work a seasonable as well as a valuable publication. Though displaying less research, and containing a smaller proportion of original matter, than Mr. Brook's Lives of the Puritans, it will probably be more acceptable to general readers on account of its being in the form of continuous narrative. The work is confessedly a compilation, a great part of it being given either in the very words of the authorities referred to, or with a slight variation of their language. The historians who are chiefly followed, are, Stillingfleet, Collier, Fuller, Fox, Kennet, Echard, Strype, Burnet, Warner, Welwood, Neal, and Rapin; but other writers are occasionally referred to. Very considerable labour must have been bestowed on the collation of these authorities, and the arrangement of such multifarious materials; and it is labour turned to excellent account. The mere reprint of the documents and statements brought together in these volumes, is a service rendered to the public.

The first chapter comprises the period from the first propagation of Christianity to the death of Henry VII. Section I. contains some preliminary remarks on 'the liberal constitution of the Apostolic Churches,' for which he acknowledges himself mainly indebted to the Author of "Protestant Nonconformity;" but there is a rather awkward interweaving of his own phraseology with that of the writer from whom he has borrowed so largely. In one paragraph (p. 7), Milton's pithy remark, that 'we read not that Christ ever exercised force but once, and that 'was to drive profane ones out of his temple, not to force them 'in,'—occurs without any reference or mark of quotation; and a similar freedom is taken, not with the 'valuable thoughts' merely, but with the expressions of other writers. In the narration of facts, this adoption of the very language employed by the original writer, is, perhaps, allowable, and a general re-

ference may be sufficient to protect the compiler from the charge of plagiarism. But in didactic writing, there seems to be less necessity for borrowing; and as few of Mr. Brook's readers will suspect the extent of his obligations to his predecessors, it might have been as well to indicate by the usual marks of quotation, the passages which are not original. In Section II., on the era of Constantine, Mr. B. has done us the honour of making very free and copious citations from some former articles, but has omitted even to name the Eclectic Review at the bottom of the page. Will he pardon our saying that this is rather an *irreligious* liberty?

We have so recently had occasion to take a review of the early history of the British churches, that we shall not detain our readers with this portion of the work. Some few errors and some vague and hazardous assertions occur, which are not much to be wondered at in treating of a period involved in so great obscurity. For instance, that the 'Christianity of these ages 'was (Christianity) in its purest form;' that 'the exercise of 'public instruction and public worship were duly observed;' that, under the Dioclesian persecution, an incredible number of innocent Christians were tormented and slain; are points on which no doubts, Mr. B. affirms, can be entertained. He is mistaken: they are very doubtful points. His sketch of these times is, indeed, far from satisfactory. The account of Wicklif, though copious, is somewhat deficient in precision. The character of that greatest of the English Reformers is done ample justice to, but some notice should have been taken of his predecessors and coadjutors, in a work professedly historical. This period of our ecclesiastical history is of the highest interest, and deserves the most attentive study. In the Lollards may be recognised under another name, the Puritans of a later day, and to them is certainly due the merit of having laid the foundations of our civil and religious liberties.

The false glory which the fickle sunshine of human patronage and royal favour threw over the nominal Reformation in the reign of Henry VIII., has served to eclipse the purer lustre of the preceding efforts of reformers and martyrs in the reigns of the Plantagenets. The emancipation of the English Church from the supremacy of the Pope by the 'Defender of the Faith,' is usually dwelt upon as a circumstance of the most transcendent importance, involving in it the greatest political blessings. An attentive consideration of the subject will, however, lead us to view this event in a light somewhat different. Preceding monarchs had, when it suited their policy, shewn almost as little regard for the authority of his Holiness, as Henry VIII. did, although they had not gone the length of crowning themselves with the pontifical tiara. The legislative measures adopted in

Parliament had considerably crippled the power of the court of Rome in this country; and old Fuller quaintly remarks, that whereas 'some former laws had pared the Pope's nails to the 'quick, the statute of *Premunire*, in effect, cut off his fingers.' The removal of prelates from the principal civil offices, at the petition of the Parliament, in the reign of Edward III., the withdrawment of the tribute to the Pope, which had been paid ever since the reign of John, and the disregard of the Papal bulls shewn by the same monarch, were bold and decisive steps towards emancipating the nation from the yoke of 'the man of 'sin.' Had Edward III. lived some years longer, or had his magnanimous example been followed up by his royal grandson, and the counsels of John of Gaunt prevailed over priestcraft, it is highly probable that little would have been left for Henry and Cranmer to accomplish in this respect.

It will not for a moment be contended, that Henry had any other than the basest and most selfish motives for abjuring the Pope's supremacy. The only question is, what did the nation gain by this transfer of spiritual prerogative to the crown? It seems to us, that the Act of Supremacy was, at least in its immediate consequences, fatal alike to liberty and to religion. This enormous extension of the royal prerogative, although it seemed to take nothing from the privileges of the people, did, in effect, deprive them of the power of offering any further resistance to the encroachments of ecclesiastical tyranny. So long as the Bishop of Rome was the acknowledged Head of the Church, the spirit of liberty might be allowed occasionally to manifest itself against the usurpations of the clergy, while the monarch sometimes found it to his advantage to cherish this spirit, and to call in the aid of his Parliament to support him against the Pope. Some important concessions to popular freedom had been made with a view to lessen the influence or to restrain the encroachments of the Romish clergy, who formed a powerful aristocracy having interests not always in perfect accordance with those of the Crown. But now that the Church and the State were thus identified, to resist the Pope, was to rebel against the Sovereign. The victim of ecclesiastical oppression had no longer an appeal from the priest to the temporal power, for he was now burned, or hanged, or mulcted, by virtue of the royal prerogative. The clergy, deprived of that foreign influence which had enabled them at times to over-awe the monarch, or, at least, to dispute his prerogatives, sank into creatures and agents of his royal pleasure as the supreme fountain of spiritual power. Ecclesiastical censures fulminated against the crowned head, now fell harmless, or rather, became the height of impiety, since they were pointed at the Head of the Church. The independence of the clergy was, in a word, annihilated. They were thenceforth

incapacitated for taking a public step, until they should receive power and authority, and instructions, from their newly constituted and self-constituted Head—an adulterer, a murderer, and what by many was deemed still worse, a layman.

Of the importance which Henry himself attached to this vast extension of his prerogative, we may judge from the peculiar and extreme jealousy with which he viewed any thing that seemed to trench upon his absolute dominion in matters ecclesiastical. It rendered him absolute, indeed, to a degree which no preceding monarch of England had ever been; more absolute than any contemporary monarch in Christendom. By virtue of this fatal supremacy over the consciences of her subjects, his daughter Mary restored the old popish observances, and rekindled the flames of martyrdom; not scrupling to avail herself of an authority abhorrent from her principles as a Papist, in order to re-establish the religion of Rome. The use which she made of this monstrous prerogative, must not be forgotten, in estimating the blessings which resulted from the Act of Supremacy. 'The 'reader will here pause for a moment,' says Mr. Brook, in commencing on the first acts of Queen Mary, 'to observe the illegality as well as the inconsistency of these measures.'

'There was nothing which the Queen so much desired as the restoration of the ecclesiastical authority and jurisdiction to the highest point to which it had ever arrived: yet, she counteracted this authority and jurisdiction by as flagrant an exertion of her supremacy in the Church, as her father or brother ever exercised, who avowed this supremacy. Thus, contrary to all precedents, and to all ecclesiastical privileges, she, of her own sovereign will and pleasure, empowered a committee of priests, without a single bishop or temporal judge among them, to try and determine a cause of the highest nature; to examine the faith of three bishops, to convict them of heresy, to cast them out of the church, and to commit them into the hands of temporal men to be punished. As king Henry and his son Edward reformed by their supremacy some enormities in the church, against the majority of the people, so queen Mary, by the same power, turned things into the old channel: whatever this power enabled them to do, it enabled her to undo. By her royal proclamations and orders in council, she destroyed the reformation; and, having at length procured the consent of parliament, she restored the whole body and soul of popery.' Vol. I. p. 238.

But when this power fell into the hands of her sister Elizabeth, the absurd consequences of having a female as the lay Head of the Church, were rendered still more glaringly manifest. A female Pope of Rome would have been considered as a monstrous burlesque upon the pontifical character,—a scandal to the Church, and a never failing subject of sarcasm to the Protestant. But what else was the Virgin-queen than a female Pope of England, a lady Pontiff? And in what other light could foreign

churches view this subordination of the episcopacy to the caprice of a female despot, than as a religious farce, although to her own subjects the consequences were most tragical?

'The ecclesiastical supremacy,' remarks Mr. Brook, 'formed a leading character in the reign of queen Elizabeth. Upon the rejection of the papal domination, and the final settlement of the legislative reformation, her majesty's supremacy was permanently established; and no historical fact can be more obvious, than that this supremacy had a considerable share of influence on the great national transactions of this long reign, especially on those relating to religion. The act of uniformity invested the queen with power of a very extraordinary nature; and she failed not to appreciate and exercise this power in governing the religion of her subjects.

'This, however, was only a small portion of that vast power and authority with which her majesty was entrusted. Extraordinary as it may seem, her pliant parliament unwisely invested her with precisely the same authority in the church as the pope had formerly enjoyed, which her majesty most explicitly claimed and exercised in the government of religion. Dr. Burn, in allusion to this, observes, that the princes of this realm, intoxicated with that excess of power which the pope had assumed, would needs understand that the same was not extinguished, but only transferred from the popes to themselves: and they carried similar notions into the civil administration. "This," he adds, "excited disorders and convulsions in the State, and in the end overturned the government."' Vol. I. p. 293.

The English Reformation must, then, be admitted to have had a most baleful influence upon civil liberty. And what were its consequences as respects religion? Originating in the dictates of brutal passion and ambition, begun, carried on, and perfected by violence, every step of its progress marked by blood, it bears upon it none of the characters of a religious transaction; and it left the nation nearly in the state in which it found it, immersed in the darkest ignorance, and under the bondage of the Protestant Antichrist.

Let us for a few moments reflect on what would have been the probable result, had king Henry contented himself with quietly withdrawing his allegiance to the Bishop of Rome, as king Edward III. had done his tribute, disclaiming for himself and his heirs the Papal jurisdiction, and letting the Church in this country take care of itself. In the first place, it is pretty certain, that the progress of real reformation in this country, that is to say, the emancipation of Christianity from the Romish corruptions, would have been, if more gradual, yet, more entire and effectual, and that it would eventually have been carried much further. It is impossible, on reading the declared opinions of the Lollards, not to be struck with the fact, that their views of religion were far more liberal, far more scriptural than those of Cranmer and some of his fellow labourers. The nation appears

to have retrograded since the days of Wicklif; and those among the Reformers themselves who came the nearest to him in sentiment, seem to have laboured under a considerable degree of popish prejudice, and to have had far less clear and consistent ideas of Christianity. Latimer was, perhaps, the most truly apostolic in his sentiments and character. But how far short even the reformation of Edward VI. came of the wishes and intentions of the venerable men whom the Church of England affects to regard as the brightest ornaments of her episcopacy, is clear from extant documents. What put a stop to further improvements at that period, was the death of the admirable young monarch, and the accession of his sanguinary sister. This was the immediate cause. But what rendered it impossible for the work of reformation to go forward except at the bidding of the monarch, was the Act of Supremacy, by which the keys of St. Peter were placed among the regalia, and the faith of the nation was left at the entire disposal of the reigning despot. Henry VIII. and Elizabeth both interposed their sovereign prerogative, not merely to prohibit further innovation, but to make the Church retrace its steps towards popery. The latter, as Mr. Brook remarks, 'commenced her reformation by forbidding her subjects 'to be reformed *sooner*, and closed it by prohibiting them from 'reforming *further*, than she thought proper.' A woman's private opinion on points of doctrine, and her taste in rites and ceremonies, were, to a whole nation, the standard of faith and the rule of religious obedience. And this was called *Protestantism!*

But, secondly, had it not been for this fatal usurpation, ecclesiastical power would never have attained the height which it did in this country under a Protestant hierarchy. When England, or rather its monarch, revolted from the Pope, it seemed at the time that one of the heads of the Apocalyptic Beast was "wounded to death;" but "the deadly wound was "soon healed" when the Papal supremacy was revived under another form; and "all the world wondered after the beast." Prior to this, before the novelty of a royal Head of the Church was contemplated, the Reformers were disposed to regard the alliance of the spiritual functions with temporal power as the very badge of Antichrist. In the Book of Conclusions introduced into Parliament in the reign of Richard II., the sentiments which were then held by the followers of Wicklif on this point, and which had spread very extensively through all ranks of the nation, are thus unequivocally expressed.

'"Our usual priesthood, which took its original at Rome, and is framed to be a power higher than the angels, is not that priesthood which Christ ordained to his disciples. The Romish priesthood is done by signs, pontifical rites and ceremonies, and benedictions, of

no force or effect, having no ground in Scripture; and forasmuch as the bishops' Ordinal and the New Testament *do nothing at all agree;* neither do we see that the Holy Ghost doth give any good gift by any such signs or ceremonies, because that he, with all noble and good gifts, cannot consist and be in any person of deadly sin. It is, therefore, lamentable and dolorous mockery to wise men, to see the bishops mock and play with the Holy Ghost, in giving their orders: their character is the mark of antichrist, brought into holy church, to cloak and cover their idleness. That a king and a bishop both in one person, a prelate and a justice in temporal causes, a curate and an officer in worldly office, puts every kingdom out of good order. Therefore we, the procurators of God in this case, do sue unto the parliament, that it may be enacted, that all such as be of the clergy, as well of the highest degree as the lowest, should be fully excused, and occupy themselves with their own cure and charge, and not with others." In conclusion they add: "Wherefore we earnestly desire and beseech God for his goodness sake, that he will wholly reform our church, now altogether out of frame, unto the perfection of her *first beginning and original.*" ' Vol. I. p. 99.

Scarcely less bold are the declarations of the Reformers of the reign of Henry VIII., as contained in the Bishop's Book.

' "It is out of all doubt, that there is no mention made in Scripture or in the writings of any authentic doctor of the church within the time of the apostles, that Christ did ever make or institute any distinction or difference in the pre-eminence of power, order, or jurisdiction among the apostles themselves, or among bishops themselves; but that they were *all equal in power, order, authority, and jurisdiction.* That there is now, and since the time of the apostles, any such diversity or difference among the bishops, it was devised by the ancient fathers, for the conservation of good order and unity of the catholic church; and by the consent and authority, or at least by the permission and sufferance of princes and civil powers.

' "We think it convenient, that all bishops and preachers shall instruct and teach the people committed to their spiritual charge; that Christ did by express words prohibit his apostles and all their successors, under pretence of authority given them by Christ, from taking upon them the authority of the sword: that is to say, the authority of kings, or any civil power in this world. For the kingdom of Christ in his church is a *spiritual,* and not a *carnal* kingdom of the world. The very kingdom that Christ by himself, or by his apostles and disciples sought here in this world; was to bring all nations from the carnal kingdom of the prince of darkness, to the light of his spiritual kingdom; and so himself to reign in the hearts of the people, by grace, faith, hope, and charity. Therefore Christ did never seek nor exercise any worldly dominion in this world; but rather refusing and fleeing from it, did leave the said worldly government of kingdoms, realms, and nations to princes and potentates, and commanded also his apostles and disciples to do the same. What soever priest or bishop will arrogate or presume to take upon him any such authority, and will pretend the authority of the Gospel to

his defence, he crowneth Christ again with a crown of thorns, and traduceth and bringeth him forth, with his purple robe, to be mocked and scorned by the world." ' Vol. I. pp. 135, 6.

The Bishop's Book was subscribed by the two archbishops, nineteen bishops, and a great number of other dignitaries. Although the above passage may be considered as a protestation against the *assumption* of civil power by the clergy, rather than an explicit disavowal of such power as illegitimate and anti-christian even when derived from the Crown, yet, no one, we think, can imagine that such a union of king and bishop as was afterwards established, was then in their contemplation. Such language as this would not have been held by Queen Elizabeth's bishops, nor would it have comported with the spirit of the ecclesiastical proceedings in her reign. And whatever might have been the views of the Reformers themselves with respect to ecclesiastical power, they could never have put in force their claims to domination over the conscience, had they not been supported by the monarch in his new character of Defender of the Faith. The intolerance of both Papist and Protestant might have spent itself in logical contests and mutual anathemas, had not the State interfered, and put unhallowed weapons into the hands of the hostile parties. Then, the bishops, elated with supreme power, laying aside the sword of the Spirit for that of Mahommed, thought only of converting the nation by act of parliament, forgetting, as the trustees at once of legislative and executive power, their character as the ministers of Christ. The Papists were persecuted on precisely the same grounds as the Protestants in Queen Mary's reign. But the acts of Gardiner and Bonner were in unison with the maxims of the Romish Church, and with the claims of the Head of that Church to worldly dominion. The nation, which had long groaned under the oppression of the Romish clergy, though far from being generally averse to Popery itself, saw in the Reformation an innovation in religion, but no extension of liberty: it was equally opposed to their prejudices and their rights. Hence, the Reformation in King Edward's reign, appears never to have taken deep root among the people. For what difference could it make to them, whether the Pope or the King was the Head of that Church which they knew only in the character of an oppressor? The Act of Supremacy, which made religion a branch of the royal prerogative, necessarily rendered the Church intolerant, and armed that intolerance with power. The High Commission Court, and all the ecclesiastical tyranny of the succeeding reigns, are chargeable on this fatal error in laying the foundations of the Reformed Church.

Thirdly, had the Reformation been left to be effected by the

preaching of the Reformers and the extension of religious liberty, especially in respect of printing and reading the English Scriptures, while the internal reform and government of the Church were left to the bishops, without suffering them to make men either 'fry a faggot or hop headless for nonconformity,'—we can, for our own parts, entertain no doubt that pure and undefiled religion would have spread more rapidly, and that England would have become, in a far higher sense of the word, Protestant;—that her Church would have had to boast of more saints and fewer martyrs.

All that the Reformers stood in need of was, protection. All that the interests of religion demanded of the Civil Ruler, was, that the obstacles to its progress should be removed by a repeal of the bloody statutes of the preceding reigns, and a permission to embrace and to propagate the Reformed faith with impunity. Nothing could have stopped the diffusion of scriptural light and the triumph of Christianity at this period, but the enslavement and secularization of the Church by royal patronage. But for this, the disputes about vestments and ceremonies would soon have subsided: the Papists would have had too much on their hands to wrangle about square caps, and the Reformers would have been better occupied. Finally, had this opportunity been taken to affix constitutional limits to ecclesiastical power, instead of annexing the popedom of the empire to the Crown, all the blood that was subsequently shed in the struggle to maintain unimpaired this precious branch of the prerogative, might have been spared. James would have had no inducement to abjure Presbyterianism, and Charles would not have lost either his head or his crown.

We have dwelt so long on this interesting era in our history, that we must be brief in our notice of the remaining contents of these volumes. But a correct view of the ecclesiastical transactions of the reigns of Henry VIII. and Elizabeth, is necessary in order to appreciate the merits of the ensuing contest between the king and the parliament. James did not carry his notions of prerogative higher than did Elizabeth; but they became him less as a Kirk-bred Scotchman, and there was nothing in his character to support his absurd pretensions. If he did not carry matters with quite so high a hand as the Virgin Defender of the Faith, he talked more about his prerogative than she did, and made that ridiculous by his pedantry, which his predecessor had made terrible by her despotism. Personal vanity was the ruling passion of the British Solomon, and by flattering this weakness, the bishops, who did not scruple to employ the language of blasphemous adulation, easily contrived to get the power into their own hands. James had, at one time, termed the liturgy 'an evil said mass in English,' and had said, that the order of

bishops 'smelled vilely of Popish pride; that they were a prin-
'cipal branch of the Pope, bone of his bone, and flesh of his
'flesh.' But he told his first parliament, that he acknowledged
'the Roman Church to be our Mother Church, although defiled
'with some infirmities and novelties:' and that he would be, for his part, 'content to meet the Catholics in the mid-way, so that 'all novelties might be renounced on either side.' To the parliament of Scotland, he held the most galling and despotic language, laying claim to 'a power innate—a special preroga-
'tive which we that are Christian kings have, to order and
'dispose of external things in the policy of the Church, as
'we by advice of our bishops shall find most fitting.' As a counterpart to this Divine right of kings, was now brought up the Divine right of Episcopacy; the king and his bishops vying with each other, and abetting each other, in their absurd and profane pretensions. James touched upon the climax of vain-glorious presumption, when he asserted in a long speech made in the star-chamber, that 'that which concerns the mystery of
'the king's power, is not lawful to be disputed; for that is to
'wade into the weakness of princes, and to take away the *mys-*
'tical reverence that belongs to those who sit in the *throne of*
'God.' In the mean time,

'As the king was sunk in voluptuous indolence, his court became an open scene of riot and profaneness. Those who made any pretensions to personal religion and conscientious practice, were branded with the name of puritans; and as these continued to grow out of favour, papists and open profligates were publicly caressed. His majesty returning from his tour to Scotland, was grieved to see his English subjects so much addicted to the puritanic sin of keeping the Sabbath too strictly; therefore, to encourage and promote through the kingdom the religion of the court, his majesty published the "Book of Sports," to instruct the people with what amusements they might lawfully entertain themselves on the Lord's day, though he had before ratified the articles of the Church of Ireland, in which the *morality* of the Sabbath was asserted. In this affair, his majesty's conscience was under the direction of his prelates, by whose sage and Christian advice the measure was adopted. This royal declaration for Sunday sports was drawn up by bishop Morton, and recommends dancing, archery, leaping, vaulting, may-games, whitsun ales, morris dances, setting up of may-poles, and "other sports therewith used." All ministers were commanded to sanction this stimulus to licentiousness, by reading it in their public congregations; and those who refused to comply with the profane mandate, were prosecuted in the high commission, suspended, and imprisoned. This impolitic encouragement of profaneness gave great offence to many pious and conscientious persons, and was one occasion of the dreadful calamities in the following reign. It was intended, says bishop Kennet, as a trap to catch men of tender consciences, whom they could not otherwise

ebsnare; and as a means of promoting the ease, wealth, and magnificence of the bishops: but it made the very stones in the walls of their palaces cry aloud against them.' Vol. I. p. 401.

Such was the character of James I., the 'most learned and 'religious prince,' according to Archbishop Laud, 'that England ever knew.' He was, says Mosheim, 'the bitterest 'enemy to the doctrine and discipline of the Puritans, to which 'he had been warmly attached; the most inflexible and ardent 'patron of the Arminians, in whose ruin and condemnation he 'had been singularly instrumental; and the most zealous defender of Episcopal government, against which he had more than 'once declared his sentiments in the strongest language.'

James, it has been with some truth remarked, 'entailed upon 'his son all the miseries that befel him.' The notions which the father had taken up late in life from policy and king-craft, were, in Charles, the principles of his education; and when Dr. Manwaring told him in the sermon which obtained for the reverend culprit a bishopric, that 'his royal word and command in im-'posing loans and taxes without consent of parliament, doth 'oblige the subject's conscience upon pain of eternal damnation,' it is possible that he believed it. And when he suspended Archbishop Abbot, for refusing to licence the scandalous sermon of Dr. Sibthorp, and when he republished his 'blessed father's 'declaration for sports on the Lord's day, out of the like pious 'care for the service of God,' setting a like godly example by giving balls, masquerades, and plays on the Lord's day evening, no question that he acted upon principle. He believed this to be the best way of upholding Church and State. He had the word of Bishop Laud for it, and his blessed father's example. And all his acts of tergiversation and tyranny were but exercises of his Divine prerogative as Head of that Church which claims him as her royal martyr. It must be so, for a writer of some eminence in the present day assures us, that his assenting to the death of his faithful Strafford, was the only crime with which Charles I. was chargeable. All the rest were merely errors in judgment. And Laud, though a little too furious in his zeal, was a very well-meaning old gentleman. His ingratitude, his ambition, and his cold-blooded cruelty, were but human infirmities. Not his bitterest enemies have dared charge him with being a Puritan.

And now, after this long halcyon reign of righteousness and peace, during which the bishops declared that 'religion flourished 'no where but in England,' we approach that awful period of heresy, schism, and rebellion, when, the Divine right of kings and bishops to govern without Parliaments, and to cut off people's ears and noses at their pleasure, being impiously called in question, the high commission court and the star-chamber were overthrown, and dragged down the Church along with

them. The Book of Sports was burned by the common hangman by order of the Parliament, while the Book of Common Prayer paid the penalty of being found in bad company, and was set aside by the same authority. Our readers are aware of what followed, and, as we have recently taken a survey of these transactions in reviewing the Memoirs of Cromwell, we shall not again go over the ground; especially as we shall probably have occasion again to advert, in a future article, to the character of the Protector. We only stop to remark, that the springing up of a new Divine right, that of Presbytery, and the intolerance of the Long Parliament, were the chief causes of the ruin of the Commonwealth; that Episcopalians were the first conspirators against the Church and State, and that Presbyterians were the chief agents in restoring them.

Mr. Brook has passed rather rapidly over the reign of Charles I.; but he has not concealed the antichristian intolerance of the presbyterians. He does not scruple to term the "ordinance of "the lords for punishing blasphemies and heresies," 'one of 'the most cruel and bloody mandates ever published in a Pro-'testant country.' The ordinances against unordained preachers, and against preaching, writing, or otherwise publishing any thing in derogation of the new church-government, were of the same intolerant character. We transcribe the following passage as a proof of our Author's impartiality. Speaking of the ordinance first mentioned, he says:

'No decree of any council, no bull of any pope, could be more dogmatical, authoritative, or tyrannical; and few have been more sanguinary. The severity of the penalties which it denounced, as well as the mode of process which it appointed, was arbitrary and repugnant to the constitution, as well as directly opposed to the principles of justice and humanity; for it allowed neither the privilege of a jury, nor the liberty of appeal. In short, this new law was one of the most disgraceful and antichristian restraints on religious liberty, that was ever witnessed in any protestant, popish, or pagan country; and it clearly shews, that the governing presbyterians would have made a despotic and terrible use of their power, if they had possessed the sword of the civil magistrate.

'The presbyterians in Scotland and in England, were alike censurable on account of their narrow and bigoted spirit. They had not learned wisdom and moderation from the multiplied sufferings which they had endured from the episcopal party. They had been grievously oppressed for almost a century; and when they came into power, they immediately set up the divine *right* of presbytery, and disallowed the toleration of others. Could any thing be more absurd, than for men who had long groaned under persecution, to practise the infamous work of persecuting their brethren? But their conduct was still more criminal, since they had been so earnestly engaged in the cause of civil and religious freedom, they ought to have discovered more

just and enlarged views concerning the rights of mankind. Most of the independents of that age, who were the first in this country that promulgated the doctrine of toleration, probably owed their liberal sentiments more to the peculiarity of their situation, than to the liberality of their minds. Placed between two powerful parties, and in danger of being crushed, whichsoever of them became uppermost, they were constrained to plead for the indulgence of their consciences. In forming a correct judgement, therefore, of these times, every unbiassed person will be obliged to censure both the episcopalians and presbyterians, and to lament that so bigoted and persecuting a spirit pervaded the clergy of each denomination. To whatever party we belong, we should unreservedly censure the bigotry and intolerance of our ancestors, but rejoice that better principles and better practices now prevail.' Vol. I. pp. 488, 9.

Our Author's comment on the conduct of the Independents, however, is hardly fair, and, when we consider who were the most distinguished advocates for Toleration, not very reasonable. Milton, Vane, and Owen were not men to owe their liberality of sentiment to their circumstances. If Cromwell is to be numbered among the Independents, so far from his being indebted to the peculiarity of his situation for his liberal principles, nothing is more clear, than that the popularity of his government was on this very account endangered, and that in the eyes of the Presbyterians, his latitudinarian notions of Toleration constituted an inexpiable crime.

'It is certain,' says Bishop Kennet, 'that the Protector was for liberty and the utmost latitude to all parties, so far as consisted with the peace and safety of his government; therefore he was never jealous of any cause or sect on account of heresy or falsehood, but on his wiser accounts of political peace and quiet. And even the prejudice he had against the episcopal party, was more for their being *royalists*, than for being of the *good old church*. Hence, when he was urged to suppress the episcopal assemblies by force, he refused, saying, "To disturb them is contrary to that liberty of conscience which he and his friends always acknowledged and defended."'

Vol. I. p. 527.

The account of religious liberty during the Protectorate, closes Mr. Brook's first volume. The reigns of Charles II. and James II. occupy a hundred and sixty pages of the second volume; in which there is by far too large a proportion of argumentation and remark. Of some of the remarks, however, we cannot but entirely approve, since we recognise them as having already appeared in the Eclectic Review; (e. g. pp. 47, 8 comp. with E. R. Vol. VI. pp. 579, 581;) although Mr. B. has been at the unnecessary pains of occasionally *improving* our phraseology. His account of the circumstances attendant on the passing of the Test Act, is very imperfect. Mr. Brook is, through-

out his work, sadly negligent of dates, and not always observant of strict chronological order.

The design of the Test Act was, as stated in the preamble, 'for preventing of dangers which may happen from popish 'recusants, and quieting the minds of his majesty's good subjects.' It is certain that it had not for its object, to exclude the Nonconformists, since it originated with the country party in the House of Commons, who were disposed to favour the Protestant Dissenters, and the Dissenting members in the House concurred in the measure. When, during the debate, it was observed that the Bill was so drawn as to comprehend Protestant Dissenters, the court party endeavouring to avail themselves of this circumstance in order to defeat the Bill, Alderman Love, (one of the members for the city, and one of the very few Dissenters who scrupled to receive the sacrament according to the rites of the Church,) declared, that it was his wish, 'that an 'effectual security might be found against Popery, and that 'nothing might interpose till that was done: when that was 'over, the Dissenters would try to deserve some favour, but at 'present, they were willing to be under the severity of the laws, 'rather than clog a more necessary work with their concerns.' 'Whether the Dissenters on this occasion acted *wisely*,' it has been remarked, 'may be disputed; but that they acted *generously*, 'no one can deny.' The Test Act was read the first time on the 5th of March, 1673, a second time the next day, and was passed and sent up to the Lords on the 12th of the same month. In order to secure the Bill, the supply was delayed till it should have received the Royal assent, which was obtained on the 29th of March. The event shewed that the precaution was not unnecessary, for the Bill 'for the ease of Protestant Dissenters,' which was brought on *before* the Test Act, (a Committee of the whole House having reported the heads of it, February 27th,) being postponed till the King had got a supply, was thereby lost. It had passed the Commons, had been sent up to the Lords, and had come down with some amendments, upon which the House were debating, when the Parliament was suddenly prorogued, and the intended favour to the Dissenters prevented.* After a long adjournment, the House of Commons met again on the 20th of October, 1673; and on the 30th, a Bill was ordered in, for a '*General Test* to distinguish between 'Protestants and Papists:' its object was, to repeal the Test Act so far as it affected Protestant Dissenters. But the King, on discovering the hostile temper of the House towards the Roman

* See Furneaux's Letters to Blackstone. Also, a Tract entitled, "The Right of Protestant Dissenters to a complete Toleration asserted. By a Layman." London. 1789.

Catholics, and its favourable disposition towards the Dissenters, put an end to the session by prorogation on the 4th of November, the House having sat only fifteen days. In January, 1674, the Parliament being again assembled, a Bill was introduced for a Test, to distinguish between Protestants and Papists. It was read twice, and committed, but was lost by a prorogation on the very day appointed for receiving the report of the Committee. In the year 1680, a Bill in favour of the Dissenters, repealing the xxxv. Eliz. c. 1., passed both Houses, and lay ready for the Royal assent, when the Court ventured on the very extraordinary expedient of directing the clerk of the Crown to convey away the Bill, and *it was never afterwards to be found.* The House was prorogued almost immediately after, but not before it had been resolved, *nem. con.*—'That it is the opinion 'of this House, that the prosecution of Protestant Dissenters 'upon the penal laws, is at this time grievous to the subject, 'a weakening of the Protestant interest, an encouragement to 'Popery, and dangerous to the peace of the kingdom.'

Although the Test Act is, both in a religious and a political view, highly exceptionable, as involving the principle of persecution, as well as a scandalous abuse of a sacred institution, yet, Mr. Brook is clearly wrong in representing that the opposition to it proceeded from the friends of liberty, or, that 'the 'better part of the nation found it an encroachment on their 'civil rights.' Its object was, notoriously, to protect those civil rights under circumstances of peculiar exigency. As a penal statute, it was mild and tolerant in comparison with those which then disgraced the Statute-book. Its present penal operation as regards Protestant Dissenters, formed no part of its original design, and is not, therefore, chargeable on its first promoters. Its continuance now that all pretence for it has ceased, in contempt of all the religious objections which lie against it as the occasion of innumerable perjuries and profanations, while its injustice and uselessness is annually proclaimed by a Bill of Indemnity, must be considered as the greater wrong.

It has been remarked by Mr. Conder, that 'the clergy opposed 'the Reformation itself; that they opposed the Toleration; and 'that they opposed the Comprehension.' A High-Church Reviewer,* the only one who has ventured to notice this work, after insinuating that not the smallest reliance is to be placed on the Author's statements, and that his work is an accumulation of calumnies, thus attempts to invalidate the above statement. In reply to the first assertion, he contents himself with remarking, that Archbishop Cranmer was the principal promoter of the Re-

* Christian Remembrancer, June 1820.

formation, and that several bishops and other clergymen suffered martyrdom in the reign of Queen Mary. This mode of disproving the Author's statement, requires no comment. On their opposition to the Toleration, the Reviewer is judiciously silent. Their opposition to the Comprehension is attempted to be disproved by the remark, that the Act for that measure 'passed the 'Lords when the bishops had influence; and when it was failing 'in the Commons, Archbishop Tillotson proposed that it should 'be referred to the Convocation, and a commission was made 'out, addressed to several bishops and other divines, who la-'boured *but too earnestly* in promoting the measure.' We know not what weight or credibility this learned Reviewer attaches to the statements of the two episcopal writers cited by Mr. Brook; *viz.* Bishops Burnet and Kennet. Before, however, he ventured to tax Mr. Conder with calumny, he would have done well to consult those authorities. The former prelate explicitly states, that, owing to the machinations of the Jacobites, 'the Universities took fire' upon the idea of offering concessions, 'and began to declare against it and against all that 'promoted it, as men that intended to undermine the Church.' 'Severe reflections were cast on the King as being in an interest 'contrary to the Church.'—'The Lower House of Convocation 'expressed a resolution not to enter into any debates with rela-'tion to alterations; so that *they would take no notice* of (that) 'part of the King's message; and it was not without difficulty 'carried to make a decent address to the King, thanking him for 'his promise of protection.' The supremacy of the Head of the Church was thus lightly treated by the very sticklers for rights Divine. Whether the opposition of the two Universities and of the Convocation is, or is not, properly styled the opposition of the clergy, notwithstanding the honourable exception of the royal commissioners, we leave our readers to judge. For further illustrations of the progress of religious liberty in this reign, we refer our readers to the work before us. Mr. Brook fully substantiates his assertion, that 'the Toleration Act did not at all 'emanate from the Church,'—'that it was the State, not the 'Church, that became tolerant.' 'The far greater part of the 'clergy,' says Bishop Burnet, 'studied to blow up the fire, which 'seemed only to be covered with ashes.' The truth of this remark was but too plainly manifested by the events of the latter part of the ensuing reign.

Our limits will not permit us to pursue the narrative any further, and we must now take leave of Mr. Brook with cordially recommending his work to our readers. We cannot, however, but earnestly recommend very large excisions, in the event of a new edition. His 'Conclusion,' consisting of desultory remarks extendingover sixty pages, is a very heavy *rider* on the

history. It abounds, too, with mere repetitions of the sentiments contained in other parts of the work; (as at p. 481 compared with p. 211;) and has none of the brevity proper in simple recapitulation. Could he contrive to compress the "History" into one volume by means of the excisions we recommend, his work would be much more useful, because it would be much more read.

Art. II. *The Lyrics of Horace;* being the First Four Books of his Odes. Translated by the Rev. Francis Wrangham, M. A. F. R. S. 8vo. pp. 293. Price 10s. 6d. London. 1821.

THE most important and useful stations in society do not always demand an undivided and unceasing attention to their appropriate duties. Some intermission from the toils of business may be allowed to the most laborious, so as to leave for optional employment a portion of leisure. The divine, therefore, may be permitted, without incurring the angry sentence of the satirist,

> When churchmen Scripture for the classics quit'—

to relieve his graver studies by fresh perusals of his Virgil or his Horace. The intervals of clerical duty are much more creditably employed in the recreations of elegant literature, than in some other avocations to which learned clerks are frequently found condescending. Hooker tending his sheep and reading Horace in the common-field of Drayton-Beauchamp, or Mr. Wrangham translating Horace's Odes in the parsonage of Hunmanby, is a far more pleasing figure in a picture than many a son of the Church will be found to exhibit. The cultivation of letters is at least a rational and an honourable employment.

It is not a little surprising, that the great Lyric Poet of Rome should have wanted a translator, by whom his inimitable Odes might have been delivered to the British public, in a version adequate to the display of their various excellencies. We can boast of the great names of Dryden and Pope as translators of Virgil and Homer; and we have also Cowper and Symmons in the same walks; but no names of distinguished poetical celebrity have as yet been associated with the Lyrics of the Roman Bard. Some few of them, indeed, have been transplanted by the hand of genius into our literature; but the only entire versions of the Odes which we possess, have not been supplied by the masters of song. The most popular translation is that by Francis, which, respectably executed as it is, neither supersedes the attempt to furnish another, nor presents any very powerful discouragement to a competitor. Such would seem to have been the persuasion of the present Translator, who has furnished us with a version of the First Four Books of Horace's Odes; the

most striking, the most brilliant, and the most delightful portions of his writings.

To translate Horace, is not an easy task; and he who chooses the Odes as a trial of his strength, should have a well grounded confidence in his own powers. The merits of Horace are so great and so peculiar,—he unites in his productions such various, and matchless, and, we may add, opposite excellencies,—his conceptions are so noble, and the expressions in which he has invested them are so exquisitely appropriate, that but few writers would hazard the attempt of providing another dress for his sentiments than that in which he himself has adorned them. In this Master of the lyre, we admire the loftiness of his flights, and the graceful attitudes of his earthly walkings, his competence to support the dignity of the highest subjects, and to make the lowest and the most familiar, interesting and pleasing. Whether as the 'matin bee' sipping the dews and gathering the honied sweets from the banks of the Tiber, or as the eagle rising above the clouds, leaving the storms, the thunders, and the lightnings below, and soaring into the pure and untroubled region of the heavens, the Roman Bard compels our admiration of his course. The grandeur of his moral sentiments, and the powerful manner in which he impresses them upon the mind of his readers, by means of the magnificent illustrations which accompany them—the boldness and splendour of his images—the consummate grace of his allusions—the nice selection of his topics—the skilful and rapid manner in which he conducts his transitions—the gayety of his fancy and the sprightliness of his wit in his lighter walks, and the solemn majesty which he displays in those of deeper interest—the varied elegance of his diction, its gravity and tenderness, its ease and sweetness, and the admirable construction and variety of his verses, give him distinguished eminence among poets of his own class. If the supremacy be still challenged for Pindar, it will be conceded to specific qualities of his poetry, rather than to his collective merits.

To sustain his Author's reputation, and to procure credit to himself by the fidelity, the beauty, and the vigorous execution of his version, demand in a translator of Horace, not only the most perfect acquaintance with his original, but true poetic feeling, and the nicest perception of the import of the expressions of his own language, together with the most entire control over its powers. Signal as must be the praise implied in admitting the claims of a translator to such merits, we are not inclined to withhold it from Mr. Wrangham, who has supplied us with an admirable version of Horace's Lyrics,—such a version as Horace himself would not scruple to own as being, in the most essential respects, an adequate representation of his originals. Mr.

Wrangham's translations are remarkably compact, and present striking contrasts to the attenuated forms in which some of the Odes have been exhibited by his predecessors. He has never indulged in the license of paraphrase. But it may occur, perhaps, to some of his readers, that the sense of particular passages would have appeared more distinctly, had larger space been allowed for the display of the Poet's meaning. The translation is, however, utterly remote from a bald and servile rendering: while singularly faithful, it is harmonious, bold, and vigorous. Mr. Wrangham has successfully adopted the occasional implications of the stanzas of his original, which constitute one of the prime excellencies of Horace's manner. In one respect only we deem it necessary to qualify our general commendations: we refer to the uniformity of Mr. Wrangham's verse. He has throughout, except in two instances (the dithyrambic Odes, B. ii. 19. B. iii. 25.), employed the octosyllabic metre; though he is 'willing to allow that, in reference to the 'differing subjects and measures of the original, a greater va-'riety might have been not only more agreeable, but also more 'proper.' This sameness of metre is to be regretted, inasmuch as the uniformity of cadence is never broken to the ear, which (as the eye in regard to colours) requires a variety of harmony.

The servility of Horace's muse is but too frequently conspicuous in his Odes. It was by compulsion, we suppose, that she was made to violate her purpose of ennobling only the virtuous,—'*Dignum laude virum Musa vetat mori.*' Of this perversion of gifted intellect, the Ode to Augustus, Book I. 2, is an early specimen: it will not long detain the reader who is unable to witness with complacency the humiliation of eminent genius. But in the immediately succeeding poem, '*Sic te Diva potens Cypri,*' the lyre of the Poet is far more honourably employed. We extract a part of Mr. Wrangham's version of this Ode.

'Both oak and brass with triple round
Surely that mortal's bosom bound,
Who first his frail bark on the wave
Launch'd, though he heard the tempest rave,
Winds battling winds: nor shunn'd the seas,
When glared the stormy Hyades;
And, Adria's surge of power to guide,
The south-wind howl'd across the tide.

'What shape, what stage of death fear'd he,
Who with unflinching eye could see
Huge monsters struggling 'mid the spray,
And infamous Ceraunia!

'Vainly has Jove's supreme command,
By sundering ocean, land from land
Dissever'd far; if keels profane
Will traverse the forbidden main.

'Eager their limits to o'erpass,
Rushes through crime our headlong race.
The living fire to earth, of yore,
Thus hardily Prometheus bore.
That fire from heaven by craft convey'd,
A host of ills sad earth dismay'd—
Consumption, Fever's ghastly train,
And Death, quick hurrying o'er the plain
His laggard step. On pinion thus
To man denied, bold Dædalus
Soar'd through void air. O'er Acheron
Alcides thus pass'd fearless on.

'For mortal daring nought too high:
Our folly fain would scale the sky:
Nor let we Jove, so vast our pride!
Lay his hot thunderbolts aside.'

The next Ode, B. I. 4. affords an excellent specimen of the compressed elegance of Mr. Wrangham's version.

ODE IV.

'Solvitur acris hyems gratâ vice veris et Favoni,
Trahuntque siccas machinæ carinas:
Ac neque jam stabulis gaudet pecus, aut arator igni;
Nec prata canis albicant pruinis.
Jam Cytherea choros ducit Venus, imminente Lunâ:
Junctæque Nymphis Gratiæ decentes
Alterno terram quatiunt pede, dum graves Cyclopum
Vulcanus ardens urit officinas.
Nunc decet aut viridi nitidum caput impedire myrto,
Aut flore terræ quem ferunt solutæ;
Nunc et in umbrosis Fauno decet immolare lucis,
Seu poscat agnam, sive malit hædum.—
Pallida mors æquo pulsat pede pauperum tabernas,
Regumque turres. O beate Sexti,
Vitæ summa brevis spem nos vetat inchoare longam.
Jam te premet nox, fabulæque manes.
Et domus exilis Plutonia: quo simul meâris,
Nec regna vini sortiere talis;
Nec tenerum Lycidam mirabere, quo calet juventus
Nunc omnis, et mox virgines tepebunt.'

'By spring and Zephyr's loosening sway
Unbound, stern Winter hies away.
Again the vessel tempts the sea;
The herd again bound o'er the lea:

His ingle-nook the hind forsakes,
And frosts no longer bleach the brakes.
Beneath the moon, o'er grassy meads,
Now the gay dance soft Venus leads;
And Nymphs and Graces link'd, sweet train!
With foot alternate beat the plain:
While Mulciber with kindling fires
The Cyclops' toilsome forge inspires.

'Now round the brow be myrtle twin'd
In verdant braid; now chaplets bind,
Of flowers from earth's free bosom thrown:
The sacrifice now lead to Faun,
Or lamb, or kid, in shady grove,
As he the God shall best approve.

'Pale Death knocks with impartial foot
At prince's hall and peasant's hut.
Warn'd, Sestius, by life's brief amount,
Forbear on distant bliss to count:
Soon, soon to realms of night away
Hurried, where fabled spectres stray,
Thou shalt reach Pluto's shadowy dome,
Thyself a shadow. Thither come,
No more shall dice to thee assign
The jovial sovereignty of wine;
Nor Chloë more shalt thou admire,
The virgin's pride, the youth's desire.'

In the Ode to Pyrrha, B. I. 5. the sense of the expressions,

'——— Miseri, quibus
Intentata nites'—

does not appear to us to be very perspicuously given in the following version;

'———————— Hapless they
Who ne'er thy faithless smiles have tried!'

They, says Horace, are hapless, who, attracted by the fascinations of Pyrrha, have not detected the dangerous illusion of her charms. Mr. Wrangham's version would seem rather to express, that they who had never been ensnared by the seductions of Pyrrha, were to be accounted unfortunate.

Teucer's address to his disconsolate companions, (Ode 7. B. I.) is given with great animation in these lines.

'His home, his sire, when Teucer fled,
The poplar-garland round his head
Dropping with wine he bound, and cried,
(His friends all saddening by his side,)
"Comrades, where Fortune, kinder she
"Than Telamon, shall marshal me,
"We'll go; nor, gallant hearts, despair—
"Teucer your guide leaves nought to fear.

" When press our steps a foreign strand,
" And a new city decks the land,
" Its walls—sure Phœbus vouches this—
" Shall vie with ancient Salamis.
" Courage, brave souls! Erewhile, stern doom
" Has stamp'd our days with deeper gloom:
" This hour be given to wine and glee—
" To-morrow, and again to sea."'

The admirable stanzas with which the Poet commences his Ode, *Quem virum aut heroa*—(B. I. 12.) are adequately rendered in the following verses.

' What chief, what hero, on thy lyre
Or pipe shall wake the living fire,
Clio, what god? Whose mighty name
Shall sportive Echo give to fame?
Or, Helicon, amid thy bowers,
Or where Pierian Pindus towers,
Or Hæmus—whence, in huddling throng,
Orpheus the forests drew along:
Orpheus, who with maternal lay
Fleet winds and rapid streams could stay,
Charm'd with the magic of whose sound,
The oaks an ear to rapture found?
' What strain before the wonted praise
Of heaven's dread sire shall poet raise;
Who men and gods, and earth and sea,
And seasons holds in sovereignty?
None greater than th' Eternal One,
None similar, and second none!'—

The commencement of the stanzas in a subsequent part of the same ode, which include the celebration of Castor and Pollux, is not very felicitously displayed in the opening member of Mr. Wrangham's verses.

' Dicam et Alciden, puerosque Ledæ,
Hunc equis, illum superare pugnis
Nobilem:'—

is very perspicuous, but

' And Hercules and Leda's breed
(With cestus this, and that with steed
Victorious) will I hymn.'—

would seem to import that the Dioscuri were the offspring of Hercules and Leda. ' Breed,' too, is not a happy expression. The concluding member of the verses is a truly beautiful and faithful representation of the original, and exhibits with picturesque effect, the sea in its swellings and tumultuous ragings, and the subsiding of its turbulent surges into peace.

' —— quorum simul alba nautis

Stella refulsit,

'Defluit saxis agitatus humor;
Concidunt venti, fugiuntque nubes,
Et minax (quod sic voluêre) ponto
Unda recumbit.'

'—— The tar
No sooner spies their glittering star,
Than from the rock down foams the wave,
The falling winds forget to rave,
Light fly the clouds, and (such their will!)
Old Ocean's threatening surge is still.'

An objection might be taken to the Translator's use of the word 'tar,' which he seems somewhat fond of employing in his version.

The lines addressed to Virgil on the Death of Quintilius Varus, B. 1. 24. have been the model of many offerings to friendship. The version of them in Francis's Translation, ascribed to Dr. Dunkin, is extended to a much greater length than the following, but it is of inferior excellence. The brevity and fulness of Mr. Wrangham's expressions are eminently conspicuous in the version which he has given of this ode.

ODE XXIV.

'When one so loved, so valued dies,
What shall control our sympathies?
Muse, the deep funeral wail prolong:
Thine, sweetest lyre; thine, saddest song.
And closes endless sleep his eye?
Ah! when shall Faith, of Equity
Twin-sister, Truth and Honour's train—
When shall they see his like again?
He dies—by all mourn'd justly he;
Virgil, by none more mourn'd than thee!
Vainly thy pious prayers arise,
And claim Quintilius of the skies—
Not so bestow'd! With mightier spell
Than Orpheus, could'st thou sweep the shell,
Not to the shade would blood return,
Which once beyond life's fated bourn
Stern Mercury with horrid wand
Has driven to join his dusky band.
'Tis hard: but what we may not cure,
We learn by sufferance to endure.'

Of Mr. Wrangham's superiority in fidelity of translation and compression, the following passage, compared with the same portion in Francis, affords a striking instance.

'Audire magnos jam videor duces,
Non indecoro pulvere sordidos;
Et cuncta terrarum subacta,
Præter atrocem animum Catonis.'

B. II. Ode 1.

'Panting with terror, I survey
The martial host in dread array,
The chiefs, how valiant and how just!
Defiled with not inglorious dust,
And all the world in chains, but Cato see
Of spirit unsubdu'd and dying to be free.'

Francis.

'And now great chiefs before mine eyes,
Soil'd, but with glorious dust arise;
And all of earth from pole to pole,
Vanquished—save Cato's tameless soul.'

Wrangham.

In the following examples, the compared merits of the Translators are less unequal, but the superiority is still with Mr. Wrangham.

'—— sed magis
Pugnas, et exactos tyrannos,
Densum humeris bibit aure vulgus.
'Quid mirum? Ubi illis carminibus stupens
Demittit atras bellua centiceps
Aures, et intorti capillis
Eumenidum recreantur angues.
'Quin et Prometheus, et Pelopis parens,
Dulci laborum decipitur sono;
Nec curat Orion leones
Aut timidos agitare lyncas.'

B. II. Ode 19.

'But when Alcæus tunes the strain
To deeds of war and tyrants slain,
In thicker crowds the shadowy throng
Drink deeper down the martial song.
What wonder! when with bending ears
The dog of Hell astonish'd hears;
And, in the Furies' hair entwin'd,
The snakes with cheerful horror wind;
While, charmed by the melodious strains,
The tortured ghosts forget their pains;
Orion quits his bold delight
To chace the lion's rage or lynx's flight.'

Francis.

'But when Alcæus strikes the lyre
To chiefs disthroned, the thickening throng
Drink, deeplier awed, the martial song.
'What wonder;—when the dog of Hell,
Thrill'd with the minstrel's magic spell,
Hangs his black ears, and hush'd and blest,
The Furies' writhing tresses rest?
Their sufferings, sooth'd by sound so sweet,

Prometheus, Tantalus forget;
Nor more Orion through the glade
Drives the scared lynx or lion-shade.

Wrangham.

ODE XX.

'Borne on no weak or vulgar wing
Upward through air, two-formed, I'll spring:
Nor longer grovel here, but soar
Where Envy shall pursue no more.
Not I, from humble lineage sprung,
Not I, dear Patron, whom thy tongue
Summons to fame, will fear to die,
Or bound by Styx's fetters lie.
'A rougher skin my legs assume,
My upward limbs the cygnet's plume
Invests; my shoulders, fingers feel
The feathery softness o'er them steal.
'Fleeter than Icarus now I'll haste,
A tuneful swan, to Libya's waste
And heaving sands, where Bosphor's wave
Tosses, or Arctic tempests rave.
Me Colchis, Dacia me shall learn,
Who hides her fear of Marsian storm;
Me Scythia's hordes, the well-trained son
Of Spain, and he who quaffs the Rhone.
'From my mock bier be far away
The loud lament, the funeral lay:
And, tribute to my fancied doom,
Far the vain honours of the tomb!'

In this version of the Poet's anticipations of the literary immortality which he has so amply obtained, there seems to be an obscurity of expression in the third and fourth couplets. 'Not 'I—will fear to die,' is equivalent to, 'dying, I shall not be 'afraid.' But exemption from death is the import of 'non ego '—obibo.' Francis has clearly conveyed the sense of Horace.

'Though lowly born, a vulgar name,
I will not condescend to die,
Nor in the Stygian waters lie.'

The third Book of the Odes affords the finest specimens of Horace's lyric powers. Many of the subjects are chosen with admirable judgement, and they are adorned with the utmost magnificence and beauty of figure and fiction. The opening of the third Ode in this Book, is among the best known and most frequently quoted of Horace's poems, and would challenge the most adventurous son of the Muses to uphold its majesty in translation. Mr. Wrangham's version is spirited, but it is less accurate in preserving the sense of the original than some other versions.

'Justum et tenacem propositi virum,
Non civium ardor prava jubentium,
Non vultus instantis tyranni,
Mente quatit solidâ; neque Auster

'Dux inquieti turbidus Adriæ,
Nec fulminantis magna Jovis manus.
Si fractus illabitur orbis,
Impavidum ferient ruinæ.'

'Firm is the genuine patriot's so:
Him nor the mob's malign contro
Nor furious despot's frown combined,
Stirs from the purpose of his mind.
Lightnings may flash; o'er Adria's wave
The South-wind's tyrant force may rave;
May rend, may sink th' o'er arching skies—
Fearless amid the wreck he dies.'

Horace has no combination of the despot's frown with the control of the mob; nor does he describe the just man as perishing. Mr. Wrangham is generally successful in preserving distinctly the sense and figures of his original; but he has in this case presented them in a confused form.

Francis has failed in the same manner in the second of the following verses.

'The man in conscious virtue bold,
Who dares his secret purpose hold,
Unshaken hears the crowd's tumultuous cries,
And the impetuous tyrant's angry brow defies.

'Let the wild winds that rule the skies,
Tempestuous all their horrors raise,
Let Jove's dread arm with thunders rend the spheres,
Beneath the crush of worlds undaunted he appears.'

Addison has translated this Ode with great exuberance of words, indeed, but with strict adherence to the sense of his original.

'The man, resolved and steady to his trust,
Inflexible to ill and obstinately just,
May the rude rabble's insolence despise,
Their senseless clamours and tumultuous cries;
The tyrant's fierceness he beguiles,
And the stern brow and the harsh voice defies,
And with superior greatness smiles.

'Not the rough whirlwind that deforms
Adria's black gulf, and vexes it with storms,
The stubborn virtue of his soul can move;
Nor the red arm of angry Jove,
That flings the thunder from the sky,
And gives it rage to roar, and strength to fly,

'Should the whole frame of Nature round him break,
In ruin and confusion hurl'd,
He, unconcern'd, would hear the mighty crack,
And stand secure amid a falling world.'

In this version, the clamours of the tumultuous crowd, the tyrant's threats, the turbulent element, the thunders of Jupiter, are distinctly enumerated, apart from the catastrophe of the world; and the fearless attitude of the just man is exhibited in its separate reference to each. 'The stubborn virtue of his soul,' is a fine version of the *mens solida*. The translation is faulty only in its prolixity, if we except the *crack* in the last stanza.

We should be glad if our limits permitted us to copy some of the translations of the longer Odes entire. We reluctantly break in on the 11th Ode of the 3d Book; but we are anxious to gratify our readers with Mr. Wrangham's spirited version of Hypermnestra's address to Lynceus. It is a fine representation of the *Una de multis.*

* * * * *

'Impiæ, (nam quid potuêre majus?)
Impiæ sponsos potuêre duro
Perdere ferro.

'Una de multis, face nuptiali
Digna, perjurum fuit in parentem
Splendidè mendax, et in omne virgo
Nobilis ævum:

'"Surge," quæ dixit juveni marito,
"Surge; ne longus tibi somnus, unde
"Non times detur: socerum et scelestas
Falle sorores;

'"Quæ, velut nactæ vitulos leænæ,
"Singulos (eheu!) lacerant. Ego illis
"Mollior nec te feriam, neque intra
Claustra tenebo.

'"Me pater sævis oneret catenis,
"Quod viro clemens misero peperci:
"Me vel extremos Numidarum in agros
Classe releget!

'"I, pedes quò te rapiunt et auræ,
"Dum favet nox et Venus: i secundo
"Omine, et nostri memorem sepulchro
Scalpe querelam."'

'"Wretches!—what more could wretches do?
With impious steel their lords they slew.
One of that numerous train alone
—Be unto distant ages known,
'Worthy of Hymen's torch, the maid!—
Gloriously false, her sire betray'd:
"Rise," to her youthful spouse she cried,
"Rise, lest long slumbers thee betide

" From hand unfear'd! Thy new-made sire
" Instant elude, and sisters dire;
" Who now, as lioness her prey,
" Their consorts rend! More kind than they,
" I will nor pierce that breast of thine,
" Nor bid thee in deep dungeon pine.
" Me let my father load with chains,
" Or to Numidia's farthest plains
" Banish, for that in mercy I
" Doom'd not my wretched spouse to die!
" Go, with fleet foot and favouring tide,
" Thy flight while Night and Venus hide:
" Go, blest; and on my tomb record
" Some plaint for her who saved her lord."

This celebration of the illustrious Danaid is one of the finest passages in Horace, and is worth many of the Odes which he has filled with gods and goddesses, and the deification of Augustus. We follow him with equal commendation of his generous spirit, and with scarcely less interest in his poetry, in the tribute of admiration which he pays to the genius of the Theban bard in his exquisite Ode, '*Pindarum quisquis studet* '*æmulari*,' Book IV. 2. which we extract from Mr. Wrangham's version.

ODE II.

' He who to Pindar's heights would soar,
Ventures on wing like that of yore
Glued to the ambitious boy, who gave
His name to Græcia's glassy wave.
' As mountain-stream, by tempests fed,
Swells foaming o'er its wonted bed,
So Pindar boils, so pours along
His deep illimitable song.
Around his brow be wreathed the bay,
Whether the dithyrambic lay
He roll, in fierce poetic heat,
Where mingle numbers wild and sweet:
Or gods and god-descended kings,
Who smote the Centaurs, grace his strings—
Smote with just stroke, and quell'd the ire
Of dread Chimæra snorting fire:
Or round the victor's palm-crown'd head,
On Pisa's plain for strength or steed
Renown'd, he twine one chaplet more,
To which the bust, the pillar's poor:
Or hapless bride his lyre record,
Untimely widow'd of her lord;
His golden truth, his matchless might
Redeeming from oblivion's night—
Light buoyant through th' empyreal air
The Theban swan strong breezes bear:

While I with tiny industry,
I like the toiling Matin bee
(Whose wing o'er many a thyme-bed roves
Untired) 'mid Tibur's bowery groves,
Or by its dripping banks remain,
To meditate my lowlier strain.'

Some passages might be specified in this volume, which, apparently forcible as they are in expression, do not convey with nice distinction the sense and feeling of the corresponding passages of the original. '*Bellaque matribus detesta,*' is not exactly represented by 'trumpet tones, fond mothers' fright;' nor, '*teneræ conjugis immemor,*' by, 'forsaking wedded joys.' '*Superante Pæno,*' (Ode 12. B. I.) is with no propriety rendered in the line,

'O'er Cannæ's plain when *Carthage* strode.'

'Strain of bale,' (Ode 15.) is perhaps equally objectionable; and there occurs a phrase in the concluding couplet of Ode 35, B. I., in respect to which Mr. Wrangham will not attribute to us the excess of squeamishness if we express our wish for its excision. Why should not '*aeratas navees,*' (Ode 16. B. II. l. 21,) be rendered, '*the* brass beak'd galley?' But these are minor blemishes, and we refrain from picking out the few particles of chaff which mix with the fine grain of Mr. Wrangham's versions. The specimens which we have furnished, will bear ample testimony to their excellence; and we have by no means been guided in our selection of extracts, by the wish that our readers should see the best of his translations. The book contains a correct Latin text, but there is no incumbrance of notes to interrupt the perusal of the translation, nor is any designation of the Odes prefixed to them. On these accounts, the Volume will be more acceptable to Scholars.

Juvat integros accedere fontes
Atque haurire: juvatque novos decerpere flores.

Art. III. *Illustrations of the Holy Scriptures:* in three Parts. 1. From the Geography of the East. 2. From the Natural History of the East. 3. From the Customs of Ancient and Modern Nations. By the Rev. George Paxton, Professor of Theology under the General Associate Synod, Edinburgh. 2 vols. 8vo. pp. 1240. Price 1l. 6s. Edinburgh. 1819.

ALTHOUGH the Bible was intended for the use of the whole world, yet, as it was primarily committed to the traditive care of a particular people, it must necessarily partake of the characters which their peculiar habits would attach to the literature of their country. The sacred writers, in their historical narratives, in their devotional compositions, and in their

didactic and prophetical writings, abound in the use of terms and figures, of allusions and illustrations, peculiar to Oriental regions, and intelligible only to readers previously acquainted with the customs and manners of the East. An intimate knowledge of the physical and moral circumstances of the people of those countries, is indispensable, therefore, in order to our obtaining a correct interpretation of the holy Scriptures. Without the aids which are to be derived from this kind of knowledge, the most skilful philologists could but furnish us with a vernacular translation of the Bible, as unintelligible, in many instances, as the original itself would be to the mere English reader. Without detracting from the paramount merit and value of the labours of translators and critical expositors of the sacred text, we are disposed to award a high share of commendation to those useful subordinate labourers in the field of Biblical interpretation, who have collected and applied the facts and customs described by travellers in their reports of their foreign excursions, to the illustration of the Bible. In this department, the meritorious labours of Harmer are well known to the student. The "Oriental Customs" of Mr. Burder have also obtained a deserved popularity; and the ingenious Editor of Calmet, has, in his "Fragments," added considerably to the materials by means of which the obscurities of the Sacred Writings may be removed, and the truth of their representations illustrated.

The copious volumes of Professor Paxton differ in their plan from those of Harmer and Burder, and exhibit a more ample range of subjects. Not confining his details and remarks to the several classes of objects to which their researches were directed, he has aimed to make his work a general depository of knowledge illustrative of the text of the Bible in the several particulars of Geography, Natural History, Customs and Manners. On the first of these subjects, he has availed himself largely of the work of Wells, the titles of whose chapters will be suggested to the recollection of our readers by the distribution of the contents of Mr. Paxton's Part I. Chap. 1. The Garden of Eden—The Land of Nod—The City of Enoch. Chap. 2. The Mountains of Ararat. Chap. 3. The Land of Shinar, and the City and Tower of Babel. Chap. 4. Of the Dispersion of Mankind. Chap. 5. Of the Conquests and Kingdom of Nimrod. Chap. 6. Chaldea—Ur—Haran—Canaan. The Mountains of Canaan—The Lakes and Rivers of Palestine—State of the Weather in Palestine and the East—The General Fertility of Palestine—are the subjects of chapters 7, 8, 9, and 10. Very laudable pains have been taken by the Author to collect information on these topics, from Bochart, Wells, Maundrell, Volney, &c. &c. Of the manner in which it is applied, the following paragraph is a specimen.

Carmel was one of the barriers of the promised land, which Sennacherib boasted he would take with the multitude of his horses and his chariots. "I will enter into the lodgings of his borders, and into the forest of his Carmel."* Ungrateful as the soil of this mountain is, the wild vines and olive trees that are still found among the brambles which encumber its declivities, prove that the hand of industry has not laboured among the rocks of Carmel in vain. So well adapted were the sides of this mountain to the cultivation of the vine, that the kings of Judah covered every improveable spot with vineyards and plantations of olives. Its deep and entangled forests, its savage rocks and lofty summit, have been in all ages the favourite retreat of the guilty or the oppressed. The fastnesses of this rugged mountain are so difficult of access, that the prophet Amos classes them with the deeps of hell, the height of heaven, and the bottom of the sea: "Though they dig into hell (or the dark and silent chambers of the grave), thence shall mine hand take them; though they climb up to heaven, thence will I bring them down; and though they hide themselves in the top of Carmel, I will search and take them out thence; and though they be hid from my sight in the bottom of the sea, thence will I command the serpent, and he shall bite them."† The Church, in her most afflicted state, is compared to a fugitive lurking in the deep recesses of this mountain: "Feed thy people with thy rod, the flock of thine heritage which dwell solitarily in the wood in the midst of Carmel."‡ Lebanon raises to heaven a summit of naked and barren rocks, covered for the greater part of the year with snow; but the top of Carmel, how naked and sterile soever its present condition, seems to have been clothed with verdure in the days of Amos, which seldom was known to fade: "And he said, the Lord will roar from Zion, and utter his voice from Jerusalem, and the habitation of the shepherds shall mourn, and the top of Carmel shall wither."§ These are the excellencies answering to the "glory of Lebanon," for which this mountain was so greatly renowned. Even the lofty genius of Isaiah, stimulated and guided by the Spirit of inspiration, could not find a more appropriate figure to express the flourishing state of the Redeemer's kingdom, than the "excellency of Carmel and Sharon." Vol. I. p. 150.

Some passages in these volumes are examples of indigested remark, rather than of explanatory discussion. Referring to the use of the olive branch as the sign of peace, Professor Paxton remarks:—

'Dr. Chandler, indeed, is of opinion, that the idea of reconciliation and peace was not associated with the olive branch till ages long posterior to the deluge. The olive groves, he argues, are the usual resort of doves, and other birds, that repair to them for food; and thus endeavours to find a natural connection between the dove of Noah and the olive leaf. The olive might, he thinks, be the only tree which had raised its head above the subsiding waters, near the

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* 2 Kings xix. 23.
† Amos ix. 2, 3.
‡ Mic. vii. 14.
§ Amos i. 2.

place where the ark was floating, although it is only of a middling height; but if the dove saw a greater number of other trees above the water, the habits of the bird naturally led it to the olive plantation for shelter and food, in preference to all others.

'But the greater part of this reasoning avowedly rests upon mere assumption; and although the olive grove may be the favourite retreat of the dove, how are we to account for the olive branch being chosen by almost every nation, from the remotest times, for the symbol of reconciliation and peace? It is far more probable, that the dove was directed by the finger of God, to prefer the olive leaf, or a sprig of olive leaves, as being the symbol of peace with which Noah was already acquainted, or that it might, in future, be the token of reconciliation between God and his offending creatures, and between one nation and another,' Vol. I. pp. 289, 290.

The Author might surely have perceived that his own observations rest as much on mere assumption as Dr. Chandler's; and he has evidently overlooked the application of Horace's *Nec Deus intersit.* What limits the Professor would fix to his 'remotest times,' we cannot say; but, as no instances are produced of the use of the olive as a symbol of friendship in the ante-diluvian periods, it is reasonable to believe that the custom of bearing an olive branch to indicate peace, might be derived from the dove of Noah. The olive leaf, it would seem from the expression in Genesis, "*plucked off*," was not selected from the countless variety of leaves which floated on the subsiding waters of the Deluge, or bestrewed the slimy tops and declivities of Ararat, as the Author supposes.

Part II. contains Illustrations of the Scriptures from the Natural History of the East. In this division of the work, the Author has made great use of Bochart's Hierozoicon. The profound and splendid learning of that extraordinary scholar is amply displayed in that immortal work. The treasures of oriental and classical literature were at his command; and they are applied unsparingly in his erudite discussions: in quotation he is peculiarly rich and felicitous. From the pages of this learned and laborious illustrator of Scripture, Professor Paxton has borrowed the very numerous passages from Homer, Virgil, &c. which ornament his own illustrations of Natural History; and we should have been glad to report, that he has apprized his readers of the kind and extent of his obligations, which are by no means indicated by an occasional reference to 'Bochart.' The "Hierozoicon" is not in the hands of every reader, and we shall, therefore, supply this deficiency by transcribing, as a specimen, from Bochart, the passage to which Professor Paxton has been indebted for the learned illustrations in the following paragraphs.

'The incantation of serpents is one of the most curious and inte-

resting facts in natural history. This wonderful art, which soothes the wrath, and disarms the fury of the deadliest snake, and renders it obedient to the charmer's voice, is not an invention of modern times; for we discover manifest traces of it in the remotest antiquity. It is asserted, that Orpheus, who probably flourished soon after letters were introduced into Greece, knew how to still the hissing of the approaching snake, and to extinguish the poison of the creeping serpent. The Argonauts are said to have subdued, by the power of song, the terrible dragon that guarded the golden fleece; Ἡδίων ῥοπὴ θέλξαι τέρας. Ovid ascribes the same effect to the soporific influence of certain herbs, and magic sentences:

"Hunc postquam sparsit Lethæi gramine succi,
Verbaque ter dixit placidos facientia somnos."

It was the custom of others to fascinate the serpent, by touching it with the hand. Of this method, Virgil takes notice in the seventh book of the Æneid:

"Spargere qui somnos cantuque manuque solebat."

Silius Italicus is still more express in his first book:

"Nec non Serpentes diro exarmare veneno
Doctus Atyr, tactu que graves sopire chelydros."

But it seems to have been the general persuasion of the ancients, that the principal power of the charmer lay in the sweetness of his music. Pliny says, accordingly, that serpents were drawn from their lurking places by the power of music. Seneca held the same opinion:

"——— tracta Magicis cantibus
Squamea latebris turba desertis adest."

Serpents, says Augustine, are supposed to hear and understand the words of the Marsi; so that, by their incantations, these reptiles, for the most part, sally forth from their holes.

'The power of music was believed to expel the serpent's poison, and render its bite harmless:

"Vipereo generi et graviter spirantibus hydris
Spargere qui somnos cantuque manuque solebat,
Mulcebat que iras et morsus arte levabat."

Æn. b. vii. l. 758.

'Isodorus entertained the same opinion, which he thus expresses:

"Marsos illesos esse carminum maleficiis."

By the same means, or by the touch, it was believed, that the sufferings of those who had been bit, might be alleviated, and a complete cure accomplished. The sentiments of Virgil on this particular have been already stated. To his authority those pointed lines of Lucan may be added:'

"Pestis nigris inserta medullis
Excantata perit." Vol. I. pp. 343, 344.

We have here a very unusual display of erudition, and an appa-

most facility of quotation, which would indicate the most familiar acquaintance with ancient literature. But let us turn to Bochart. (Hierozoicon, Pars Secunda, lib. iii. *De Serpentibus.*) '—Neque '*Orpheum* hanc artem (the incantation of serpents) latuisse 'idem probat ex ipsius *Orphei* verbis.—Eodem pertinet, quod '*Apollonii Argonauticôn* libri quarti versu 147, *Medeæ* le- 'gitur Ηδιον ιυουν Θελξαι τιρας, *suavi voce mulsisse monstrum*, id 'est, draconem, velleris aurei custodem.—*Ovidius* idem *Jasoni* 'tribuens libro septimo Metamorphoseos,

'Hunc postquam sparsit *Lethæi* gramine succi,
'Verbaque ter dixit placidos facientia somnos,

'Aliis enim serpentes manu et tactu fascinare moris erat. Vir- 'gilius libro septimo Æneidos,

'Spargere qui somnos cantuque manuque solebat.

'Silius Italicus libri primi versu 411,

'Nec non serpentes diro exarmare veneno
'Doctus Atyr, tactuque graves sopire chelydros.

'— Cantu nempe Magico credebantur serpentes, e cavernis 'elici, atque evocari. Sic Plinius libri octavi capite decimo 'sexto eos *extrahi cantu*, dicit, cogique in pœnam.—Et 'Seneca in Medea,

'tracta Magicis cantibus
'Squamea latebris turba desertis adest.

'*Augustinus* libri undecimi De Genesi *ad literam* capite vige- 'simo octavo, *Putantur audire et intelligere serpentes verba* 'Marsorum, *ut eis incantantibus, prosiliant plerumque de* 'latebris.

'Etiam cantu sisti, deliniri, et stupefieri dicuntur angues.— 'Virgilius ubi supra,

'Vipereo generi, et graviter spirantibus hydris,
'Spargere qui somnos cantuque manuque solebat
'Mulcebatque iras, et morsus arte levabat.

'Cantu insuper crediti serpentes ab omni veneno expurgari, 'ut ne morsu noceant. Ita Isidorus Originum libri noni capite 'secundo, *Marsos* scribit *illæsos esse carminum maleficiis.*

'— Et Lucanus libri noni versu 933,

'Pestis nigris inserta medullis
'Exeantata perit.'— pp. 886—890. Ed. 5.

Neither the utility of the "Illustrations," nor the r[illegible]ation of the Author, would have been impaired by a distinc[illegible] nowledgement of the advantages which the work has d[illegible] from Bochart's Collections. It is but just, that the learn[illegible]ormer times should enjoy the undivided credit of their [illegible]igable

researches; and it is but honest, that succeeding writers who reap the fruits of their labours, should frankly ascribe to the original authors whatever they may choose to transfer from their works into their own pages. In the case before us, we should have been better pleased to find the Professor stating that a considerable portion of his work is abridged from the Hierozoicon, and that to Bochart he is indebted for the classical ornaments of his own "Illustrations." We could wish to see in living authors a more cautious regard for their own credit, and a more just and honourable feeling for the reputation of preceding writers.

In the account of the ass, we have the following remarks.

'To ride upon an ass was, in the days of the judges, a mark of distinction, to which it is probable, the vulgar might not presume to aspire. This is evident from the brief notices which the inspired historian gives of the greatness and riches of Jair, the Gileadite, one of these judges: "he had thirty sons that rode on thirty ass colts; and they had thirty cities, which are called Havoth-jair unto this day."* Abdon the Pirathonite, another of these judges, "had forty sons and thirty nephews, that rode on threescore and ten ass colts."† It is reasonable to suppose, that the manners and customs of the chosen tribes underwent a change when the government became monarchical, and the fascinating pleasures of a court began to exert their usual influence; still, however, the ass kept his place in the service of the great. Mephibosheth, the grandson of Saul, rode on an ass; as did Ahitophel, the prime minister of David, and the greatest statesman of that age. Even so late as the reign of Jehoram, the son of Ahab, the services of this animal were required by the wealthy Israelite; the Shunamite, a person of high rank, saddled her ass, and rode to Carmel, the residence of Elisha, to announce the death of her son to the prophet, and to solicit his assistance.‡

'But, as the number of horses increased in Judea, and people of rank and fashion became fonder of pomp and show, the movements of the nobler and statelier animal were preferred to the rapid, but less dignified, motions of the ass. This change, it is reasonable to suppose, began to take place from the accession of Solomon to the throne of Israel; for that rich and splendid prince, collected a very numerous stud of the finest horses that Egypt and Arabia could furnish. One thing is certain, that after the Jews returned from their long captivity in Babylon, the great and fashionable, for the most part, rode the horse or the mule. The ass was resigned to the use of the lower orders; and it quickly became a mark of poverty and meanness to appear in public on that animal. This important change in the sentiments and customs of the Jews, enables us to understand how the public entry of our Lord into Jerusalem, riding on a young ass, could have been foretold by the prophet Zechariah, as an instance of his meekness and humility: "Rejoice greatly, O daughter of

* Jud. x. 3, 4. † Jud. xiv. 13, 14. ‡ 2 Kings, iv. 8. 24.

Zion, thou, O daughter of Jerusalem, behold, thy king cometh unto thee: he is just, and having salvation, lowly, and riding upon an ass, and upon a colt the foal of an ass."* On that memorable occasion, by returning to the primitive simplicity which marked the conduct of their fathers, he poured contempt on the pride of human glory; he put honour upon the law, which prohibited the chosen people to multiply horses, lest they should imbibe the spirit, and engage in the ruinous enterprises of warlike nations; and he displayed at once, the mildness of his administration, and the unaffected meekness and lowliness of his character." Vol. I. pp. 430, 431.

Professor Paxton adopts Mr. Harmer's illustration of our Lord's warning to his disciples, Mark xiii. 15. Matt. xxiv. 17. The staircase of an Eastern house, he remarks,

'is uniformly so contrived, that a person may go up or come down, by it, without entering into any of the offices or apartments; and by consequence, without disturbing the family, or interfering with the business of the house. In allusion to this method of building, our Lord commands his disciples, when the Roman armies entered Judea, to flee to the mountains; and adds, "Let him that is on the house top, not go down into the house, neither enter therein, to take any thing out of his house." They were commanded to flee from the top of the house to the mountains, without entering the house; which was impossible to be done, if the stairs had not been conducted along the outside of it, by which they could escape.' Vol. II. p. 244.

Mr. Burder's would seem to be an easier and more satisfactory method of elucidating the text. He gives in his "Oriental Customs," the following extract from Williams's "Voyage up the Mediterranean:" 'The houses in this country 'are all flat-roofed, and communicate with each other: a person 'there might proceed to the city walls, and escape into the 'country, without coming down into the street.'† Speedy flight is the object of our Lord's recommendation; and this would be much more practicable in the latter case, than in the former.

These copious volumes comprise a very ample collection of materials for the illustration of the Scriptures, and are well adapted for the use of those who are engaged in the work of public religious instruction; for whose benefit they are chiefly intended by the Author, having been originally prepared for the students under his care. It is, indeed, a work which must interest and gratify every reader who makes the intelligent perusal of the Scriptures an object of his attention. The volumes admit of compression, the Author's style being rather diffuse. His diction is on the whole perspicuous, though not free from blemishes: we have 'future,' for subsequent; 'plenty' for plentiful; and some other Scotticisms. Clemens Pædagogus,

* Zech. ix. 9. † Vol. II. No. 1210.

(Vol. II. p. 108.) is to us a novel personage. The bunch of grapes from Eshcol, (Vol. I. p. 288.) is represented as requiring the strength of two men to bear it. The mode of its conveyance, "between two upon a staff," we should rather imagine to have been adopted in order to preserve the fruit from being crushed. The Chaldee Paraphrast does not describe the ministers of religion as engaged, since the coming of Christ, in teaching the people and conducting the affairs of the church. (Vol. I. p. 159.) An Index of *Texts Illustrated*, concludes the work. An Index of *Subjects* would have been a useful addition.

Art. IV. *Sketches of India:* written by an Officer for Fireside Travellers at Home. 8vo. pp. 330. Price 10s. 6d. London. 1821.

'SKETCHES of India' is the title of a lively and sensible volume, of nearly the same dimensions as the present, which appeared about five years ago, and of which an account will be found in our seventh volume. The Author of the present work was probably not aware that its title was pre-occupied. Notwithstanding, however, all the sketches, journals, and letters which have familiarized the scenery, costume, and manners of British India to almost all classes of the reading community, not forgetting the Hindoo poem of Mr. Southey, and the delightful stories of Mrs. Sherwood, the series of highly picturesque descriptions contained in our Officer's narrative, cannot fail to be acceptable as a most pleasing and interesting addition to our stock of information. The best preface to the volume is supplied by the concluding paragraph.

'It has not been the vanity of playing author, which has induced me to consent that this should be offered to the press. I am very sensible of its trifling, sentimental, unimportant character. But I write for men like myself; and if a scholar should look on it by accident as he sat alone over the fire in a solitary inn, he might innocently beguile an hour over these unlearned pages; and go perhaps to his bed, after wandering with me among haughty followers of Mahomet and idolatrous Hindoos, more grateful to his Father in heaven, for having cast his happier lot in a land where, under the cross of Christ, he may read his interest in the precious promises of the gospel; and mark how the benign influence of Christianity softens and adorns the character of the English people.'

Little more will be necessary in noticing the Author's performance, than to select a few specimens in support of our cordial recommendation of the work to general perusal. The rich and vivid picture presented in the following extracts, will remind our readers of the admirable landscapes of Daniell.

'No,—I shall never forget the sweet and strange sensations which, as I went peacefully forward, the new objects in nature excited in my bosom. The rich broad-leaved plantain; the gracefully drooping

bamboo; the cocoa-nut with that mat-like looking binding for every branch; the branches themselves waving with a feathery motion in the wind; the bare lofty trunk and fan-leaf of the tall palm; the slender and elegant stem of the areca; the large aloes; the prickly pear; the stately banian with its earth-seeking and reproductive drop-branches; and among them, birds, all strange in plumage and note, save the parroquet,—at home, the lady's pet-bird in a gilded cage, here, spreading his bright green wings in happy fearless flight, and giving his natural and untaught scream.'

* * * * * * *

'These poor wretches, with no other clothing than small rags round the middle, and loads on their heads, whom you meet singly or in large groups, are the common coolies, or road-porters of the country; for thus light burdens are usually conveyed here, even for distances of two or three hundred miles.—This haughty-looking man with a prominent nose, dark eye, and olive brown complexion, having a large turban, muslin vest, gaudy silk trowsers, and noisy slippers, is a Mahometan.

'This next, with his head bare and shaven, except a few thick-falling locks clubbed behind, his forehead marked with stripes of the ashes of cow-dung, his naked body, clean yellow-coloured skin, the zennaar, or distinguishing threads worn over the shoulder, and a large pale salmon-coloured loin-cloth, is an officiating bramin.

'These fat-looking black men, with very white turbans and dresses, and large golden ear-rings, are dubashes; a sort of upper servants or public inferior agents, ready to make any purchases for strangers or residents; to execute their commissions, change their monies, or transact any business for them.

'These men with red turbans, broad shoulder-belts of leather, breast-plates, sashes and swords, are government peons of the zillah, or police foot-soldiers. There are establishments of them in every district. They are distinguished by their belt plates; the belts being often of red, blue, or yellow cloth, or even tiger-skin.

'There is a group of native women returning to their houses with water: they are of a common class; but observe their simple dress, erect carriage, and admirable walk. One piece of cloth wrapped twice round their loins in its breadth, and passing in its length upwards over the bosom, is either disposed mantle-like to cover the head, or thrown gracefully across the right shoulder, and brought under the left arm to the middle. Their shining hair is neatly rolled up into a knot at the back of the head; and is occasionally ornamented with little chaplets of pale yellow flowers. The vessels which some carry on the head, some on hip, are of brass or clay; but ancient, and urn-like in their form.

'This low, curiously carved car, with a white canopy, and cream-coloured bullocks, having their horns ornamentally tipped with wrought brass, collars with bells, and crimson body clothes, is the conveyance of some native merchant, or shroff.

'These horsemen with red hussar jackets, high spherical-shaped caps of blue cloth richly ornamented, leather breeches, boots, and English saddles, so well mounted, and as light-coloured as Spaniards,

are of the body-guard of the governor.—Observe the horse-keeper following that staff-officer; thus the groom runs after his master in this country, and will keep pace with him at a smart canter. He is always provided with a leading rein and chowrie.

'These well-appointed black soldiers, clothed and accoutred so completely like British troops, except the peculiar cap of blue cloth with brazen ornaments and plates, are sepoys of the Madras establishment.

'That officer in dark blue uniform with red facings, brazen helmet and red horse-hair, is of the Madras horse artillery; a corps most deservedly admired all over India.'

'That monk with the pale Italian countenance, grey hair, small scull-cap, black robe, and white cords, just stepping out of that old palanquin, is the superior of the Capuchin convent at Madras: he is a native of Rome.

'This fine looking young man in a close white vest with a dark blue sash and high cap of black velvet with many points, is an Armenian gentleman; and the low stout man in a purple robe and mitre cap, with a long black bushy beard, who is speaking to him, is a priest from Armenia. Almost all these persons of half-cast complexion, whom you are continually meeting, are the descendants of our countrymen, or other Europeans, by native mothers; those of Portuguese extraction are very numerous.

'These restless-looking, haughty idlers, who are sauntering up to us, their little all expended on the fine robes they wear, save a frugal meal provided daily in their gloomy homes by trembling females or some wretched slave, would, but for our happier rule, be the petty tyrants of some of those peaceful villages we shall soon visit.

'The large man on the grey horse, with the shawl turban, gold-threaded sash and silver-headed creese (or dagger), to whom they are all now salaaming, is a native of some distant province, not perhaps under our authority. The housings of his horse you see are embroidered with gold; his reins silken; the animal too has a breast-plate and head ornaments of shell-work; the servant running by his side holds that spade-shaped screen so as always to shade his face; and the man himself, though looking vain as well as proud, has a free, cheerful, self-satisfied air.—Not so this Moollah or Mahomedan priest. Mark his iron-grey beard and wrinkled forehead, and those fiercely sparkling eyes, alive and youthful with a feeling of hate. What an insolent vindictive look he casts at us! He recollects, for he was a young man then, when in the year 1780 the horse of Hyder rode shouting through the gardens of our countrymen; and recollects too that he wished them success.' pp. 6—21.

Our Officer must be admitted to be an excellent observer. The volume abounds with sketches equally graphical.

'About forty miles from Madras, the route to Bellary brings you to the foot of the eastern Ghauts, at the small town of Naggery. Our camp was in a fine verdant spot, with many old shady tamarind-trees, and a broad stream of clear running water close to it. Before us the Ghauts abruptly rose. The mountains are broken into many

forms, here rounded and woody, there pointed and of bare rock; on the sides of them are masses of confused strata intermingled with shrubs and plants, and here and there, as the soil may have found a more secure lodgement, grow a few trees of larger size. The whole producing a noble effect; for although the Ghauts rise no where to a greater height than three thousand feet, still, as you come upon them after marching over the plains of the Carnatic, they arrest and please the sight. While breakfast was getting ready I amused myself with looking at a baggage-elephant and a few camels, which some servants, returning with a general's tents from the Deccan, were in the act of loading. The intelligent obedience of the elephant is well known; but to look upon this huge and powerful monster kneeling down at the mere bidding of the human voice, and, when he has risen again, to see him protrude his trunk for the foot of his mahout or attendant, to help him into his seat; or, bending the joint of his hind leg, make a step for him to climb up behind, and then, if any loose cloths or cords fall off, with a dog-like docility pick them up with his proboscis and put them up again, will delight and surprise long after it ceases to be novel. When loaded, this creature broke off a large branch from the lofty tree near which he stood, and quietly fanned and fly-flapped himself, with all the nonchalance of an indolent woman of fashion, till the camels were ready. These animals also kneel to be laden. When in motion, they have a very awkward gait, and seem to travel at a much slower pace than they really do. Their tall outstretched necks, long sinewy limbs, and broad spongy feet; their head furniture, neck-bells, and the rings in their nostrils, with their lofty loads, and a driver generally on the top of the leading one, have a strange appearance: and if you meet them in the sandy bed of a river, or on a barren and burning plain, from ideas you associate with them, are very picturesque objects.' pp. 43—45.

In beating jungle for game, this noble animal will force its way into apparently impervious recesses. The Author had subsequently an opportunity of witnessing 'the perfect dog-like 'manner' in which it will put up from the low, tufted grass the smaller kinds of game.

A very interesting description is given of the ruins of Bijanagur, the last capital of the last Hindoo empire. It was founded in 1336, and is said to have been twenty-four miles in circumference. Not above eight or nine pagodas are now standing, but these are choultries innumerable, and fallen columns, arches, and piazzas on every side for miles.

'When the traveller, after winding wearily for many a mile through hill and jungle, at length reaches the small village of Cumlapoor, he looks eagerly to the north of it for the site and ruins of Bijanagur; but when he sees the prospect filled and bounded by lofty and rugged piles of rock, heaped up in strange and threatening forms, and all the valleys which separate them choaked up with bush and giant-grass, with here and there, a few large and ancient trees thinly scattered, he pauses in doubt and disappointment, for he cannot think that city ever stood in so barren and desolate a spot. The naked and torrent-

furrowed hills before him seem rather the mighty relics of some work of nature, where, in the long succession of ages, deluge after deluge has swept down the soil that covered, and, with it, the verdant mass of turf and shrub that adorned them. A colossal figure of the god Ganesa, with his elephant-head, another of the stately bull of Siva, two or three broken gateways, and several large blocks of hewn stone scattered loosely on the road beneath him, which they once paved, make him look more attentively around; and he now sees that the sides of these naked hills are studded with rude choultries of stone; that small pagodas are erected at their summits; and that the perpendicular masses of stone in the rock itself, and those columns prepared and raised by human labour, are so intermingled with each other, as not to be readily distinguished at the first admiring unsettled gaze. In the valleys between them he sees fragments of pillars, walls, pagodas, or choultries, scattered in the thick jungle; here peering a little above it; there nearly concealed by rich mantles of creeping plants. A cluster of domes discovered on his right, as he passes the large tamarind-trees beyond the village, demand, by their imposing appearance, his first visit.'

'One of the pagodas here deserves particular mention; for, in addition to the admirable sculpture, with which its gates, pillars, and projecting cornices are adorned, it has an idol car, entirely composed of black granite, ornamentally carved, and beautifully executed. It has been moveable, but its wheels are now half bedded in the soil. It has, moreover, under the inner temple, a subterraneous sanctuary. This sanctuary receives a sort of gloomy light from above, but was doubtless designed to be illuminated by torches, when any ceremony or sacrifice was performed there. In it a few small reservoirs with channels and lips, which were wont on solemn occasions to be filled with the urine of the cow, of which, in some of their mysteries, a most disgusting use is often made.

'The blood creeps as you stand alone in the gloom of this dungeon-like vault, and reflect on the horrid rites it may have often witnessed. It is dedicated to the destroyer, and was, perhaps, first consecrated by human blood. It has, probably, often echoed shrieks and laughter, from which humanity and purity alike revolt. The thought of such crimes might well steel the heart, yet it will throb as you image to yourself the hour of retribution, when a band of Musulmauns broke into this recess, and seizing the assembled priests by those sacred locks hanging from their shaven crowns, dragged them with shouts to the light of day; polluted their necks with the foot of pride; slew all; and rolled their gory heads, as mock-offerings, to the feet of their goddess Kali, whose necklace of human scalls bespoke her not unacquainted with such sacrifice.'

'Now, as you tread, the wild peacock, with a startling whirr, rises in your path; now, you disturb the basking snake; and here, as the rustling of a thicket attracts your eye, are reminded that these ruins are the haunts of the hyena and the panther; that the small and frequent patches of sugar-cane give shelter to the wild boar; and that wolves are common in the rocky hills above you.' pp. 81—83.

Some very sensible remarks occur relative to the present state of the native population; but our Author complains that it is, after all, only the outside of Indian society that a European can gain access to. In the travels of Bernier, who was domesticated among the omrahs of Delhi and Akbarabad, a more faithful portraiture of the manners of the people is to be found, than has since been furnished by any of the gentlemen officers who have traversed these regions in the discharge of their professional duties. The traveller 'may talk with his moonshee or pundit; 'ride a few miles with a Mahommedan sirdar; receive and return 'visits of ceremony among petty nawabs and rajahs; or be pre-'sented at a native court;' but he cannot enter the domestic circle. The bars to intercourse with Mahommedans as well as Hindoos, are so many, that to live upon terms of intimacy with them is impossible. The Author laughs, however, at the idle tales which some learned Orientalists attempted a few years ago to palm on the English public, relative to the mildness and inoffensiveness of the Hindoos, and the pure theism of their creed. 'The mild Hindoo!' he exclaims, 'the term is mockery.'

'To say that, of the vast population of India, any considerable body are simple deists, is an assertion hardly worth one scratch of the pen to disprove. Among the countless multitudes of Brahma's votaries, I do not believe there are one hundred so *spiritual* in their perceptions, nor one tenth of that number so honest in their avowal and their teaching. No! they are blind idolaters, blinded by that common curse which fell upon the whole family of the human race, and are sitting in the shadow of that darkness which the Sun of Righteousness can alone dissipate; and will, in the appointed time.' p. 61.

The Author expresses his firm persuasion, that the Brahmins or Bramhuns (it is impossible to preserve a uniformity in our orthography, as every writer spells the word his own way) are felt by the mass of the natives as a voluptuous, self-indulgent, oppressive class, who are a burden on their industry; and he thinks that the idolatry of India is sensibly declining in its baleful influence and authority over the natives. At one place a ludicrous circumstance is stated to have occurred. The inhabitants having invoked their favourite idol without success, it was brought forth into the bazaar, and flogged by the officiating brahmins for its inexorable deafness to their prayers.—From the present exertions to promote the formation of native schools, the Author confidently anticipates the happiest results.

'The wealthy and public-spirited natives themselves, adopt and encourage the use of our school-books in the innumerable native schools, over which they exercise a control we could not attempt. It is true, they will only admit such small tracts of elementary knowledge, as set forth the plain truths in geography, natural philosophy, and the sciences; also our abridgements of history, and beauties of morality.

'But if they will so teach them while children,' can they prevent the when men, from casting off the delusions and errors of past age Can they, when, by teaching them plain truths, they have undermine the clumsy fabric of that idolatry on which they leaned when the only learned the fables and falsehoods connected with it? can the prevent them, I ask, from eagerly and earnestly enquiring "who wi show us any good?" and can they prevent the ministers of the gosp from shewing them Christ crucified for the sins of an apostate and re bellious world, and inviting them to drink freely at the wells of salva tion?

'The adamantine chain of cast is that obstacle to the spread o gospel truth, on which many sincere and devout men whose heart overflow with Christian love to mankind, look with a sort of hopeles despondency as impassable,—as never to be broken down by huma efforts: now, it is to burst open this barrier, that I would see huma means courageously applied; nor are they, under the *Divine blessing* inadequate to the task. A general use of printed (I do not mean re ligious) tracts in their schools, and a general dissemination of them among the people, will, in fifty years, do much towards the confound ing of these base and cruel distinctions, if it be aided by a governmen which has hitherto shewed as great a deference for all the privileges o cast, as if it were fettered by prejudice or fear, and has long shared with the brahmins the enormous profits arising from the customary offerings at those pagodas, or sacred spots of superstitious resort whither devout multitudes crowd on pilgrimage, or for some high festival, more or less frequently during their lives, according to the distance and sanctity of the spot, the nature of their vows, or the extent of their means.' pp. 130—2.

Our Author was himself present at an examination of five hundred native boys *of all casts*, selected from different schools, entirely under the superintendance of natives, which was held at the house of a bramhun of great wealth and influence in Calcutta.

'Many of the senior civil servants of the establishment were present; among them the chief secretary to the government. The boys were examined in reading, writing, arithmetic, and repetition; and they all received as prize-books, such as are translated by us, printed in our presses, and used in our schools. The masters, who were all brahmins, were rewarded with sums of money, according to the proficiency of the scholars selected from their respective schools for the occasion. A pretty little boy, habited in fine figured muslin, with a row of valuable pearls about his neck, and other rich jewels, probably the ornaments of his doating mother, took his stand and chance in the class of naked little fellows with whom he had been instructed; and was examined, side by side, with many of inferior cast.' I found that he was the son of the very brahmin at whose house this gratifying and interesting exhibition took place. Thus, thus it is, that the shackled Sudra will be lifted up, and learn to feel himself a man!'

pp. 134—6.

In the very heart of Benares, there is a school founded and patronized by a wealthy bramhun, who has stepped forth from the crowd of idolaters, 'is a friend to knowledge, and certainly 'not an enemy to Christianity, having placed it under the care 'of a pious and able young Englishman, an orphan *elève* of 'the Rev. Mr. Corrie.' A most honourable testimony is borne to the memory of that excellent clergyman, and that of the admirable Henry Martyn, as well as to the indefatigable and invaluable labours of the Baptist Missionaries. At Agra, near which is the magnificent tomb of Acbar, and which contains some matchless specimens of Oriental architecture, a spectacle still more interesting than its superb mausolea and its Pearl Mosque, presented itself in the venerable Abdool Messee,—

'the most distinguished of the few Mahomedans who have cast away the crescent for the cross; a native of Jucknow, of respectable family, well educated, with good temporal prospects. Attracted to the gospel by the preaching of Mr. Martyn, by examination, conviction, and prayer, he became a proselyte to the Christian faith. He has endured the contempt and revilings of his nation and kindred, the scorn, or pity, or suspicion of many of our countrymen,—not, however, will I believe, of any who have looked upon him. He is aged, and somewhat infirm; but, perhaps, a countenance more venerable and commanding, yet, at the same time, more truly subdued into a gentleness free from depression, and a meekness free from timidity, I never saw. It was a blessed, a humbling, a strengthening sight. He is poorly supported by our Missionary establishment, and superintends a school for them. He has some skill in medicine, and practises gratuitously among the natives. His patience, forbearance, and benevolence have so far conquered his persecutors, that he leads a life of comparative peacefulness. I felt it a privilege to meet and speak with this great-hearted pilgrim; and feeling how impossible it was that he should either have risen, or now stand, in his own strength, found new support in the path of difficulty myself.

'During the time I passed at Agra, from the absence of the clergyman, there was no divine service: but my reader will learn, with a strange feeling of pride and surprise, that the same holy liturgy which is read in every humble village-church in England, on the Sabbath, is read also at Agra, in a large apartment in that very palace in which Mogul princes, the sternest enemies to the cross, the proudest supporters of the crescent, have often read or listened to the koran of Mohammed.' pp. 240—2.

The dregs of the Mussulman population are 'vile enough;' but the better class of Mahommedans have some knowledge of the God of Abraham; 'and pious Mahommedans are to be met 'with in India, who have learned to distinguish between the 'stolen jewels and the false stones and tinsel of the Koran.' The Officer expresses his belief, that the conversion of the Mahommedan world, whenever it begins, will spread with astonish-

ing rapidity. 'Could Mahommedans be satisfied,' said a Sirdah, 'that Isaac was the child of promise, they would make 'but a short stand for the Koran.'

In dark contrast to these facts, it is stated, that, incredible as it may sound, there is at this present moment, a *British General in the Company's service*, who observes all the customs of the Hindoos, makes offerings at their temples, carries about their idols with him, and is accompanied by fakirs, who dress his food. And yet he is not treated as a lunatic!

Our Officer is bold enough to hint at the possibility of there being one day a termination of the British Empire in India—'an entire loss of our Indian possessions as governors;' and he points out the circumstance of the fearful increase and rising importance of a class of natives connected with us by blood, language, habits, education, and religion, as one which suggests abundant matter for speculation. These are the small merchants, the shopkeepers, the citizens in fact, of our Presidencies, who are represented as advancing not only in numbers, but in wealth, consideration, and knowledge.

'They are shut out from the service of the Company; but that they are the subjects of the Company must never be forgotten. The British blood and the native blood in their veins are alike hateful to them; for the Englishman and the Hindoo alike disclaim them. But, as the light of knowledge beams upon them, they see and feel that "honour and shame from no condition rise." The revolution of a few short years will fearfully increase their numbers; and, if the moral and mental improvement of this class, now reckoning in it many men of talent, integrity, and piety, keeps pace with that increase, we must not expect, nor ought we to wish, that they should look upon themselves as out-casts, without a country they dare call their own; without the common privileges of freeborn men; without eligibility to honour, wealth, or usefulness, or to any share in the government of themselves.' pp. 112—3.

An interesting account is given of a visit to the ruins of Gour, the ancient capital of Bengal, which are spread over a space near fifteen miles in length by three in breadth. The red soil is formed of bricks now mouldered or crumbling beneath the tread. Those who made them, have slumbered in the dust for five and twenty centuries. And yet, exclaims the Author,

'how strange to think, that, could you raise an ancient inhabitant of Gour, and place him where those trees might be supposed to shelter and to shade yon small ghaut, and shew him that groupe of brahmins, with their brazen vessels and flowers, performing their ablutions in the stream, he would not fancy more than one night dreamed away; and, bathing himself, would prepare to re-enter the city in their company. So that, after all, we have ruins of Gour more striking to the mind than the half-standing columns of Babylon, or the more perfect temples of Egyptian Thebes. We have the helpless, blind,

and feeble posterity of an erring and fallen race, clinging to the gods of their fathers, with a pertinacity at once to be admired and pitied."
p. 178.

Nearly on the site of Gour, at the garden bank of Gomalty, has resided for twenty-six years an eminent Bengalee scholar, who has translated the Gospel into that language, and written in it several simple and beautiful dialogues, designed as familiar expositions of the Book of Genesis. His guest, on retiring to his chamber, was struck at finding on his table in such a spot, a copy of the Scriptures, and on the book-shelves, a number of religious works. Into the feelings such a circumstance would excite, it will be difficult for a fireside traveller at home adequately to enter; but we envy not the reader who can read without emotion the reflections of the Author on finding himself on Christmas day in a village built on the ruins of an old serai in the province of Malwah, which recalled the days of Aurungzebe. With this striking extract, we reluctantly take leave of our estimable Officer.

"My day at Nya Serai is one of my life, although marked by no peculiar incident, not to be forgotten. It is a happy festive day in Old England. All the images and associations connected with it are joyous. Family circles, smiling children, indulged and contented servants; Christmas gifts, holiday fare, and cheerful faces; and, with the more aged pilgrims in this vale of years, the reflected pleasure from the innocent gayety of children and dependents; and a holy, high, and hopeful joy,—a deep gratitude for the birth of that Redeemer in whom alone they find rest for their souls. No bell here knolled for church; no humble voice read to me the glad tidings of peace on earth, good-will towards men. Yet was this day most blessed to me. The Moslem lay slumbering near my tent; the lawless Mahratta rode past it; the Hindoo peasants of Malwah were busied in their fields; a burning sun shone fiercely; sound, sight, and climate, seemed alike to mock the season I would think of: but, with a pocket-bible in my hand, I felt the emptiness of all fancied situations, means, and ordinances, compared to the fullness of God's word; or, of their poor influence, compared to the power of his Holy Spirit. I traced back my Christmas days for many years, during all of which I had felt about them only with a common, thoughtless, unmeaning joy. I had celebrated them at home, at sea, in camp; in Portugal and in Spain, too, had been present at the midnight mass of Christmas eve; in France, had forgotten Frenchmen and captivity in the common conviviality of that marked day; always had I been in the society of relatives or friends: but yet, in a land, heathen and almost hostile, passed one of the happiest days of my whole existence. I saw that the words uttered from heaven to the adoring shepherds were to the whole earth: and though I grieved to think the sound had not yet reached the dark spot around me, still did the conviction that it would, strike to a heart, not one year before, as dark itself: and I felt that, all alone as I stood, my thanksgivings and prayers ascended to

the throne of Grace, together with those of the assembled congregations of my native land.

'Pardon me, Reader! perhaps fully to do so, you should pass one such day alone in a foreign land.' pp. 279—282.

Art. V. *The Life of Andrew Melville*, containing Illustrations of the ecclesiastical and literary History of Scotland, during the latter Part of the sixteenth and Beginning of the seventeenth Century. With an Appendix, consisting of original Papers. By Thomas M'Crie, D. D. Minister of the Gospel, Edinburgh. 2 vols. 8vo. pp. 494, 549. Price 1l. 4s. Edinburgh. 1819.

WE owe some apology to Dr. M'Crie for having so long delayed to notice these highly interesting volumes. But a work like this, which is destined to obtain a permanent place in the library, by no means requires to be so promptly caught up and so anxiously displayed to the public, as the general run of publications, which, a year after their first appearance, are in danger of becoming obsolete, and even communicate a staleness to the pages of a critique. The present work has not yet made its way into popularity, its title being less attractive than that of the Author's former work, although the character and conduct of its hero are not less entitled to admiration than those of his more illustrious predecessor.

These volumes may be considered as a continuation of the *Life of* Knox, as they contain the important sequel to the grand transactions in which the illustrious Scottish Reformer was the prime agent, and shew the effects of his intrepid and persevering labours. The men whose great and admirable deeds are here exhibited, were actuated by the same lofty motives, upborne by the same unconquerable energy, and manifested the same fearless negligence of life and all its comforts, in the prosecution of the 'noble task' to which they had been separated and sanctified by the Spirit of God.

'Next to her Reformer,' emphatically remarks Dr. M'Crie, 'who, under God, emancipated her from the degrading shackles of papal superstition and tyranny, I know no individual from whom Scotland has received such important services, or to whom she continues to owe so deep a debt of national respect and gratitude, as Andrew Melville.'

This great champion of the civil and religious liberties of his country, was of highly respectable descent. He was born on the 1st of August, 1545. His father, Richard Melville, was killed in the battle of Pinkie, in 1547, so fatal to the gentry of Angus and Mearns. He left a numerous family, and, as the estate was small, the condition of his youngest son seemed to be hopelessly depressed. Happily, the very circumstance which threatened obscurity and disaster to his future life, proved the origin of its

usefulness and activity, since the establishment of his health, and the cultivation of his mind, were owing, under Providence, to the affectionate care of his elder brother. His kind dispositions were seconded by the tenderness of his wife, who seems to have felt as much interest in her young brother-in-law, as in her own children. Her son, James Melville, who afterwards adorned his profession as a minister of the Kirk, by his talents, learning, piety, and constancy under persecution, bears testimony, in his 'Diary,' to the maternal attachment felt and expressed by his parent towards his uncle, and to the filial gratitude uniformly cherished in return by the latter.

'I have often heard Mr. Andrew say, that he, being a bairn very sickly, was most lovingly and tenderly treated and cared for by her; embracing him, and kissing him oftentimes, with these words, 'God give me another lad like thee, and syne take me to his rest.' Now she had two lads before me, whereof the eldest was dead, and betwixt him and the second she bare three lasses: so in the end, God gave her one, who, would to God he were as like Mr. Andrew in gifts of mind, as he is thought to be in proportion of body and lineaments of face; for there is none that is not otherwise particularly informed, but takes me for Mr. Andrew's brother.'

James Melville's Diary.

We fully coincide with Dr. M'Crie in his opinion, that the powerful and extensive influence which the doctrines and conduct of Wiclif had upon the Reformation, have not been adequately traced; and we sincerely wish that the Doctor himself would take up the subject. The life of that great Reformer has never been efficiently written. His character has, in one instance at least, been treated with unpardonable injustice; and the rescue of his fame would be a task worthy of the vindicator of the memory of Knox. It is stated by the present Historian, that the Lollards existed in Scotland from the days of Wicklif to the preaching of Wishart; and that in Fifeshire, they were sufficiently numerous to meditate the forcible liberation of the martyr Hamilton. The new opinions had been embraced by the family of Melville. The elder brother of Andrew studied during two years at the university of Wittenberg under Philip Melanchthon, and, on his return, cherished a close intimacy with George Wishart. The subject of the present memoir was thus nurtured in the full warmth of liberal opinions; and the educational advantages which he enjoyed, were diligently and perseveringly cultivated. After having attained, both in years and in acquisitions, that point which would have entitled him to an honourable reception at the university, he delayed his entrance two years for the sake of profiting by the instructions in Greek of a learned Frenchman, who taught it in the school established for that purpose at Montrose. When, in 1559, young Melville, thus intel-

lectually furnished, matriculated at St. Andrews, the professors, who, after the fashion of that day, made it their chief business to comment upon Aristotle, but, from their inability to read the original, were acquainted with the works of the 'mighty Stagyrite' only through the medium of a Latin translation, were astonished to find their young pupil making habitual use of the Greek text. It is to the honour of his teachers, that they indulged no jealousy of his superior attainments; they felt, on the contrary, a high-minded pleasure in the anticipation of his future celebrity. John Douglas, the rector of the university, was accustomed to treat him with affectionate familiarity, and when delighted with his replies, would exclaim, 'My silly, fatherless, and motherless 'boy, its ill to witt what God may make of thee yet.' After having completed the usual routine of study, Melville left the university with the character of 'the best philosopher, poet, and 'Grecian of any young master in the land.'

A valuable portion of Dr. M'Crie's volumes is devoted to the elucidation of the state of learning in Scotland, with special reference to the system of public instruction. Into these details, however, we feel it inexpedient to enter, since they would involve subjects that would be of little interest apart from facts and illustrations which would claim too large a space. In general it appears, that knowledge was somewhat below the standard of the times among the Scottish literati, but that strenuous and well-judged efforts were in progress for raising it to its due elevation.

In 1564, at the age of nineteen, Melville, with a view to the completion of his education, visited the Continent, and entered at the university of Paris, then at the height of its reputation. Here he studied under Turnebus, Mercerus, Quinquarboreus, and other learned men with latinized names. But his greatest advantages probably were derived from the instructions of Ramus, the first effectual opposer of the Aristotelian system, which had so long trammelled the schools, and cramped the intellectual efforts of gifted men. Melville's bold and excursive mind kindled at his master's flame, and when he returned to his native land, he adopted the general plan of teaching and philosophizing which he had learnt of Ramée. In 1566, he left the university of Paris for that of Poitiers, where, though a stranger and only twenty-one years of age, he was made a regent in the college of St. Marceon. Hitherto, his residence in France had been unembittered by the disputes and persecutions to which his religious sentiments might have exposed him in less favourable times; but, in 1567, the civil war between the Catholics and the Hugonots broke out anew; and in the following year, Poitiers was besieged by Admiral Coligni at the head of the Protestant army. Melville was thus placed in a situation which demanded the utmost prudence, and on several occasions he incurred con-

siderable hazard, from which he was extricated by his characteristic intrepidity and presence of mind. The classes of the university having been dispersed, he resided with a counsellor of the Parliament as tutor to his only son.

'When he was making rapid improvement in his education, this promising boy was prematurely cut off. Coming into his room one day, Melville found his little pupil bathed in blood, and mortally wounded by a cannon ball from the camp of the besiegers, which had pierced the house. He lingered for a short time, during which he employed the religious instructions which he had received, in comforting his afflicted parent; and expired in his tutor's arms, pronouncing these words in Greek, Διδασκαλε, τον δρομον μου τετελεκα: —*Master, I have finished my course.* Melville continued to retain the most lively recollection of this affecting scene, to which he never could allude without tears.'

On one occasion, Melville was exposed to danger by the suspicions of a subaltern commanding a small guard stationed at the Counsellor's house. This sturdy Catholic had, it seems, observed him reading the Bible, and engaging in devotional exercises, and had shrewdly inferred that his Romanism must be exceedingly doubtful. He charged Melville with heresy and treachery; but the spirit and dexterity with which the resolute Scot conducted himself, changed the enemy into a respectful friend.

When the siege was raised, Melville determined on visiting Geneva, and set out on foot with his Hebrew Bible fastened to his belt. This mode of travelling was usual to him, and the lightness and activity of his small frame, enabled him to sustain its exertions and privations without fatigue. Geneva was then—would that it were still!—in the highest repute for orthodoxy and learning; but it was attractive to Melville principally as the abode of Theodore Beza, with whom he cultivated a close intimacy. While he was enjoying the high and rare felicity of friendly association with the illustrious men who were either habitually resident in that free and enlightened city, or had sought in its shelter from the sanguinary persecutions then raging in France, he received pressing solicitations to return to Scotland. With these he resolved to comply, and resigning the professorship which he held in the University, quitted Geneva with cordial testimonials to his piety and learning, and with the assurance, addressed by Beza to the General Assembly of the Scottish Kirk, 'that the Church of Geneva could not give a 'stronger proof of affection to her sister Church of Scotland, 'than by suffering herself to be bereaved of him, that his native 'country might be enriched with his gifts.' It was in the spring of 1574, that he set out by the way of Lyons and Orleans, in company with two of his countrymen, Polwart and the bishop of Brechin.

'As the civil war was still raging in many parts of France, a vigilant eye was kept on such strangers as came to Orleans. When our travellers approached that city, the soldier on guard allowed the bishop and Polwart, who were on foot, to pass, but stopped Melville, who, having sprained his foot, was on horseback. To the question, "Whence are you?" Melville replied, "From Scotland."—"O! you Scots are all Hugonots."—"Hugonots! What's that? We do not know such people in Scotland."—"You have no mass," said the soldier—"*Vous n'avez pas la Messe.*"—"No *Mess*, man," replied Melville merrily; "our children in Scotland go to mess every day."—"*Bon compagnon, allez vous;*" said the soldier, smiling and beckoning to him to proceed. When he reached the house at which they had previously agreed to lodge, he found his two countrymen in great trepidation lest their papers should have been examined, and disposed to laugh heartily at the *equivoque* by which they had escaped detection.'

After an absence of ten years, Melville reached his native land, in July, 1574, and declining the offer of patronage made to him by the Regent Morton, took up his abode at the house of his brother, where his early years had been so pleasantly spent. Here he occupied himself in the instruction of his nephew James, whose father committed him to the care of Andrew, charging the young man to 'wait upon' his uncle 'as a son and servant.' At this time, the university of Glasgow was in a decayed and sinking state, and the talents of Melville were eagerly looked to as the only probable means of its revival. He was urgently solicited to accept the office of Principal, and in October, he entered on the discharge of its important functions. He found the affairs of the university in a miserable condition; but, nothing discouraged by the wreck and dilapidation which surrounded him, he entered firmly and vigorously on the labour of restitution; and the details given of his plans and exertions, shew sufficiently that the task could not have been committed to better hands. His efforts were completely successful. Before his third session, the deserted class-rooms were unable to contain the numbers who pressed for admission: the licentiates of other colleges came to finish their studies under his direction, and, in the language of James Melville, who was a regent below him, 'there was no place in Europe comparable to Glasgow for 'good letters, during these years—for a plentiful and good 'cheap market of all kinds of languages, arts, and sciences.' He had the happy art of conveying instruction at all times, and in different shapes; not only in the set form of prelections, but in his daily intercourse with his colleagues, and at the commons, to which not only the students, but the neighbouring residents whose attainments might entitle them to such a privilege, resorted, that they might enjoy the high and beneficial gratification of his rich and lively converse.

'His conversation was enlivened with amusing anecdotes, and

apothegms, and classical quotations and allusions. He was fond of discussing questions of literature, and had an uncommon faculty of throwing light on them, in the easy and unceremonious form of table-talk. This made the master of the grammar-school, who was afterwards principal of the college, to say of these literary conversations, "that he learned more of Mr. Andrew Melville, cracking and playing, for understanding of the authors which he taught in the school, than by all his commentators."'

The firmness and intrepidity of Melville were of signal advantage in the establishment and maintenance of discipline. He was surrounded by an assemblage of young men, some of whom were of high birth; and their arrogant pretensions and turbulent conduct rendered it in general difficult, and sometimes dangerous, to restrain their excesses. To be intimidated or controlled in the discharge of his duty, was no part of Melville's character, and on various occasions, he asserted his authority in circumstances of great peril. In one instance of this kind, two young men of rank, Boyd and Cunninghame, attempted to assassinate the regent of their class, by whom the former had been chastised. Cunninghame was seized by the very person at whose life he aimed, and sentenced by the magistrates to a public apology. The friends of the young men, influenced by the misrepresentations of Boyd, took part with them; and such were the apprehensions of outrage, that even the rector of the university was of opinion, that it would be wise to remain satisfied with the decree without attempting to press its execution. But Melville's nerves were more firmly strung. 'If they would have forgiveness,' said he, 'let them crave it humbly, and they shall have it; but ere this 'preparative pass, that we dare not correct our scholars for 'fear of bangsters and clanned gentlemen, they shall have all 'the blood of my body first.'

'On the day appointed for making the submission, Lord Boyd came to Glasgow accompanied with his friends, and the Earl of Glencairn with his, to the number of between four and five hundred gentlemen. The members of the University being assembled in the College-hall, attempts were made to deter them from appearing at the appointed place, by persons who professed to act as mediators. "They that will go with me, (exclaimed Melville,) let them go; and they that are afraid, let them tarry." And, setting out instantly, he was followed by the rector, regents, and students, in their gowns. The churchyard was filled with gentlemen, who gave way, and allowed the procession from the college to advance to the spot where the assault was made. Alexander Cunninghame, with his head and feet uncovered, but in other respects richly dressed, now came forward, supported by two of his friends, and, with an air very different from that of a penitent, said, he was ready to make his submission, provided there were any that would accept it. "Doubt not of the acceptation, (replied the Principal,) we are here ready!" This boldness completely deranged

the plans of the cabal, whose object it was to make a show of readiness to give obedience to the order of the Privy Council, but at the same time to intimidate the College from requiring it. Accordingly, after a short pause, the culprit found himself obliged to begin his confession, which he went through in every article, conformably to the original sentence, in the presence of his friends convened from all parts of the country. When the ceremony was over, the Principal and his company left the church-yard in the same manner as they had entered it, without meeting with the slightest molestation. And the gentlemen, after spending a considerable sum of money in the town, returned home, 'greater fools,' as some of them expressed themselves, than they came.'

But these petty altercations, however important as illustrating the character of Melville, were but the preludes to more trying and conspicuous scenes. Talents and energy like his, were not to be permitted to waste themselves on an inferior theatre, while the civil and religious interests of the whole nation demanded his active interference. The framework of the Scottish establishment, though partially adjusted, was not yet finally settled. Strange anomalies had been inevitably permitted to remain in the system; and a powerful party among the magnates of the realm, were anxious for the introduction of Episcopacy as more favourable to their own ambitious and rapacious projects. But the mantle of Knox rested upon Melville, and his sojourning in Geneva had thoroughly riveted his attachment to the Presbyterian discipline. His fearless determination was neither to be moved by favour, nor shaken by menace. And when the Regent Morton, whose threats were seldom idle, exclaimed in ungovernable anger, 'There will never be quietness in this country till 'half-a-dozen of you be hanged or banished the country,'—he received from Melville this firm and heroic reply: 'Tush, sir; 'threaten your courtiers after that manner. It is the same to 'me whether I rot in the air or in the ground. The earth is the 'Lord's. *Patria est ubicunque est bene.* I have been ready 'to give my life where it would not have been half so well 'wared (expended or bestowed) at the pleasure of my God. I 'have lived out of your country ten years as well as in it. Let 'God be glorified: it will not be in your power to hang or exile 'his truth.' The whole of this chapter is written with great spirit. Dr. M'Crie touches the points of Church-government and discipline briefly, but with a master-hand, and, in a curious note, points out rather exultingly a passage in Hooker, which seems to involve an awkward concession, and completely to justify the acute explanation offered in the following passage.

'Nothing has proved more puzzling to the *jure divino* prelatists, who feel a great veneration for the fathers, than the sentiments which St. Jerome has expressed, in various parts of his writings, concern-

ing the origin of episcopacy. A very curious instance of this occurs in Hooker's *Ecclesiastical Polity*. Hooker enters into an elaborate reply to the objections which the presbyterians have raised from Jerome's assertion, that the superiority of Bishops to Presbyters arose from custom, rather than divine institution. In the middle of this reply, the following singular sentence occurs: "*This answer* to St. Jerome seemeth dangerous; I have qualified it as I may, by addition of some words of restraint; yet I satisfy not myself, in my judgement, it would be altered." (Ecclesiastical Polity, B. vii. § 5. p. 11. London, 1661.)* It will be obliging if some of the admirers of the *Ecclesiastical Polity* will examine this passage, and furnish a key to its meaning, and the design with which it was introduced. In the mean time, they are welcome to any assistance which they can derive from the following explication. It is known that the three last books (including the seventh) of the Polity were not published during the lifetime of the author. In looking over his manuscript, what he had written on this part of the subject, appeared to Hooker *dangerous*; he retouched and qualified his expressions, but still his answer *satisfied not himself;* it required yet to be altered; and to keep this in mind, he made a jotting of it on the margin. The manuscript coming into the hands of Dr. Gauden, bishop of Exeter, he introduced the marginal note into the text, and published both together. We may easily conceive how "the *judicious* Hooker" would have felt at seeing his acknowledgement of his perplexity in answering this objection, thus ignorantly and rudely exposed to the public eye. Yet, the blunder has been retained in all the editions which I have seen, from that of 1661, down to that which was lately printed at Oxford! The *Ecclesiastical Polity* is one of the books in which candidates for Holy Orders are examined: but this does not necessarily imply that either they or their examinators have made themselves masters of its meaning and contents.'

In 1580, Melville was induced reluctantly to quit his post at Glasgow, and to take his place at the head of the University of St. Andrews, as Principal of the New College. The changes and dismissals which were necessary to effect the introduction of the new system, occasioned much opposition; and the Aristotelians were little disposed to admit of the freedoms in which the new Lecturer indulged himself when discussing the old doctrines. The combined spirit and ability of Melville, overcame, however, at last all contradictions, and he was left at liberty to conduct the business of education in his own way.

'John Caldcleugh, one of the outed regents, was extremely noisy with his complaints, and boasted in all companies, that he would *hough* the new-made Principal, whenever he met him. He one day burst into Melville's chamber, and demanded rudely if he knew him. Melville said, he did not. "I should be known as a master of this college; my name is Mr. John Caldcleugh."—"Ho! is this you that

* In the Oxford edition of 1793, it occurs at p. 192. Vol. III.

will laugh men?" replied Melville; and, shutting the door, told him that they were now alone, and he had a fair opportunity of carrying his threats into execution. Caldcleugh's choler and his courage immediately fell; upon which, Melville gave him such a severe, and at the same time friendly, lecture on the impropriety of his conduct, that he went away quite mortified and humbled; accepted of a bursary in the college, and lived in it quietly as a student, until he was called to act as a professor.'

But Melville was soon to be engaged in more important and more hazardous strife. King James, who had now assumed for himself the direction of government, surrendered to worthless minions the guidance of his judgement and conduct, and, under the impulse of their counsels, and of his own meddling and tyrannical disposition, began a series of vexatious and oppressive interferences with the system and administration of the Kirk. In this state of things, Melville was not a man to stand neuter. He sprang into the breach, and, as Moderator of the General Assembly, presented himself, notwithstanding significant hints of violence, at the head of a deputation sent to remonstrate with the monarch.

'Having obtained access to the King in Council, the commissioners presented their remonstrance. When it had been read, Arran, looking round the assembly with a threatening countenance, exclaimed—"Who dares subscribe these treasonable articles?"—"WE DARE," replied Melville; and advancing to the table, took the pen from the clerk, and subscribed. The other commissioners immediately followed his example. Presumptuous and daring as he was, Arran felt abashed and awed for the moment. Lennox addressed the commissioners in a mild tone; and they were peaceably dismissed. Certain Englishmen, who happened to be present, expressed their astonishment at the bold carriage of the ministers, and could scarcely be persuaded that they had not an armed force at hand to support them. They *might* be surprised; for, more than forty years elapsed after that period, before any of their countrymen were able to meet the frown of an arbitrary court with such firmness and intrepidity.'

In February 1584, a successful attempt was made to deprive the advocates of religious liberty of the presence and personal services of their high-spirited leader. He was summoned before the privy council, to answer allegations of treasonable speeches delivered from the pulpit. His defence seems to have been unanswerable; but his adversaries were resolved to pursue the affair as far as possible, and regardless of his protest against their right of jurisdiction, condemned him to imprisonment. We must confess that we are not quite satisfied with the reasoning by which Dr. M'Crie here endeavours to vindicate the 'declinature' of the authority of the court. Though we perfectly agree with him, that Melville was right in rejecting the judicial

usurpation of a body incapable, by its very constitution, of rendering a correct judgement, yet, it does appear to us, that more than this was meant; that there was somewhat of a disposition to assume the independency of the hierarchy on the civil magistracy. Be this as it may, the behaviour of Melville was undaunted and unyielding. He threw, in lieu of gauntlet, his Hebrew Bible on the council-table, and challenged his judges to examine his 'instructions.' Finding, however, that his liberty was endangered, and that ulterior measures were darkly hinted at, he resolved on flight, and withdrew into England, where he was afterwards joined by other ministers, who were driven from their flocks by the tyrannical acts of the Administration and the Parliament. During his stay of twenty months in this country, he appears to have met with the most hospitable treatment. On visiting Oxford, he expressed himself highly delighted with the magnificence of that favoured seat of learning.

At length, the unpopularity of the King's favourites compelled him to dismiss them, and, after a series of events, for which we must refer to the volumes, Melville had the satisfaction of witnessing, in 1592, the formal recognition, by act of Parliament, of Presbytery as the established ecclesiastical system of the realm.

There is an interesting account of the fate of part of the Spanish Armada, for which we must find room notwithstanding its length. Melville's nephew had quitted the university, and settled as minister

of Anstruther, a maritime town on the south-east coast of Fife. Early one morning, before the overthrow of the Armada was known in Scotland, one of the baillies of the town appeared at his bedside, and informed him that a ship, filled with Spaniards, had entered their harbour; adding, to deliver him from apprehensions, that they were come, "not to give mercy, but to ask," and that the magistrates desired his advice how to act towards them. The principal inhabitants having convened, it was agreed, after consultation, to give audience to the commander, and that their minister, who had some acquaintance with the Spanish language, should convey to him the sentiments of the town. Intimation of this having been sent to the vessel, a venerable old man, of large stature and martial countenance, entered the town-hall, and making a profound bow, and touching the minister's shoe with his hand, addressed him in Spanish. "His name was Jan Gomes de Medina, he was commander of twenty hulks, being part of the grand fleet which his master, Philip King of Spain, had fitted out to revenge the insufferable insults which he had received from the English nation; but God, on account of their sins, had fought against them, and dispersed them by a storm; the vessels under his command had been separated from the main fleet, driven on the north coasts of Scotland, and shipwrecked,

on the Fair Isle; and, after escaping the mercilless waves and rocks, and enduring great hardships from hunger and cold, he, and such of his men as were preserved, had made their way, in their only remaining bark, to this place; intending to seek assistance from their good friends and confederates, the Scots, and to kiss his Majesty's hand, (making another profound bow,) from whom he expected relief and comfort to himself, his officers, and poor men, whose condition was most pitiable." When James Melville was about to reply in Latin, a young man, who acted as interpreter, repeated his master's speech in English. The minister then addressed the Admiral. "On the score of friendship, or of the cause in which they were embarked, the Spaniards (he said) had no claims on them; the King of Spain was a sworn vassal to the Bishop of Rome, and on that ground, they and their King defied him; and with respect to England the Scots were indissolubly leagued with that kingdom, and regarded an attack upon it as the same with an attack on themselves: but although this was the case, they looked upon them, in their present situation, as men and fellow creatures labouring under privations and sufferings to which they themselves were liable, and they rejoiced at an opportunity of testifying how superior their religion was to that of their enemies." ..... After this, the admiral and his officers were conveyed to lodgings, which had been provided for them, and were hospitably entertained by the magistrates and neighbouring gentlemen, until they obtained a licence and protection from his Majesty to return home. Before their departure, James Melville received a printed account of the complete destruction of the Armada, with the names of the principal persons who had perished in the wreck of the galleots on the coasts of Wales, Ireland, and Scotland. On this being imparted to Jan Gomes, the tears flowed down the furrowed cheeks of the hardy veteran.

'The sequel of the story must not be suppressed. Some time after this, a vessel belonging to Anstruther was arrested in a Spanish port. Don Jan Gomes was no sooner informed of this, than he posted to court, and obtained her release from the king, to whom he spoke in the highest terms of the humanity and hospitality of the Scots. He invited the ship's company to his house, enquired kindly after his acquaintances in the good town of Anstruther, and sent his warmest commendations to their minister and other individuals to whom he considered himself as most particularly indebted.'

In 1590, Melville was elected Rector of his University, but his elevation served only to make him a more conspicuous mark for the aim of the designing men who were bent on the extension of the royal prerogative, by converting the Kirk into a mere instrument of patronage and interest. James, whose abilities seem to have been peculiarly suited to this kind of work, was indefatigable in wrangling and intriguing. His disgusting perfidy was in active and shameless exercise on all occasions; and the most solemn pledges were treated by him with superlative contempt. He it was who originated the strange policy of favouring

a foreign faction addicted to popery and arbitrary power; while the best friends of the Reformation, who were at the same time the natural and surest friends of a Protestant government, became the objects of his jealousy and aversion. This absurd and criminal course, he pursued throughout his reign, in spite of all the admonitions which he received, and it was persisted in with hereditary fatuity by his successors, who carried on a secret and illicit intercourse with the Church of Rome, which issued at length in their laying their triple crown ingloriously and irrecoverably at her feet. An example to all British sovereigns who may be tempted to form such an unnatural and unhallowed attachment.'

In the different interviews between Melville and the monarch, which took place during the unhappy transactions of this period, the former maintained the spirit and energy of his character without abatement or concession. The petulance and overweening vanity of James were no match for the well-grounded confidence in his own powers, the rich mental endowments, and the exclusive regard to the dictates of conscience, which awakened the ardent eloquence of the fearless advocate of the Kirk. On one of these occasions, Melville, who seems to have been rather given to seizing his opponent by the button, grasped James by the sleeve, and, addressing him as '*God's silly vassal*,' went on, in a most intrepid style of reprehension, to give his sentiments on the conduct of the King.

A slight tumult which took place in the capital, in December 1596, was made by the Court a pretext for the severest measures, and became the signal for the renewal of persecution against those Presbyterian ministers who had been distinguished for their firmness in the defence of their immunities. At the time of the disturbance, Melville was not in Edinburgh, and consequently, there could be no plea for including him in the proscription which ensued; but the fear of his determined opposition to the impending visitation, induced a series of vexatious interferences, the object of which was not to be mistaken. In the midst of all this bustle, James was most egregiously in his element, and during the complicated intrigues by which it was attempted to secure the subserviency of the Church, he fidgetted and lectured vastly to his own satisfaction.

'In the public deliberations and debates, he directed and decided every thing in his double capacity of disputant and umpire. Those who wish to perceive the glory of James's reign, must carefully attend to this part of its history. It was at this time that he found a stage on which he could exert his distinguishing talent, and 'stick the doctor's chair into the throne.' It was at this time that he acquired that skill in points of divinity, and in the management of ecclesiastical meetings, which afterwards filled the English bishops with both "admiration and shame," and made them cry out that they verily thought he was "inspired." Never did this wise monarch appear to such great advantage

as when, surrounded with "his own northern men," he canvassed for votes with all the ardour and address of a candidate for a borough; or when, presiding in the debates of the General Assembly, he left the members to the question, regaled them with royal wit, calling one "a seditious knave," and another "a liar," saying to one speaker "that's witch-like," and to another "that's anabaptistical," instructed the clerk in the true geographical mode of calling the roll, or taking him home to his closet, helped him to correct the minutes.

At length, James ascended the throne of England, and the Hampton Court Conference gave to the friends of religion in this country, a specimen of the treatment which they were to expect from their new monarch. During the contest for maintaining the General Assembly against the efforts made by James and his ministers to supersede or neutralize that 'great bulwark of the liberties of the Church of Scotland,' Melville was vigilant and active. In May 1606, he was summoned, with seven other ministers, to London, ostensibly for the purpose of conferring on ecclesiastical matters, but in reality with the view of removing from the scene of action the most resolute opponents of arbitrary power. In August, they reached their destination, and were soon admitted to a public audience, in which Melville let loose his fiery eloquence, and, much to the astonishment and admiration of the French Ambassador, who was present, gave the Lord Advocate a smart trimming, and left him and the King *sans replique*. The ministers, who were now, in fact, prisoners at large, among other petty vexations, were compelled to attend a series of sermons, preached in the Royal Chapel, on the leading points of variance between the Presbyterians and the Episcopalians. This curious mode of conducting controversy, calls forth the following pithy comment from Dr M'Crie.

'If ever the Church of England had her days of chivalry, they had then passed by; else her champions would have deemed it foul disgrace to attack antagonists who were not at liberty to defend themselves, or to return the blows which they received; and day after day to crow like cravens over men who sat bound and chuckled before them.'

A highly imprudent, though certainly a very innocent act of Melville's, afforded his enemies an advantage over him, which they were careful not to let pass. He had been required to be present in the Chapel Royal on the feast day of St. Michael, 'one of the *Dii minorum gentium* of the English;' and on that occasion, disgusted with the unmeaning affectation of the ceremony, had expressed his feelings in a Latin epigram, which was communicated to the King by some of the spies who were in attendance on the Scottish ministers. For this enormous offence, he was brought before the privy council.

The Archbishop of Canterbury (Bancroft), addressing him,

gan to aggravate the offence, arguing that such a libel on the archship of the Church of England, was a high misdemeanour, and even brought the offender within the laws of treason. This was too much for Melville to bear from a man of whom he had so unfavourable an opinion as Bancroft. He interrupted the Primate. "My Lords," exclaimed he, "Andrew Melville was never a traitor. But, my Lords, there was one Richard Bancroft (let him be sought for) who during the life of the late Queen, wrote a treatise against his Majesty's title to the crown of England; and *here* (pulling the book out of his pocket) is the book, which was answered by my brother John Davidson." Bancroft was thrown into the utmost confusion by this bold and unexpected attack. In the mean time, Melville went on to charge the archbishop with his delinquencies. He accused him of profaning the Sabbath, maintaining an antichristian hierarchy, and vain, foppish, superstitious ceremonies, and silencing and imprisoning the true preachers of the gospel for scrupling to conform to these. Advancing gradually, as he spoke, to the head of the table where Bancroft sat, he took hold of the lawn sleeves of the Primate, and shaking them, and calling them *Romish rags*, he said, "If you are the author of the book called "English Scottizing for Geneva discipline," then I regard you as the capital enemy of all the Reformed Churches in Europe, and as such, I will profess myself an enemy to you and to your proceedings, to the effusion of the last drop of my blood: and it grieves me that such a man should have his Majesty's ear, and sit so high in this honourable council." It was a considerable time before any of the council recovered from their astonishment so far as to think of interposing between the poor Primate and his incensed accuser. Bishop Barlow at last stepped in; but he was handled in the same unceremonious way. Melville attacked his narrative of the Hampton Court Conference, and accused him of representing the King as of no religion, by making him say that, "Though he was *in* the Church of Scotland, he was not *of* it." He then proceeded to make strictures on the sermon which he had heard Barlow preach in the Royal Chapel. "Remember where you are, and to whom you are speaking," said one of the Scottish noblemen. "I remember it very well, my Lord, (replied Melville,) and am sorry that your Lordship, by sitting here and countenancing such proceedings against me, should furnish a precedent which may yet be used against yourself or your posterity."'

'The result of this and of subsequent proceedings was, Melville's committal to the Tower, while his nephew was ordered to fix his residence at Newcastle upon Tyne, and not to pass the limit of ten miles round the town. The other ministers were permitted, on harsh conditions, to return home. Previously to their departure, some nonconformists had collected for them a sum of money, which, from the most honourable motives, they gratefully declined. Melville's durance lasted four years; nor was he at last liberated, but for the further punishment of exile. The Duke de Bouillon had made application to James, that the prisoner might be allowed to reside in Sedan as professor in the

Protestant university there, and an ungracious assent having been given, Melville embarked for France in April 1611. The remainder of his life was honourably and piously spent; but, as it contained no marking event, we shall merely state in addition to the preceding particulars, that he died in 1622, at Sedan, having reached the advanced age of seventy-seven years.

In our notice of this rich and important work, we have, of necessity, restricted ourselves to the leading circumstances of the life of Melville. We must not, however, omit to say, that these volumes contain a large mass of various and most interesting matter illustrative of the ecclesiastical history of Scotland during the period under investigation. Of these valuable and multifarious elucidations, it would not have been practicable to give a satisfactory abstract without an inconvenient extension of the present article. Dr. M'Crie has been able to include his materials within their actual limits, only by the most rigorous compression; and though we believe that, on the whole, he has done wisely to study brevity, yet, for our own part, we should have felt highly gratified by an additional volume.

It is quite unnecessary for us to be diffuse in praise of Dr. M'Crie. It will be quite sufficient to say, that, in learning, in spirited composition, in attachment to the great principles of religious liberty, he has fully maintained throughout the present volumes, the high level which he had attained by his life of Knox.

Art. VI. *An Examination of the Charges made against Unitarians and Unitarianism, and the Improved Version*, by the Right Rev. Dr. Magee, Bishop of Raphoe, in his "Discourses and Dissertations "on Atonement and Sacrifice:" with some Strictures on the Statements of the Bishop of St. David's, Dr. Hales, Dean Graves, Dr. Nares, Dr. Pye Smith, and Mr. Rennel, &c. and on the System pursued by some recent Editors of the Greek Testament. By Lant Carpenter, LL.D. 8vo. pp. lxii, 437. Price 14s. London. 1820.

NEITHER the representations of Unitarian doctrines which are introduced into this work, nor the eulogies which the respectable Author has pronounced upon them, have rendered them at all attractive in our view, or reconciled to either our reason or our feelings the cold and cheerless system which he would substitute for Apostolic Christianity. In other respects, however, we frankly admit the force of many of the statements in Dr. Carpenter's present appeal. It is impossible, we think, that a perusal of this volume should leave on the mind of a candid reader, any other than an impression greatly to the disadvantage of some of the opponents of Unitarians. This report of the work, we are bound to make, less in justice towards the

nthen of it, than in discharge of the obligations which we owe Truth itself. Dr. Carpenter is, indeed, but too successful in etecting and exposing the illiberal spirit and the disingenuous roceedings of more than one of the assailants of Unitarians; nd particularly has he succeeded in his impeachment of the ight Rev. Author of the "Discourses on Atonement and Sacrifice." We are far from agreeing with Dr. Carpenter in ll his statements and conclusions; we think some of them much oo strong; but with all the deductions that on this and every ther account we should deem necessary, we still have left a case oo clearly made out against the Bishop of Raphoe and some of is coadjutors.

Fiat justitia. There is no cause so sacred as that of Truth. To support her interests by such means only as she would sanction, is the primary object of our zeal. Nor can we construe direct misrepresentations and calumnious imputations, affecting he characters of our theological opponents, otherwise than as offences against the interests of truth. The adoption of these lishonourable arts in controversy, may, indeed, answer a present purpose connected with the private interests of the advocate; but they cannot be the means of finally subduing error. They may for a time succeed in gaining over the passions of men to the side of particular sentiments, and in affixing odium to the characters of others of opposite sentiments; but they must eventually produce such effects as will demonstrate their inutility, and more than this,—their mischievous tendency in relation to the advancement of truth. It will not be imagined that we include in this censure those warm expressions which, in the heat of controversy, may escape from the pens of the most guarded writers, or those mistakes which the most cautious may commit. We speak of such perversions of evidence, and of such a use of invective as do not admit of this explanation, but go much beyond the allowances which may fairly be claimed for human infirmities; of measures which are intended to make a party or individuals obnoxious, apart from the fair treatment which ingenuous minds will ever consider as due to even the most erroneous.

In some of the sentiments expressed by Dr. Carpenter, we most cordially agree with him. Among Dissenters, Unitarian as well as Trinitarian, there are some persons 'who think that 'the rites and services of Religion may be well supported by 'the interference of the State.' There are others to whom this interference appears in no other form than as a mischievous intrusion, and who regard the principle on which it is founded as radically wrong. Dr. C. says:

"Wise and good men, in as well as out of the Church of England, have seen and lamented the tendency of the honours and wealth ex-

clusively bestowed on those who subscribe to her articles of faith, to mislead men's judgements, to warp their consciences, to check their disposition to search after truth, to make them look with suspicion on those who differ from them, and to induce them to confine their charity and respect to those within their own pale. Numberless instances indeed occur, in which this tendency is effectually restrained, if not altogether prevented, by the liberal spirit of our common Christianity, by the strict principles of duty entertained by the individual himself, by the influence of those extensive associations for the temporal or spiritual welfare of men, which draw different parties towards the common centre of Christian love, and by the liberalizing dispositions produced by the diffusion of knowledge and the free communication of opinion. Yet, the tendency exists, and necessarily attends an exclusive Establishment.

'I cordially wish, therefore, that the time may never arrive, when the principles of Unitarianism shall be alloyed by admixtures of worldly policy, or rested on the special support of civil authorities. And I doubt not that the period will come, when the support of public worship will be left to every one's own sentiments of its importance to society, and his appreciation of its value to himself; when no preponderance will be given to any denomination of professing Christians, by exclusively connecting with them civil privileges; when worldly motives will not be mixed with the solemn concerns of religion; and when every one will be equally protected and encouraged in the exercise of the inalienable right and duty of private judgement, and left, unbiassed by power and interest, to worship the God of his fathers in that way which he deems most accordant with Christian principle. Were I a Trinitarian, I should desire that period as earnestly as I do at present, because I could not less believe that Christ's kingdom is not of this world.' Preface, p. xiii. xiv.

Were we Unitarians, we should deprecate as strongly as does Dr. Carpenter, the mixture of religious profession with maxims of worldly policy and state patronage; and, not being Unitarians, we still unite with him in the anticipation of the entire freedom of religious profession from all political restraints and associations.

We can scarcely be mistaken in attributing to some of the most distinguished of the clerical opponents of Unitarians, a zeal "without knowledge," and at the same time directed by the most powerful political prejudice. Such representations as the following, have but too frequently been made in a spirit of hostility to Dissenters of *every* denomination. Dr. Hales describes the activity of Unitarians as

'most awfully alarming and deplorable if considered in a *national* light; threatening to alienate the affections of the great mass of our population from the Established Church and Worship, as superstitious and idolatrous, and from the State and Government which upholds it and maintains it, as *oppressive* and tyrannical; and in fine, to unchristianize the land, and eventually to draw down the vengeance of Heaven

pon the hypocrites and apostates when the measure of their iniquity hall come to the full.' p. xl.

This is language which goes far beyond all the bounds of sober nd effective writing, and which must be regarded by all honourable men as furnishing matter of just and gross offence to the parties against whom it is immediately directed. It is language which Dr. Carpenter, we apprehend, may be allowed to rebuke s both manifesting a 'wild alarm,' and indicating the existence f a spirit opposed to liberal and equitable principles. For Unitarianism we have no predilections; but Unitarians and other Dissenters (for Dissent is evidently part of the offence) may certainly claim to be heard when such heavy denunciations as this re made against them, in reference to the civil institutions of the ountry, which, it might, perhaps, be shewn, they as highly venerate, and would as fearlessly support, as their clerical accusers. These dignified personages might easily, we think, detect a zeal nd activity at work in other directions than those in which they denounce them, and threatening, apart from Unitarianism or Dissenterism, to unchristianize the land, and provoke the maesty of Heaven. We must notice that Dr. Carpenter's language and manner, in remarking on the preceding effusion and ther passages of a similar character, are truly excellent, worthy t once of applause and imitation.

It might be well if religionists would, in their controversies with each other, refrain from criminations which are devoid even f credibility, and limit their accusations to particulars in respect o which there is at least some ground of allegation. We should, or our own part, have judged that no well informed writer would, in these times, accuse any party of *deliberately falsifying the Gospel*; yet is this one of Bp. Magee's charges gainst Unitarians. The disposition in which alone such a measure could originate, no man has any right to attribute to nother; and unless Unitarians are to be represented as being likewise bereft of their senses and base in their principles, they would surely never engage in a practice the detection of which s so perfectly easy and certain. We must, therefore, admit, that Dr. Carpenter is but too amply justified in charging to the account of his opponent, the indulgence of a spirit which bears down all the restraints of decorum, when he describes Unitarian writers as abusing authorities 'without shame or scruple; and this too, not merely in the ardour of controversial contest, but with the cool and deliberate purpose of falsifying the word of God.' We should be glad to learn what enlightened conviction of the errors and dangers of the Unitarian doctrines, could be produced by this kind of writing, and what aid it has afforded to the cause of evangelical truth. Nor is it very probable that

such an attempt at crimination as this, should excite even that sort of prejudice against the principles of Unitarianism, which by some persons would be accounted laudable, and be viewed as a safeguard from the danger of seduction. It is too gross to be in any respect, or with regard to any persons, efficient as a means of monition and persuasion. It is not argument, nor is it counsel. Of Unitarian criticisms there is room, in some important cases, to complain, and they might be justly exposed as being evasive, violent, and offensive; but what credit can be hoped for, on enlightened grounds, for such a statement as the preceding?

We recognise in Dr. Carpenter a sobriety of feeling which is in striking contrast to the flippant manner of some Unitarian writers. His remarks on the religious observance of the Lord's day are well worthy of being transcribed.

'The simplest principles of benevolent policy require that there should be a frequent stated cessation from the labours of life; and the spirit of the sabbatical law points out the same thing, and perhaps decides the frequency and extent of such cessation. Whatever interferes with this, unless required by immediate necessity, or really productive of a more general attention to it, I consider as forbidden by benevolent policy. But regarding this cessation as most closely connected with the religious and even mental amelioration of mankind, and particularly as essential to the proper discharge of public worship, I deem every needless interruption of it, to be forbidden by Christian duty, as distinctly as if a direct precept had forbidden it.

'And I am equally satisfied that the principles of Christian duty require, that even if we do not ourselves find that suspension of innocent amusements and social intercourses, which others do, necessary for religious improvement, yet, that we should be careful, lest in the use of what we deem lawful and harmless, others should be interrupted in their more strict (yet alike conscientious) observances; or their feelings unnecessarily wounded; or they themselves led to liberties which their consciences would condemn. Many things which might to ourselves be lawful, may not, with a view to others, be expedient.

'These principles lead me to think it required by Christian duty, that the common labours of life, (or in other words the pursuits of worldly interest,) should be suspended on the Lord's day; that its engagements should, as much as possible, be so far accordant with the discharge of public religious duties, that they should not interfere with them, nor prevent their efficacy; and that its relaxations should be of that sedate, though cheerful nature, that good impressions should not be effaced by them, the religion of others disturbed, their minds distressed, or a stumbling-block to their consciences thrown in their way.

'If any consider the serious employment of the Lord's day as apology for the neglect of religion the rest of the week, then they are guilty of a great abuse of their spiritual advantages, and may be supposed to know little of vital godliness and practical faith. Fre-

quently, however, the flames of devotion lighted up in the house of prayer, are found to cheer and animate and guide through the week: and, where the efficacy of those engagements is less experienced, acknowledged principles of duty are strengthened and brought to mind; the influence of the mere worldly pursuits is lessened; and motives are supplied for the more private exercises of religion, which, without its public services, would have been unthought of or ineffectual.'

pp. 262—4.

It is not our intention to notice the several topics of discussion in this volume. To the strictures on the statements of the candid and amiable Author of the "Scripture Testimony to the "Messiah," a full reply has been given in the Appendix (No. IV.) to the second volume of that work. It is not with perfect justice that Dr. Carpenter classes such a man with some of the writers on whose dishonourable artifices he has occasion to animadvert, or that he sets up the 'Unitarian inquirer' as a model of candour and fairness, in contrast with the 'Orthodox accuser.' Dr. Carpenter has by no means in every instance exonerated his clients from the censures directed against them; and while we deprecate all attempt to recriminate, fully admitting that nothing can justify or palliate the dereliction of controversial integrity which has been shewn by some who have assumed the office of Christian advocate,—we must nevertheless enter our protest against the highly disingenuous manner in which the attack upon orthodox principles has been frequently carried on by Unitarian writers. While a morbid sensibility is exhibited by them in respect to any thing approaching to illiberality on the part of their opponents, they are themselves very far from having the monopoly of candour or Christian temper.*

* Of this a flagrant instance occurs in the last Number of the Monthly Repository. A correspondent, who signshimself Q. E. D., has the effrontery to assert, that, 'in arguing for the doctrine of the Trinity from 'Scripture, the Three Witnesses Text *is always first named.*' In the same paper, which contains an angry attack upon a recent article in the Eclectic Review, Dr. Dwight is represented as maintaining a plurality of Divine Beings. But gross as the blunder is, it appears to be unintentional: the Writer seems not quite acute enough to distinguish between a hypothetical and a positive statement. But no such apology can be offered for the flippant misrepresentation of Dr. Dwight's argument drawn from the inscrutable nature of the Divine Essence, to repel the confident assumptions of the deniers of the Trinity. The insinuation too, that Newton was one of those Unitarians to whom the Reviewer specifically referred as rejecting the whole of the Christian system, is worthy of the same pen. The 'American Doctor' whom Q. E. D. so ignorantly reviles, has an excellent discourse expressly treating of the objectionable mode in which the Unitarians conduct the Controversy, which we may venture to recommend to the perusal, not of Q. E. D., but of Dr. Carpenter. It is the forty-first of the Series.

Art. VII. *Rome*; a Poem. In Two Parts. 8vo. pp. 146. Price 6s. London. 1821.

THE Author of this poem pays, in his Preface, some elegant compliments to the critics—those 'modern harpies,'—'chattering thieves who suck the eggs of the nightingale,'—mousers whose kindness, 'like the indulgence of a cat to a wounded 'mouse, is worse than their severity;' and he is simple enough to 'implore the protection of the Public' against us. He might just as rationally implore the House of Commons to protect his country against Lord Londonderry. He had much better have thrown himself at once upon our clemency, instead of bestowing upon us these hard names, and calling in question our prerogatives. Why, his appeal to our constituents will be indebted to our zeal in forwarding it as addressed, for ever reaching them. In consideration of the inexperience of the offender, we have been induced to overlook his rashness; and, as from his earnest and tremulous deprecation of severity, we judge that he has much at stake in the success of his volume, we will endeavour to shew ourselves to be, according to another of his ingenious similies, more of *cooks* than *epicures*,—less fastidious than considerate of 'the labour of providing, picking, and dressing.' But we will not roast our nightingale. The following strains are at least plaintive enough to stop the mouth of Cerberus, if not to win the ear of Pluto himself.

> 'Presumptuous he, who now his feeble wings
> Adventrous spreads, yet trembles as he sings,
> Shrinks from the critic's scourge, whose lash severe
> Draws from pale Famine's eye the bitter tear—
> Stings with a scorpion's point the bosom's core,
> And dooms the trembling bard to sing no more;
> Robs him of all his cherish'd golden dreams,
> And turns to gall the Heliconian streams.
> To that fell cloud his smiling harvest yields,
> Like the black swarms that waste the Lybian fields:
> Beneath that frown, his golden sun's o'ercast—
> Hope's trembling blossoms wither in the blast;
> His airy castles fall—his laurels fade,
> That promised age a sweet, an honour'd shade;
> His children shrink beneath the wintry shed,
> And stretch in vain their little hands for bread.' pp. 19—20.

We take this to be a fancy picture. Our Author had not been home from his travels long enough to get married and have children already; nor are we to imagine that the proceeds of the present work are destined to meet the exigency of a baker's bill, or a quarter's rent. Nevertheless, when we think of Kirke White, we are ready enough to believe, that an acute degree of

suffering, and even a serious injury may be inflicted by the random hand of a professional critic; and we feel disposed to recommend at once this honest six shillings' worth to our readers, rather than put our Author's profits in jeopardy by fastidious criticism, or torture his feelings with what he might deem the refined cruelty of faint praise. His subject, though not unsung, is, for a descriptive poem, a good one. Dyer's erudite elegy in blank verse on the Ruins of Rome, is in a style little adapted to please modern readers of poetry. But Lord Byron's portrait of 'the Niobe of nations,' could surely not have been seen by our Author, when he wrote his preface. It is as well, perhaps, that he had not seen it. The great disadvantage of all such subjects, is, that they admit of little more than description, and the most elegant description soon becomes tedious. Our Author's sketches are by no means inelegant, but he himself becomes heartily tired of Rome before he has arrived at the end of his poem; and he is glad to get back to his native Erin, and to forget all the Cæsars, Michael Angelo, and the Pope, in the 'galaxy' of Irish talent—'Sterne, Goldsmith, Burke, Curran, the 'Kirwans, Grattan, *Philips*, *Bushe*, Lady Morgan, *Miss 'O'Neill (!!!)* Moore, and Wellington.' This 'decline and 'fall' of his subject must, however, be pronounced rather in Irish taste: it does more credit to our Author's patriotism than to his power of discrimination. But a good epicure will not quarrel with his company; and at a Lord Mayor's feast, the Duke of Wellington has in person found himself in a scarcely less motley assemblage than that in which our Poet has here placed his name. Yet, we fear that, to many readers who are neither 'cooks' nor 'epicures,' this arrangement of the bill of fare will appear strangely infelicitous—an Italian dessert ending in potatoes and buttermilk. And woe be to the Author, should he fall into the hands of a Quarterly Reviewer, for his compliment to Lady Morgan! It is but fair that his own apology should be heard for thus breaking down with his subject, and leaving his reader in a bog.

'This little poem was written immediately on the Author's return from Rome, while the glowing scenes of Italy were still warm in his memory; and his descriptions are merely a transcript of ideas which arose in his mind, while contemplating the wonders of art and nature, so numerous in that charming country. He paints no scene from the florid pictures of Eustace, or other enthusiastic travellers, but has examined every thing impartially with the eyes which nature bestowed on him. The pompous title of "Rome" to so short a poem, may excite a smile, and bring to recollection the old fable of "Parturiunt Montes;" but the truth is, that the Author undertook what he was unable to perform; his intention was to take a wider range, and embrace nearly the whole of Italy; but he sank under the weight of his subject, like a

dwarf bearing the armour of a giant, or Atlas with the heavens on his shoulders; and this feeble effort may be compared to that of a child playing with the limbs of a Colossus. In the present age, however, when the press groans with works tending rather to degrade than to exalt human nature, rendered doubly dangerous by the talent which forces them into notice, a writer may claim some indulgence from his mere choice of a subject, calculated to raise every noble sentiment of our nature, and to induce the aspiring artist and the classic youth to visit those favoured shores, which art has enriched with her choicest treasures, and nature blessed with every charm.'

Without further preface or further comment, we shall lay before our readers some specimens of the skill with which the Poet has executed his task. They will shew that his talents want only the guidance of a maturer judgement and the genial sunshine of Fortune, to rescue him from obscurity. The following is part of the description of St. Peter's.

'The Nave appears. Bramante's matchless art
In tones so sweet has tuned each swelling part,
That fair proportion softens every ray,
And giant forms to angels melt away.
Such power has symmetry. The vast, the grand,
Are sooth'd to beauty by her mellowing hand;
And soft emotions through our bosoms flow,
Which soon to warmest admiration glow.
Now the proud Baldachin, with sweeping fold,
Suspends its rich festoons of dusky gold,
Light as a gay pavilion's curtains fly,
Or golden fringe that decks the evening sky:
Four lucid columns shed an orient beam,
Bright with transparent alabaster's gleam.
But lo! where Angelo's intrepid hand,
(Spurning on sure and solid earth to stand,)
With daring step has climb'd the airy shrouds,
And raised the proud Pantheon in the clouds.
Vast as the starry canopy of night,
The splendid Cupola appals the sight;
Round the wide concave of colossal mould
Mosaic shines, enrich'd with sparkling gold;
And here Arpino's hand to saints has given
Seats emblematic of their native heaven.'

* * * * *

'With gradual step we mount the airy height,
Each step presents some new and pleasing sight,
Till, raised aloft, above the topmost wreath,
We view with awe the classic world beneath.
Dark rolls the winding Tiber's yellow wave,
Within whose troubled bosom found a grave
The spoils of nations. Statues, busts, and urns,
For ever lost, th' exploring artist mourns—

Wild as the task to search the rolling main,
When gifted Devonshire has toil'd in vain.
'The murmuring sounds that from the Corso rise,
Processions, music, and Stentorian cries,
Seem like the gentle throb of ocean's breast,
When all its stormy waves are lull'd to rest.
With easy swell green Pincio's summit towers,
Where Sallust mused beneath his laurel bowers;
And Monte Mario, where, through purple vines,
The fossile shell, or lucid crystal shines.
To shield the Coliseum's shatter'd form,
The Capitol's proud turret breaks the storm;
The seven high hills, with ruins scatter'd wide,
Present the wrecks of Nero's golden pride.
Around the desolate Campagna spread,
In dust and weeds laments her glory fled.
Beyond Frascati, Tully's loved retreat,
Still shews the ruins of his sylvan seat;
And Tibur, where pellucid Anio roves
Through flowery vales and juicy olive groves;
While warm and bright the golden sun-beams glow,
And bathe in tears Soracte's crest of snow.
Unrivall'd prospect! Wheresoe'er we turn,
We glow with rapture, or in anguish mourn;
Contending passions, long and deep imprest,
Rend with delicious pains the classic breast.' pp. 73—77.

Some of the most pleasing lines in the poem, are those which introduce the home-sick Traveller's apostrophe to the land of his sires.

'Alas! from home, from friends and country torn,
I trod these flow'ry vales and woods forlorn;
No sympathizing soul my heart to cheer,
Nor dry the solitary stranger's tear.
Man was not form'd to rove the pathless wild:
Alone he wanders like the helpless child
Whom Nature bade in social bonds to move,
And draw his nurture from the breast of Love.
No more on Tivoli's fair scene I stand,
But 'raptured tread my dear, my native land—
Wafted on Fancy's pinions to that isle,
Where earth's green breast and rosy beauty smile.
The modest flower, that gems the fields in May,
Expands its silver fringe to meet the day;
But, when no more the genial sun appears,
Dejected droops, and shuts its lids in tears.
Thus the lone exile mourns: his bosom chill
No kindling beams of joys domestic fill;
His vacant heart no social pleasures move—
The glow of friendship or the smile of love,

In vain Italian skies serene expand
Their azure arch o'er Europe's loveliest land:
In vain ambrosial flowers their sweets unfold,
Or fragrant orange shines with balls of gold—
Beneath Hesperian suns the valleys fade,
And rose and flowery thorn are sunk in shade.
Dim shines the splendour of imperial Rome,
While memory flies to sweet, to sacred home.
Yon parting beam now gilds my native isle;
Her verdant bosom glows with evening's smile.
Sun of Hesperia! golden sun, adieu!
Farewell the blossom'd vale, the mountain blue,
Where blooms the nectar'd grape, the citron's gold,
And myrtles green their gems of pearl unfold.
To colder climes I turn; these feet no more
Shall press thy flowery banks, thy balmy shore.
A long, a last farewell! blow sprightly gales,
And bear my bounding bark to Erin's vales,
Waft me, ye zephyrs, on your downy wings,
And lay me down by Erin's crystal springs,
Where Mucrus towers above the lucid wave,
And ivy wraps the saint's and hero's grave.
Lay me beneath the green arbutus bowers,
Where crimson berries blush through snowy flowers—
From rifted rocks in wild luxuriance shoot,
And dip in azure streams the golden fruit:
A lovelier scene than Tempe's flowery vale,
Or watery woods, when sleeps the balmy gale—
When rock and tree, in softer hues exprest,
Lie pictur'd clear in Como's glassy breast.' pp. 103—104.

In a note to this passage, intended to meet the objection, that the Author has said nearly as much about his own country as about the antiquities of Rome, he frankly confesses that, 'in truth, with all due respect for the natural and artificial beauties to be met with on the Continent, one of the greatest advantages an Englishman reaps from his tour, is a conviction of the superiority of his own country.'

Art. VIII. *Incidents of Childhood.* 24mo. pp. 186. (frontispiece) Price 2s. 6d. half-bound. London. 1821.

THE word 'December' staring us in the face on the first page of our present Number, and startling us with the recollection that we are touching upon the close of another year, and another volume of our critical labours, has summoned up a host of slumbering recollections, among which have naturally turned up the *incidents of childhood*. Methinks the venerable snow-crowned form of Christmas rises before us, with his good natured old countenance and holiday smile, at which the heart of

schoolboy leaps with joy. The toymen and the pastry-cooks are already busily preparing for their harvest; and Mr. John Harris, successor to the illustrious Newberry, and his estimable Quaker rivals in Gracechurch street, have, we doubt not, in readiness a delightful variety of green-backed and scarlet-backed tomes, and neat yellow-covered picture books, (for alas! the days of gilt covers are gone by,) for good boys and good girls of all tastes and ages. Nor let it be imagined, because we have seldom noticed publications of this humble yet meritorious description, that we are insensible of either the attractions or the importance of juvenile literature. We confess that our apparent ingratitude to the authors of several excellent little story-books, which have from time to time been transmitted to us, and which we have not found leisure to review, may have seemed to justify such an imputation. It has not been without compunctious feelings, that we have now and then looked towards the neglected shelf where lie Harry's Holiday, and Aunt Mary's Tales, and the amusing works of Arabella Argus, and some other neat little volumes of which certain little critical friends of ours, Reviewers in embryo, have reported favourably. But what is to be done? Unless, like good Mrs. Trimmer, whose very name bespoke her peculiar qualifications for the task, we devote a portion of our monthly Number expressly to the review of children's books and school books, or commence a new series of the "Guardian of Education," it is clearly impossible to obviate the charge either of partiality or of total neglect. Besides which, we shrewdly suspect that Mr. Harris's or Mr. Holdsworth's young customers would be very apt, without waiting for our critical sentence, to choose, after all, for themselves. We cannot be angry with them: they will know better by and by.

To shew our good will, however, to the rising race, as well as by way of general apology for former omissions, we have made choice of these admirable little stories as the subject of an article for our present Number. In making our selection, we have been partly influenced by finding the sentiments of the Author on the style proper to Children's Story books somewhat in unison with our own, and we are glad of the opportunity afforded us of making a few general remarks on the subject.

'Fictitious narratives,' says the Preface to this volume, 'designed for the perusal of children, should (in the opinion of the Writer) be familiar in their *subjects* as well as in their style, and slight in their construction. They should hardly aim to excite more than a very transient or superficial emotion. If they are highly wrought, or laboured with dramatic interest, they will rarely be read without injury by children whose imaginations are lively, or whose feelings are strong. In other cases, they will be harmless only in proportion as they are useless.

'It is desirable that children should be tempted to seek a portion—but never a large portion—of their amusement in books, as well as in active sports. That this species of amusement should be *harmless*, is, perhaps, its best praise. While it avoids the hazard which must always attend any fictitious excitement of the imagination or the stronger feelings, it may safely aim to illustrate the minor virtues,—to exhibit the less important faults to which children are liable, or to give a playful exercise to the understanding.

'In what way religious principles may be advantageously presented to the minds of children through the medium of fiction, is a question upon which the Writer has no wish to give an opinion: he has only to say, that he has not deemed himself qualified for the task.'

It will be immediately perceived that our Author is decidedly opposed to the hot-bed system of modern education,—the forcing of the mind by stimulants applied either to the faculty of attention or to the feelings. It has generally been considered as a most important reformation in the annals of the Nursery, which has exploded the apocryphal narratives of Mother Bunch, the tales of giants and giant-killers, love-lorn damsels and princely lovers, ogres and white cats. Nor can it be concealed that the morality of some of those tales is very bad, whatever may be their professed *moral*. But the poison is so completely sheathed in the delicious nonsense, that we question whether, at the very early age at which alone such narratives are capable of amusing, there was much danger of their corrupting or polluting the fancy. And then, they were avowedly works of mere entertainment, and were dismissed with the doll and the wooden horse, as soon as the mind had outgrown them. The moral and instructive tales by which they have been succeeded, make higher pretensions, and have in them a greater efficiency for good or evil. A child listened to the story of Cinderella or Ricket with the Tuft, with broad-eyed wonder, as to poetry. He is summoned to hear or read the more rational story as a moral lesson; and it then becomes for the first time a question, whether stories are the best mode of conveying such lessons, and whether, if story-books are thus elevated into tools and vehicles of grave instruction, they are not the more likely to usurp too large a space in the library, and at once to produce a distaste for the less pleasing task, and to supplant the more harmless toy.

We do not quite understand our Author's paradox, that, in certain cases, such books 'will be harmless only in proportion 'as they are useless; but we agree with him, that mischief is done by stimulating the love of reading in children, by interesting their feelings or working on their imagination. A child's amusements cannot be too simple. His every sensation is pleasurable; his own voice is music to him; the simplest incident is then fraught with all the interest of romance; and every inanimate object that surrounds him, is readily invested with

life and consciousness. All sorts of excitement are at this stage alike unnecessary and injurious; and books may, on this account, be too clever, too interesting—we were going to say, too instructive. They may, at least, contain a great deal of premature instruction, relative both to good and evil, for which a child may be little the wiser, and something the worse. We do not want to make our children little reasoners, or philosophers, or sentimentalists, or encyclopedists, which the boasted *interrogatory* system, together with the free use of fiction, tends to make them. We wholly disapprove of cramming them on the one hand, or cheating them into knowledge on the other. We consider the alliance between work and play as quite illegitimate, and would have books and toys kept perfectly distinct as soon as a child is able to apprehend the distinction. A quick child would commit to memory a page of *Propria quæ maribus*, with as little difficulty as a page of Questions and Answers from one of Mr. Pinnock's Fifty Catechisms, would be less *bothered* by it, and would be much better employed; for the exercise of the memory, and the formation of the habit of application, are the chief things to be aimed at. And as to his amusements, the more they employ the body, and the less they employ the mind, the better.

One word as to the communication of religious knowledge through the medium of fiction. We have the highest authority for the use of parables or apologues in conveying this most important kind of instruction; and no one who has made the experiment, can have failed, we think, to be sometimes surprised at the astonishing facility with which even abstract ideas are grasped by the infant intellect by the aid of these familiar analogies. It was an excellent definition which was given by a child in answer to the question, Do you know what a parable means? 'Parables were stories which Jesus Christ told his disciples 'about little things, to make them understand great ones.' The child does not understand the whole force and bearing of the allegory at first; but he understands something, and as he will never lose the impression of the narrative, he is likely, as he is able to bear it, to have gradually unfolded to his mind, the whole of its meaning. The remark of Hooker well applies to these: 'As for those things which at the first are obscure and dark, 'when memory hath laid them up for a time, judgement afterwards growing, explaineth them.' Bunyan's Pilgrim's Progress and Holy War are, in this respect, equally adapted to all ages. The only danger is, lest they should make too vivid an impression on a child of lively imagination. But it is worth while to run all hazards for the sake of imbuing the mind with the invaluable instruction they contain, and which could be communicated to the child with equal efficiency in no other shape. We have known them, too, to be of admirable use as a Child's

Commentary on the Scriptures. By the use of this incidental illustration which they afford, of Scriptural doctrines, expressions, and images, they are adapted to serve this important purpose better than any formal explanation possible.

But it cannot be necessary to point out the broad line of obvious distinction between fables or allegories, and religious stories. The one is a direct, the other an indirect method of religious instruction. The former strictly belongs to didactic teaching; the latter to the province of poetry and the drama. In the allegory, the very substance of religious truth is made palpable; in the narrative, it is rather religious sentiment which is presented to the mind. Now, in a child, religious sentiment is valuable only which it results from principles which story-books in general are not adapted to produce. These exhibit truths apart from the authority which enforces them,—that authority which is to a child instead of evidence, and upon the ground of which he is taught to believe and to obey. The native language of Religious Truth is that of *command*, and the all-important disposition in a child is, the habit of obedience. Religious stories are at best but illustrations of religious principles; and whether the fictitious illustration of principles is of much efficacy towards forming them in the mind, seems to be questionable. The best that can be said for this class of productions is, that they find their way where books directly religious would be excluded, and are the means of thus smuggling the contraband article of Methodism into many families. But we are very jealous of their being adopted as a legitimate means of religious education. Yet, the admirable and unexceptionable stories of Mrs. Sherwood, shew that fiction may be employed with the happiest effect.

We trust that our readers will excuse our going thus far out of our way as critics, to make a stand for some of the notions and prejudices of the old school of education, to which we take it for granted, the present Writer would acknowledge himself to belong. The great excellence of these Incidents of Childhood is, that they strictly answer to their title, and the book is, therefore, admirably adapted for Children. The subjects, the sentiments, and the style are alike in character, extremely simple and quiet; and the tone of the Writer is pitched to the ear of his youthful readers. The volume contains eight stories: 'the Iron-box: Phœbe's Visit; Curiosity and Inquiry; the two Tempers; little Fanny's Plan; the Visit to London; the Belfry; and the Tinner's Son.' In order to give a fair specimen of the book, we ought to transcribe an entire story; but as this would much exceed our due limits, we must content ourselves with an extract from the first.

'Peter Simons was the son of a poor fisherman, who lived in a solitary cottage, built of rough stone, on the steep side of a rock which faced the sea. Behind the cottage the dark jagged cliff rose

up to its great height: before it you might look straight down upon the sea, two hundred feet below. Steps were cut in the solid stone, which led winding down to the shore. On one side of the house there was a stack of furze to serve for firing; on the other side was a small level space, with poles, on which the fisherman hung his nets to dry. The front of the cottage was covered with rows of dried fish, of different sorts, cut open, and all shrivelled and yellow: at the door hung the fisherman's great sea boots, and his rough blue coat, lined with red stuff.

'Peter was a lazy boy; and his father and mother used no means to correct his idle habits; but suffered him to spend his time as he pleased. Sometimes he would lie half the day on the ground before the door, just looking over the edge, to watch the curling foam of the waves among the broken rocks below; or throw down stones to see them jump from ledge to ledge as they fell. When the weather was perfectly calm, and the sun shone, so that, from the top of the hill, the sea appeared all in a blaze of light, you might perceive a black speck at some distance, like a lark in the clear sky; this was the fisherman's small boat, in which Peter would spend all the hours from one tide till the next. Having anchored the boat on a sand bank, he would doze with his hat slouched over his face, or if he was awake, listen to the tapping of the waves against the side of the boat; and now and then halloo to make the gulls that were swimming about, rise into the air. But most often, in fine weather, he would saunter along upon the beach, to a neck of sand about a mile from his home. Here there was the old hulk of a sloop, that had been wrecked at a spring tide; so that it lay high upon the beach; it was now half sunk in the sand, and the sea-weed had gathered round it, three or four feet deep. It was Peter's delight to sit upon the deck, lolling against the capstan, while his naked legs dangled down the gangway in the forecastle.

'When the weather was too cold to sit still out of doors, and when his mother drove him from the chimney corner, Peter would take a large knife and an old hat; and gather muscles from the rocks: but almost the only thing of any use which he did in the whole course of the year, was to plait a straw hat for himself, and patch his jacket.

'Peter seemed always dismal and discontented; he seldom more than half opened his eyes, except when he was searching the crannies of the rocks, and fumbling in the heaps of sea-weed, after a storm, in hope of finding something that had been thrown up by the waves. Indeed he lived in expectation that some great good luck would one day come to him in this way: and so in fact it happened.

'One morning after a gale of wind, and a very high spring tide, the sea retired so far that Peter made his way to a reef of rocks which he had never before been able to reach. There were two hours before the tide would oblige him to return: he determined therefore to make the best use of his time in hunting over this new ground. He scrambled up and down, and jumped from rock to rock so nimbly, that, at a little distance, no one would have guessed that it was Peter Simons. He dived his arm deep into the weedy basins in the rocks,

and groped, with his hands under water, among the pebbles, shells, and oily weed with which they were filled. Nothing, however, was to be found, except, now and then, a whitened bone, a piece of green sheet-copper, or some rusty iron.

'Peter staid till the sea had several times run over the sand bank which joined the reef of rocks to the shore. It was now necessary to make speed back; and he took such long strides in returning, that he sank over his ancles in the loose sand. Just before he reached the solid ground, he set his bare foot upon a staple and ring, to which a small rope was tied. He pulled the rope pretty stoutly, supposing it to be fastened to a piece of timber from a wreck; but, in doing so, he dragged from under the sand an iron box, about six inches square. It was very rusty, and he would have thought it a solid block of iron, if it had not been for the appearance of hinges on one side.

'"Now," said Peter, "here's my fortune to be sure in this box: what should an iron box be for, but to keep gold and diamonds in? Nobody shall know a word of this till I see what's in it." He knocked and banged it about on the rocks for some time, to get it open; but finding his efforts vain, he determined, for the present, to carry it to the old sloop, where he spent so much of his time; and lodge it safely in the sand which filled the hold: by the time he had done this, it was nearly dark.

'Although he had been kept awake some part of the night, in making various guesses of what might be in the box, and planning what he should do with his treasure, Peter rose two hours before his usual time the next morning. The rising sun shone upon the highest peak of the rocky headland, just as he climbed upon the deck of the sloop. He had brought a large knife, and a hammer with him, to force the box open; but he found he could not get the point of the knife in any where; and all his blows with the hammer only made the rusty flakes of iron peel off from the sides of the box. No trace of a key-hole could be found, and when the top of the box was cleaned, it appeared that the lid was screwed down on three sides. Peter buried the box again in the same place; and set himself to think what was to be done. He knew that the blacksmith at the village could open the box easily enough; but he would trust his secret to nobody. The only way therefore was to procure tools, and go to work upon it himself. Lazy folks, when they choose to exert themselves, are often very ingenious, and sometimes, even, very diligent. Peter had not a penny of his own. How was he to get money enough to buy a screw-driver?

'Peter Simons, as we have said before, could plait a straw hat pretty neatly. It was a sort of employment that suited him; because he could do it while he sat lolling in the sunshine, thinking about nothing, with his eyes half shut, and his mouth half open. He thought that if he made two or three hats, he might be able to sell them at the town for as much money as would buy the screw-driver, or what other tools he might want. He procured the straw therefore, and taking it to the cabin of the old sloop, went to work more heartily than ever he had done in his life before. Peter's father and

mother concerned themselves very little with the manner in which he spent his time: and when he took his dinner with him, and was absent the whole day, his mother was glad to get rid of him, and asked him no questions when he came home in the evening.

'The first thing that Peter did every morning before he sat down to his straw-hat making, was to take the box out of the sand, and make some violent efforts to force it open without further ado: but, after spending some time in turning it about, looking at it, banging it against the rock, and trying to wheedle in the point of the knife, he quietly buried it in its place; having convinced himself afresh that the only way was to go on steadily with the plan he had determined upon. He often wondered that he could not hear the diamonds or the guineas rattle, when he shook the box; but he concluded that it was stuffed so full, that there was no room for them to wag.

'After Peter had been thus diligently employed several days, he began to feel a pleasure in work which was quite new to him. Although he now rose two or three hours earlier than he used to do, the days seemed to him shorter instead of longer than they did when he spent all his time in idleness. He almost lost his habit of yawning; and when he went home in the evening, instead of squatting down sulkily in the chimney corner, he would jump about the house, and do little jobs for his mother. "I do'nt know what's come to our "Peter," said his mother, "he's not the same boy that he was."'

What Peter found in the Iron Box, when screw-driver had been bought, and, that failing, two files, which cost another whole week's labour, and the nine screws which held down the lid, had had, in slow succession, their heads filed off,—we do not mean to tell; but the sequel informs us, that when Peter grew up, and was in business for himself, he used to say, that he found all his good fortune in this Iron Box.

Art. IX. *A Greek and English Manual Lexicon to the New Testament;* with Examples of all the irregular and more difficult Inflections. By J. H. Bass. 18mo. pp. 183. Price 4s. London. 1821.

THIS very neatly printed little volume is principally an abridgement of Parkhurst's Greek and English Lexicon to the New Testament, whose definitions are generally adopted by the present Compiler. The work is increased in value by the occasional contributions which it has received from Schleusner, and by the insertion of a considerable number of inflections of verbs, intended to facilitate the progress of the learner without affording him improper assistance in his study of the Greek Testament. Its convenient size and price, and its concise but comprehensive explanations, cannot fail of recommending this "Manual Lexicon" to the acceptance of those persons for whose use it has been prepared. We would recommend, however, a sedulous attention to its revision.

Art. X. *Thomas Johnson's Reasons for Dissenting from the Church of England.* 18mo. Price Two Pence, or 14s. per 100. London. 1821.

TO us, Dissent is of no other interest than as it is connected with the cause of true religion; and if the assertion of the principles of Dissent place us in opposition to the Church of England as by law established, this is only the consequence of a particular application of them. If that Church made no demands upon our conscience, but left us in possession of the freedom which the Gospel recognises in its adherents, we should be glad to be comprehended in its fellowship. We, however, are so tenacious of that freedom, and the Church of England is so averse to allow us the fair and full exercise of its rights and privileges, that we must take Dissent less as our option than as our duty, and forbear to compromise our integrity by acknowledging the 'power' of that Church 'to decree rites or cere-'monies,' and to have 'authority in matters of faith.' Our liberty as Christians must ever be maintained on precisely the same grounds as those on which it was originally exhibited by its Divine Author,—the sufficiency of Revelation, and our personal responsibility in respect to its obligations. Whatever system, or whatever Church, assumes a control which will not permit us to act in perfect accordance with these primary obligations, must call forth a disavowal of its pretensions, and justifies the assertion of our religious rights.

It is but too common, we know, to represent Dissent as unnecessary, as capricious, as unreasonable, as proceeding from disaffection to the State. It is schism; it is heresy; it is rebellion; it is as the sin of witchcraft: in short, it is whatever its opponents shall be pleased to call it. Sometimes, we shall be gratified with the frank confession of an advocate for the authority of the Established Church of England, that he is not acquainted with the principles of Dissenters, and, as an evidence of the truth of his statement, we shall find him attributing to them reasons for their Dissent, which they themselves would never think of adducing. It is therefore requisite, that those persons who may interest themselves in the question, Why are you a Dissenter? should be furnished with the means of forming a judgement on the case; and the tract before us may be confidently recommended to their service. It is preferable to any thing of the same kind with which we are acquainted as a summary of the principles of Dissent, adapted to plain capacities, without being in any respect unsuitable to cultivated minds. It is a simple, intelligible exposition of the practical question, which the Author has never separated from the great interests of religion, and which he has never injured by

violating the obligations of Christian charity. We are happy to give it our very cordial sanction, and to recommend it as being particularly suitable for distribution in those situations where it may be desirable to meet the prejudices and the opposition which are directed against Dissenters, in the least offensive and most efficient manner.

Art. XI. *On the Amusements of Clergymen, and Christians in General.* Three Dialogues between a Dean and a Curate. By Edward Stillingfleet, Lord Bishop of Worcester. 12mo. pp. 184. London. 1820.

FROM the advertisement prefixed to these Dialogues, it would seem that the volume cannot with any propriety lay claim to be the production of the learned Bishop whose name appears on the title-page, although it may contain a correct report of his sentiments. It states, that

'When Dr. Josiah Frampton's library was sold in London (in the year 1729, or 1730), his divinity books were classed in seven lots; one of which was purchased by Dr. Edwards. The catalogue of this lot mentioned a parcel of MSS. Among these, the Doctor found one *in Dr. Frampton's own hand-writing*, of which the following is a copy.'

These Dialogues, then, are the Doctor's report of conversations held on the subject of Clerical Amusements, between Bishop Stillingfleet when Dean of St. Paul's, and himself, soon after leaving college, at the house of Sir Roger Burgois at Wroxal, where the Dean was visiting. The merit of authorship, therefore, clearly belongs to Dr. Frampton; but we know not that the MS. is a whit the less valuable on this account. The dialogue is kept up with great spirit; the sentiments are admirable, the language good, and the tendency of the volume is so excellent that we can only feel surprise that it should have remained thus long (as we presume) unpublished.

After some excellent preliminary remarks on the proper definition of the word, or rather of the thing, amusements are considered by the Dean under the three heads *of riotous and cruel, trifling and seducing*; and, *innocent and instructive*. The chase and other amusements involving the shedding of blood, are deprecated under the first head; and their utter inconsistency with even the professional character of a clergyman is pointedly exposed. There is, however, a sort of reserve made on behalf of one amusement involving the destruction of life, which the admirers of old Walton will think none the worse of the Bishop's taste for excepting from condemnation.

'I must allow, sir,' said I, 'that what you have said against hunting and shooting hath entirely convinced me of the impropriety of

'no stake,' are also included in the good Bishop's book of sports; and a game of humble pretensions, but of most salutary efficiency, is thus deservedly eulogised.

'I then asked the Dean, if he had ever heard of the game of shuttlecock; or if he would laugh at me for mentioning it to him as a domestic exercise.

'Laugh at you! said the Dean; I know no game that I value more. It has all the characters of the amusement we want. It gives us exercise—it makes us cheerful—and has no connection with our pockets: and if I may whisper another truth in your ear, it does not require much *skill* to learn. When my legs were in better order, I have spent many a rainy half-hour with Sir Roger, at shuttlecock, in his hall. The worst of it is, few parsonage houses have a room large enough for it; though perhaps the tithe-barn, if it be not better employed, may furnish one.—I could say more in favour of shuttlecock. You may play at it alone. It is also an exercise too violent to last long. We need not fear, as at billiards, to mispend a morning at it. —Laugh at you! so far from it, that I respect the man who invented shuttlecock.

'I asked the Dean next, if he had any objection to some little handicraft business, as domestic exercise for a clergyman? And I particularised that of a carpenter, or a turner; both which, I said, were very well fitted to put the blood in motion.

'Aye, aye, replied the Dean, I like them both. I have known very worthy clergymen good carpenters and turners. I knew one who had a shop in his house, and made his own tables and chairs. They were substantial and not ill made; though he did not think them neat enough for his parlour, they did very well for his chambers and study. I knew another clergyman, added the Dean, and an exemplary man he was, who was an excellent turner. He used to work in box, ebony, and ivory; and made a number of little, pretty conveniences both for himself and his friends. In the coldest weather, I have heard him say, he could put his whole frame in a glow by exercising his lathe.—Did not you see in the prints, that Mons. Pascal, who died the other day, had retired, a few years ago, to the learned community of Port-Royal, where he, and other eminent men made it a rule to intermix their studies with manual labour?

'I told the Dean I had seen it, and that I rather wondered at the choice which Pascal had made of his own employment, which was that of making wooden shoes.

'Aye, good man, said the Dean, he made them for the poor peasants in his neighbourhood: and I should be glad to give more than double their value for a pair of them to keep for his sake.'

Upon the whole, we think that the Public are under obligations to the Editor for this amusing and useful work on a hackneyed but far from exhausted subject, and one of great practical importance.

Art. XII. *A Memoir of the Principal Occurrences during an Embassy from the British Government to the Court of China*, in the Year 1816. By the Rev. Dr. Robert Morrison, Author of the Chinese Dictionary, &c. 8vo. pp. 96. Price 3s. 6d. London. 1820.

THIS pamphlet did not reach us till some time after its publication, and the interest attaching to the unsuccessful and unproductive Embassy, has long since subsided. But, as the present narrative comprises, in a cheap form, some entertaining descriptions of the manners and customs of the Chinese, and is in some of its details more minute than the heavy quarto of Mr. Commissioner Ellis; as, moreover, the object of the Editor, Dr. Morton, in availing himself of his excellent relative's permission to publish it, is to afford, by means of its profits, some relief to a widow with ten children; we cannot withhold our recommendation of the work, and have only to regret that it should not have been more timely. Dr. Morrison, who was attached to the Embassy in the character of Interpreter, had, in being acquainted with the language, an advantage over the Commissioners, which he did not fail to turn to the best possible account. He could not only see with his own eyes, but, which they could not, hear with his own ears; and he both saw and heard with other feelings than those of a diplomatist,—with the views and emotions of a man whose youthful studies and maturer labours have all been devoted to the great work of preparing, in that vast portion of the Pagan world, "the way of the Lord."

The decay and ruin in which the temples were frequently found, seems to denote, as Dr. M. remarks, a decay of the superstition which reared them; but a senseless idolatry still prevails.

'On the hill above Teih-keang was a temple dedicated to *Newkin*, the 'god of kine.' A figure of a black cow, with a person sitting on it, stood in the temple; and by the side were several marble inscriptions, containing the names of the founders, and the views and feelings of the original proposer, who invited all the farmers in the neighbourhood to join in the expense.'

Off the top of a lofty mountain seen from the river Yang-tsze Keang, near Pa-tung, is a temple erected to the god Kew-hwa, which gives its name to the mountain. The ascent is said to be so difficult in some places, that, 'in going up, it is necessary to 'attach a rope from above to the persons ascending.' In this temple, there are stated to be 'upwards of *a thousand priests*.' A tolerable establishment! In the adjacent island of Ho-ye Chow, the Author

'was interested by the appearance of a family containing four generations, amounting to about twenty persons, in the same house. The patriarch was only seventy years of age. At his feet stood his great grand-child, whilst his son was working at his father's coffin. I

asked the old man why he now prepared his coffin. He said he felt his health decline, and he wished to have a place ready in which to rest after death. An opportunity did not offer to ascertain his views of a future state of existence. When asked if the sight of his coffin did not excite mournful ideas, he replied "No." A mandarin with me remarked, "His mouth says *No*, but it is not the "language of his heart." '

At Woo-ching-Chin, on the left bank of the Tanho, is

'a very spacious and elegant temple, dedicated to a man whose name was Heu Chin Keun, who is deified, and is called, "The Happy Lord of Keang-se." His temple was by some emperor denominated Wan-show Kung, which is the name by which it is now known. The front is decorated with various devices on porcelain, and with handsome masonry. A large court is formed in front, and a fine building rises on the opposite side for the public performance of plays.'

At Nan-chang Foo, the capital of Keang-se, is a temple called Hwa Wang Meaou, 'the temple of the king of flowers,' in which the figures of the idol and the twelve Months of the Year, by whom he is surrounded, appeared quite new, and were painted in the most lively colours. This temple, an exception to the general appearance of these edifices,

'was supported by the salt-merchants in the neighbourhood, who, in an adjoining hall, had placed an idol denominated Tsae-shin, "the god of wealth." Before him was a stage for theatrical exhibitions, which are blended with the service of all the temples.'

Thus, in China, the imagined and desired alliance between—we may not say the pulpit and the stage, but—the stage and the altar, seems actually realised.

While the Embassy remained at Nan-chang Foo, an alarming fire broke out in the suburbs on the banks of the river. 'Our 'fire-engines,' says Dr. M., were offered to the Legate, who, with 'many professions of thanks, declined accepting them, as it was 'the *duty of the local officers to see the fire extinguished*, and 'his. In about the space of *two hours*, they succeeded.' This might be brutal nonchalance; but, possibly, it was conformable to the requisitions of Chinese etiquette: which etiquette would doubtless have forbidden at all events the extinguishing of a Chinese fire by an English engine. We have another illustration of the national *sang froid*, in the remark made by General Wang, in the course of conversation with our Author, 'that 'the wars which preceded and accompanied the reigning fa-'mily, thinned the population so much, that the earth produced 'great abundance for the wants of the people; but, since that 'period, there has been a vast increase of population, the con-'sequences of which are scarcity and poverty.' 'In the Ge-'neral's opinion,' adds Dr. Morrison, '*another war* is to be

'*minish the population*, would be a good thing.' One would think General Wang had been reading Malthus. A very sound political economist this General Wang!

As in other countries, so, in the celestial empire, there is quackery of various kinds. In the suburbs of Nan-kin, there are hotbaths for poor people, admittance one penny, the price of a clean shave in this country; and the sign of one of these baths holds forth in large characters the flattering promise, *Heang-shuy yu Tang*, 'the bath of fragrant water.' Just as in London, we have the Peerless Pool, or the Wellington chop house. The baths are in a small room, which continues filled with steam; and here all the bathers are together. They come out to dry themselves and dress in a public room, in which are cupboards numbered to contain the separate clothes of each bather. Some of the gentlemen of the Embassy put their heads into the bath, and found the effluvia any thing but fragrant.

Fortune-telling is a good trade in some of the towns. The professors of the art keep regular shops. Dr. M. met with one of these gentry sitting at the gate of a temple, with his apparatus about him—he does not say what apparatus; but the gifted adept 'could not tell to whom the temple was dedi-'cated.'

Mahommedans were found in every part of the country which was traversed by the Embassy. At Nang-chang Foo they have three mosques. In Keang-nan, they are said to have thirty-six. The prayers are not translated from the Arabic, and there are no books in Chinese containing their service or doctrines. They call the Deity *Choo*, 'Lord;' not *Shin*, 'a god or spi-'rit;' because, they say, the *Shin* are included in things created, and *Choo* made all things. The Jews appear to be known under the name of 'the sinew-plucking sect:' but our Author did not meet with one of that dispersed nation, and the information he could gain, was but doubtful and scanty.

Art. XIII. SELECT LITERARY INFORMATION.

*** *Gentlemen and Publishers who have works in the Press, will oblige the Conductors of the* Eclectic Review, *by sending information (post paid) of the subject, extent, and probable price of such works; which they may depend upon being communicated to the public, if consistent with its plan.*

On the 15th of the present month will be published, the Second Edition, revised and greatly enlarged, of An Introduction to the Critical Study and Knowledge of the Holy Scriptures. By Thomas Hartwell Horne, M.A. Curate of the United Parishes of Christ Church, Newgate Street, and St. Leonard, Foster Lane. In four large volumes 8vo. Illustrated with fifteen maps and facsimiles of MSS. Price £3. 3s. More than one third of the present edition consists of new matter. For further particulars see Select Literary Information in our Number for September.

New edition of Baxter's Practical Works. Mr. Edwards, of Crane Court, who, about thirteen years ago, issued proposals for the republication of the whole of the Practical Works of this eminent divine, when he reluctantly abandoned his purpose for want of sufficient encouragement, has resolved to commence this undertaking, in the hope that the present period will be found favourable to the prosecution of his object. Many ministers and private christians of various denominations have lately been very solicitous for a new and complete edition of Mr. Baxter's Practical Works in a more convenient form than the folio edition, which is now become extremely scarce and expensive. It is computed that the whole will make about 16 volumes in octavo, each volume to contain upwards of 500 pages; it is to be printed on fine demy paper, with a new type cast for the purpose; and one volume to be published every two months, or oftener, till completed. The work to be edited by the Rev. T. Cloutt, of Walworth.

A new edition of Drew on the Resurrection, is in the press, and will be ready in a few days.

Mr. R. Bloomfield, author of the Farmer's Boy, has in the press, the May-day of the Muses.

Mr. Gill is preparing for publication, a Technical Repository of Practical Information, on subjects connected with the new improvements and discoveries in the useful arts.

The Rev T. L. Strong, will soon publish, Six Discourses, preached before the University of Oxford, with an appendix.

The Rev. Edmund Butcher has in the press, a volume of Prayers for the use of families and private persons; including a prayer adapted to each discourse in his three volumes of Sermons.

The Rev. E. C. Tyson is printing a Treatise on the Summation of Series, by Increment.

Mr. Peter Nicholson's System of Pure and Mixed Mathematics, in a large octavo volume, for schools, which has been some years in the press, is expected to appear before Christmas.

Dr. John Reade has in the press, a Treatise on Vision, founded on new and interesting experiments.

Mr. Thomas Webb is preparing a Greek and English Prosodial Lexicon, with synonims and examples, marked and scanned in the manner of the Latin Gradus.

Mr. Evans, printer, of Bristol, will soon publish, a Chronological Outline of the History of Bristol, embellished with architectural drawings by Mr. O'Neil.

A new volume of Sermons selected from the Manuscripts of the late Dr. James Lindsay, is now preparing for the press, by his Son-in-Law, the Rev. Dr. Barclay, and will be published by subscription.

In the course of a few days will be published, The Private and Confidential Correspondence of Charles Talbot, Duke of Shrewsbury, principal Minister to King William, for a considerable period of his reign. By the Rev. Archdeacon Coxe.

The Second Vol. of Sir R. K. Porter's Travels in Georgia, Persia, Armenia, Ancient Babylonia, &c. &c. is nearly ready for publication. It will be illustrated with numerous engravings of portraits, costumes, antiquities, &c. &c.

An interesting volume of Travels will appear shortly, by W. J. Burchell, Esq. whose researches in the interior of Southern Africa, during a five years' residence in that country, comprise a variety of discoveries and observations which have never yet been laid before the public. Numerous engravings from the Author's own drawings, with an entirely new map, will illustrate the work.

Mr. Charles Mills, Author of the History of the Crusades, will shortly lay before the public, the First Part (comprising Italy) of the Travels of Theodore Ducas, in various countries of Europe, at the revival of Letters and Art.

The Memoirs of the Court of King James I. by Lucy Aikin, in 2 vols. 8vo. is nearly ready.

Preparing for publication, Two Voyages to New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land; including a description of the present condition of that interesting colony; with facts and observations relative to the state and management of convicts of both sexes, under sentence of Transportation. Also, reflections on Seduction, and its general consequences. By Thomas Reid, Member of the Royal College of Surgeons in London, and Surgeon in the Royal Navy.

A new edition (being the 7th) of Conversations on Chemistry, is preparing for the press, with considerable additions.

The Speeches of the late Right Hon. Henry Grattan, edited by his Son, will appear shortly in 4 vols. 8vo.

Mr. A. T. Thomson, F.L.S. &c. &c. has in the press, Lectures on the Elements of Botany. Part I.—Containing the Anatomy and Physiology of those organs on which the growth and preservation of the plant depend: with explanations of the Terminology connected with these parts. 8vo. illustrated by marginal cuts, and copper-plates.

The Rev. Samuel Burder, A.M. is preparing a new edition of his Oriental Customs, or an Illustration of the Sacred Scriptures, by an explanatory application of the Customs and Manners of the Eastern Nations, and especially the Jews, therein alluded to. This edition will be considerably enlarged.

Vol. III. of the Dublin Hospital Reports and Communications in Medicine and Surgery, will be published in December.

The Sixth Part of Dr. Whittaker's General History of the County of York, is just ready.

The Proprietor of the Portraits of the British Poets, respectfully informs the Subscribers to that work, that, in consequence of the lamented death of Mr. Thurston, the publication of Part XL is unavoidably postponed, from the first of November to the first of January. To prevent, however, any delay in the completion of the work, two Parts will be published together on that day.

Dr. Watkins, Author of the General Biographical Dictionary, will shortly publish, an interesting work, consisting of Memoirs of self-educated persons, who, by their own exertions, have risen to eminence in literature and science.

Miss Benger is busily employed on Memoirs of the Life of Mary, Queen of Scots, which will be published in the course of the winter.

A work entitled, The present State of Europe, will shortly appear.

A new edition of Systematic Education, or Elementary Instruction in the various departments of Literature and Science, with practical rules for studying each branch of useful knowledge. By the Rev. W. Shepherd, the Rev. J. Joyce, and the Rev. Lant Carpenter, LL. D. is in the press, with considerable additions.

The Rev. W. Thorn, of Penrith, has in the press, a new and enlarged edition of his Lectures on the Christian Sabbath.

Preparing for publication, The Preacher, in 6 vols. 12mo., or Sketches of Original Sermons, from the MSS. of two eminent divines of the last century, With a familiar Essay on Pulpit Composition. Principally intended for Young Ministers and Lay Preachers. Vol. I. 5s.

In the press, a new metrical Version of the Psalms of David, with an appendix of select Psalms and Hymns adapted to the service of the United Church of England and Ireland for every Sunday in the year, festival days, saints' days, &c. By the Rev. Basil Wood, A.M. of Trinity College, Oxford, and Rector of Drayton Beauchamp, Bucks.

In the press, Sketches of (30) Sermons. Vol. II. 12mo.

In the press, and in a few days will be published, the following discourses by S. Sleigh, of Salisbury. Joyful Anticipations: a Sermon occasioned by the death of Mrs. Sloper, Infant Hosannas: a Sermon, containing many particulars in the life and death of a child belonging to the Scots Lane Sunday School.

Mr. Morison, Minister of Trevor Cha-

pel, Bampton Row, has in the press, a volume of Lectures, in 12mo. on the Reciprocal Obligations of Life; in which the domestic, the ecclesiastical, the patriotic, and the mercantile relations are respectively treated. The volume will appear in the month of February, 1822.

The Rev. Joshua Marsden, Author of the "Amusements of a Mission," has in the press and nearly ready for publication, "Forest Musings," or Delineations of Christian Experience, in verse. To which are prefixed, Sketches of the Early Life of the Author. In one small Vol. 12mo. With a portrait.

Shortly will be published, The "Carnival of Death," a Satirical Poem. By Mr. Bailey, Author of "What is Life" and other Poems.

Mr. Daughson, of Prescot Street, is preparing for publication, a Translation of Baron Larrey's new work, entitled, "A Collection of Surgical Observations." With Notes, &c. by the Translator.

Nearly ready, Lady Jane Grey and her times. By Mr. George Howard. Illustrating the manners and customs of former days, with numerous anecdotes of the distinguished persons and events of that period, and embracing the earliest records of the Reformation, drawn from sources for the most part hitherto unexplored.

In the press, Johnson's Dictionary in Miniature; improved and enlarged by George Fulton, Author of a Pronouncing Dictionary, Spelling-Book, &c. to which are subjoined, Vocabularies of Classical and Scriptural Proper Names; a concise account of the Heathen Deities; a collection of quotations and phrases from the Latin, French, Italian, and Spanish languages; a Chronological Table of Remarkable Events from the creation of the world till the present time; and a brief List of Men of Genius and Learning, in one volume 18mo.

In the press, Letters of Junius; with Preliminary Dissertations, and copious Notes. By Atticus Secundus. In one neat pocket volume, with seven portraits and vignette title.

Dr. Wilson Philip has just ready for publication, in 1 vol. 8vo. A Second Edition of his Treatise on Indigestion, with some additional observations.

Mr. J. C. Pritchard, F.L.S. &c. has ready for publication, a Treatise on the Diseases of the Nervous System, Vol. I. comprising convulsive and maniacal affections. The design of this work is to illustrate by numerous cases of epilepsy, mania, chorea, and the different forms of paralysis, the connection between affections of this class and a variety of disorders of the natural functions.

Dr. Forbes has just ready, in one vol. 8vo. a translation of A Treatise on the Diseases of the Chest, in which they are described according to their anatomical characters and their diagnosis established on a new principle, by means of acoustick instruments, with plates: from the French of R. T. H. Laennec, to which Dr. Forbes has added a preface and notes.

Mr. R. D. Hamilton has ready for publication, in one vol. 8vo. The Principles of Medicine on the plan of the Baconian Philosophy, Vol. I. on febrile and inflammatory diseases.

In the press, Sea Sermons, in one vol. 12mo. for the use of sailors and masters of ships, by the Rev. G. Barder, Author of Village Sermons.

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